

Publications  
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Modern Language Association  
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America

EDITED BY  
PERCY WALDRON LONG

VOLUME L



VOLUME L OF *PMLA* IS DEDICATED TO PROFESSOR  
CARLETON BROWN, SECRETARY OF THE MODERN  
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, 1920-1934,  
AND FIRST VICE PRESIDENT 1935, ON THE OC-  
CASION OF HIS TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY AS  
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH  
(BY VOTE OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL)

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A. J. in *Modern Language Review*, April, 1930; Mr. Weller brings with him some 400 parallel words and phrases; arranges them in footnotes, and cross indexes them in the Appendix.

## Modern Language Association Books

Some, it is true, seem trivial, others controversial; but as a whole the editor has made an interesting, if not convincing, case. The volume, however, serves another purpose. It reintroduces to an inappreciative world the word of a sadly neglected poetess.

Edmund Blunden (*Daily Telegraph*, Aug. 14, 1928). He proves with chapter and verse the previously admitted but uncalculated theory that Mr. Tighe influenced Keats's epithets and peculiarities of diction.

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Leonard L. Mackall in *New York Herald Tribune*, May 22, 1932: Dr. Cole's introduction and appendices give all the results of a most minute and exhaustive careful study of every physical detail of the 1640 duodecimo and of all the variations in the various texts, and he uses ingenious diagrams and tables to show clearly the precise relationship to each other of all the original leaves (and pages) and those substituted for some of them.

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Aberystwyth, Nat. Lib, MSS. Peniarth 42, 43

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Trier, Seminarbibl, MS. 90

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vol. 3.

## PMLA INDEX VOLS. I-L

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- I. 5. This is confined to inserts. Is a classified list of diagrams and tables desirable?
- I. 6. Is it sufficient to supply here the references, or should the titles in I 1 be repeated?
- II. The Proceedings record where a small percentage of these papers were printed. Should this incomplete information be printed in the Index?
- II. Should a list of authors of these papers be supplied? If so, should it cover papers read before (1) the Central Division? (2) The Departmental Sections? (3) Discussion Groups? (4) Papers read by title?
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## DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS, 1935

Officers of the Groups will please send to the Chairman of the Program Committee any corrections or any request for change in the schedule.

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*General Topics I*, Poetic Form and General Aesthetics. *Chairman*, A. E. Zucker, Univ. of Maryland; *Secretary*, O. J. Campbell, Univ. of Michigan.

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*English VIII*, Literary Tendencies during the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century. *Chairman*, Frederick Heidbrink, Northwestern Univ.; *Secretary*, Margery Bailey, Stanford Univ.

*American Literature* (Discussion Session). *Chairman*, Howard M. Jones, Univ. of Michigan; *Secretary*, Sculley Bradley, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

*French I*, Mediæval Literature and Linguistics. *Chairman*, Raphael Levy, Univ. of Baltimore; *Secretary*, Robert W. Linker, Univ. of North Carolina.

*German II*, Early New High German Language and Literature. *Chairman*, Philip M. Palmer, Univ. of Cincinnati; *Secretary*, Otto Springer, Wheaton College.

*Slavonic I*, Slavonic Language and Literature. *Chairman*, Clarence A. Manning, Columbia Univ.

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*General Topics II*, Critical Study of Romanticism. *Chairman*, Alice D. Snyder, Vassar College; *Secretary*, Ernst Wilhelm Jockers, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

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# PMLA

PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Issued Quarterly

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VOLUME L

MARCH, 1935

NUMBER I

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## I

### THE CONCEPTION OF A CALLING IN THE GERMAN LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

IT is not a matter of mere chance that the conception of a "calling" or "profession" is meeting with special interest in Germany. Several books have been written on the subject, some with the intention of showing that a better understanding of the idea of a "calling" would contribute considerably toward the building up of a new and improved social order. While thus practical and political interests are debating the problem, an attempt to reach the root of the question has been made by the German sociologist, Max Weber, who in his work *Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*,<sup>1</sup> undertook to answer the question, Why does Protestantism seem to be particularly congenial to the capitalistic type of civilization? According to him, it is the conception of a "calling" as a God-given task, developed by Luther and incorporated into Calvin's religious system, which is responsible for this fact. The word *Beruf*, English "calling," itself in its present meaning, originated, he asserts, in Luther's translation of the Bible, and from that source it spread throughout the Germanic world.

The definitions given by the sociologist, the economist, the philosopher or the theologian agree in only one respect, namely, that "calling" is something different from mere occupation or work. Most existing definitions contain also one or more of the following three factors: first, that calling involves a regular economic occupation; second, that it must be directed toward the welfare of society; and, finally, that it is based on some sort of urge outside of mere material considerations, such as natural

<sup>1</sup> Max Weber, *Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by T. Parsons (New York, 1930); German edition: "Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, 1922).



inclination, personal satisfaction in the chosen occupation, or the will of God. While the first and second are found in about the same form in almost all definitions, the last one, the inner urge, varies considerably, or is even left out.

Different historic periods and different social philosophies have also developed their own conceptions of a "calling," especially according to their interpretation of the last-mentioned constituent elements. It has even been asserted that the conception of a calling, as evolved by a certain age, can be made the touchstone of the civilization of that age.<sup>2</sup> A few examples may serve to show how far this is true.

In Greek and Roman antiquity the conception was not strongly developed.<sup>3</sup> The foundation of the conception as we know it now was laid by the new faith which grew out of Judaism and antiquity. The early Christians felt themselves called by God to the realization of the promised Kingdom of God. They formed a community in which each one, irrespective of his worldly occupation, had his share in contributing to the realization of God's Kingdom on earth. Although the Gospel did not aim at a social revolution or the propagation of some particular social theory, the new spirit which it preached brought with it a new appreciation of man; it ennobled him by tearing down the bars of class and caste, since before God all men are free and equal. Eventually, this attitude necessarily also had an ennobling effect on man's occupation. With the passing of time, after generations of early Christians, no longer did the individual feel himself personally called to become a Christian, he was now born into the faith, and he expected the Kingdom of God to be realized not here on earth but in heaven. The "calling" shifted from the individual to the Church as a whole, which now became the institution responsible for leading its members on to God. With this progressive extension of Christianity and its eventual participation in temporal affairs, worldly work gradually became of more importance to the later Christians. The Middle Ages took over these two tendencies and combined them with indigenous elements into a new system. It is this system, especially its standard form evolved during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which constitutes the basis of the present article.

The dominant note of the Middle Ages is universalism. The "State of God," as conceived at that time, permeated all creation and connected

<sup>2</sup> Karl Dunkmann, *Die Lehre vom Beruf* (Berlin, 1922), p. 17 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Work in general was scorned as fit only for slaves and as unworthy of a free citizen, who could occupy himself solely with affairs of government, war, or the arts. The slave naturally could not feel himself "called" into his forced labor. Neither was a strong community spirit possible on that basis, and thus another element of the definition as stated above was missing. Cf. Cicero, *De officiis*, I, 42, 110.

earth with heaven. The whole universe was regarded as an organic unity, reaching from the lowest form of matter through humanity to the supernatural world, and on up to God, who was at once the culmination and the final goal of the universe. The connecting link between the earthly and the heavenly world was the Church, established by Christ as mediator between Christian humanity and heaven. It was the whole and only purpose of mankind, as organized in the Church, to lead all the universe back to God from whom it had emanated. Life as a whole had but this one purpose, and therefore, it was directed in all its reaches—political, social, economic, intellectual—towards the achievement of this supreme aim. This central idea gradually permeated or transformed all aspects of mediæval civilization, until they fitted into the conception of the organic unity, of the God-State, the *Civitas Dei*.<sup>4</sup>

Considering now the mediæval doctrine of society, we notice that it had its prototype in the social organization of the mediæval city, but that it broadened the principles found there, and applied them to human society as a whole. There were, of course, strong tendencies prevalent in the earlier centuries for a division of mankind, not on the basis of work and usefulness to society, but on that of possession and power, a stratification which easily might have led to a permanent differentiation into master and slave, possessor and possessed. But these tendencies were halted when the mediæval city was accepted as a model for the social structure in the God-State. In the city, where one group is dependent on the other, and all have to coöperate with each other, Thomas Aquinas saw the pattern of Christian society.<sup>5</sup> Here the idea of the *Amt*, the office which each one has to perform for the advancement not only of himself but of the common good, is evolved; work and the income connected with it are given to him as a sort of fief or trust by the community. Division of labor was recognized by Thomas as the basis of social organization in general, since nature has made man able to perform only a limited task in life. Every man is needed by human society for his work, but he,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit der Renaissance und Reformation*, Leipzig und Berlin, 1914.—Karl Dunkmann, *Die Lehre vom Beruf*, Berlin, 1922.—W. Endemann, *Die nationalökonomischen Grundsätze der canonistischen Lehre*, Jena, 1863.—Max Maurenbrecher, *Thomas von Aquino's Stellung zum Wirtschaftsleben seiner Zeit*, Leipzig, 1898.—Otto Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, 3. Bd. (Berlin, 1881), part of which in English translation: *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, translated by F. W. Maitland, Cambridge, 1900.—Ernst Troeltsch, "Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt," *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 97 (München und Berlin, 1906), *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, Gesammelte Schriften, 3. Aufl., Tübingen, 1923, English translation: *The Social teachings of the Christian Churches*, translated by Olive Wyon, 2 vols., London and New York, 1931.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. especially Maurenbrecher, *Thomas von Aquino's Stellung*, pp. 38 ff.

too, needs his fellowmen for the services they can render to him. All useful activities are ordained by God, and therefore equally acceptable to Him, for no God-willed work can be base, and each kind of service is a valuable function, although the various services are not of equal importance to society, and therefore not equally remunerated. Only by fulfilling the obligations connected with the "office," in addition to a generally virtuous life, can man attain the supreme goal, which consists in his union with God.

The facts outlined thus far have been known and established by previous investigations. Turning now to the analysis of the conception of a "calling," which prevailed at that time, we have to proceed along new roads. In the few existing accounts of the historical development of that conception, the authors have generally confined themselves to a discussion of its evidences in the writings of mediæval philosophers, and perhaps in the guild system. From here they pass directly to Luther and his contribution, either contrasting the two results, or trying to prove that these are essentially the same. They seem to have ignored the fact that even the Middle Ages were not static, but perpetually changing.

The following account attempts to fill in the gap by tracing the historical evolution of the conception of "calling" between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. Its conclusions are founded on an investigation of the German vernacular writings of the period. For this purpose it seems appropriate to combine the various components of mediæval *Weltanschauung* into a single picture, a metaphor, describing life in terms which not only the learned scholar, but also the peasant and the craftsman of the Middle Ages could understand. We then can imagine mediæval life as a pilgrimage toward the other world, a procession in which all humanity took part, and which had its final goal in God. Life on earth was considered as but a preparation for the everlasting happiness of the future life. Whatever helped toward the progress of the pilgrimage, toward the realization of the transcendental goal, was good and valuable; whatever hindered it was harmful and wrong.

With this symbol of wandering humanity in mind, the social and economic views of the Middle Ages become clear: society is organized in such a way as to facilitate progress in the desired direction. On the economic side it follows that earthly possessions are not wrong in themselves, but that they are to be subordinated to the needs of a migrating community; when they become too plentiful, they are a cumbersome burden rather than an asset to the individual; when they distract him from the real goal of life, they are a grave danger. Whatever he has, and whatever he does, should be an aid to the progress of the march.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This point of view is well illustrated in the following passage by the preacher David

The division of humanity into social groups was also to serve the same end. Leadership rested with the Church and its clergy who were to point the right way to God. Monasticism was to represent the way to God in its purest form, while other members of society often had to compromise with their own human weakness and with the facts of the surrounding world. The monk was supposed, however, to walk the narrower and steeper path not exclusively for his own benefit, but for the good of Christian society as a whole. The laity naturally also had their assigned duties, all of which were to serve the common purpose; knights and wordly lords protected the winding processions from the dangers of this world, they saw to it that peace and justice were maintained, and for their dangerous "office" they were here on earth compensated by a greater degree of power and wealth. In the same way, peasant and burgher had his important social task to perform, feeding and equipping the others. If, in the common pilgrimage of humanity to God, each pilgrim did his duty in his own "office," he would reach the final goal together with his fellowmen.

While from this picture the great importance of work in one's place in life is evident, it remains to be shown in what respect the vocational activity of the individual may be termed a "calling." For this purpose we have to answer the questions, What is the distributing factor in the mediæval system of distribution of labor? What or who is it that "calls" man into the place he occupies, into the "office" which he performs? Furthermore, in which way does this "call" reach man, and how does it affect him?

The answer to these questions is found in many of the literary works of the period under discussion. The problem received its most exhaustive and careful treatment, however, in the sermons of the greatest preacher of the thirteenth century, Berthold of Regensburg, who died in 1272.<sup>7</sup> According to him and to his fellow-writers, it is organized Christianity

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of Ausburg: "Wir sin uf dem wege des himelriches unde warten alle zit, wenne des weges ein ende si. Swer sich aber uf kurzen wec mit vil getreides ladet, der wirt e müede, e er den wec vol ge, unde muoz vil lichte under wegen beliben. Also wil du, daz din volgaere rincvertig sin uf dem wege und mit irdischen dingen niht überladen sin. Habent sie iht ze tragen, daz teilen mit ir geverten, die niht haben; so ist ir bürde ringer und sint sie selbe sneller unde koment deste vroelicher ze abende an die himelische herberge. . . ." *Deutsche Mystiker des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, edited by Franz Pfeiffer (Leipzig, 1845), I, 344, 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Berthold von Regensburg, Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten*, 2 vols., edited by Franz Pfeiffer and Josef Strobl, Wien, 1862; *Die Predigten des Franziskaners Berthold von Regensburg*, 4th ed., edited by Franz Gobel, Regensburg, 1906. It may be noted here that Berthold was a contemporary of Thomas Aquinas, and died two years before the latter. The correspondence in the views of both men shows how generally and widely the views discussed here were held during the middle ages.

as a whole which is called by and to God. To be able to follow this call, to attain salvation, God's grace is essential. Yet God does not offer His grace to the individual directly, but to humanity at large through the Church as His representative on earth and as the embodiment of His "calling" to mankind. Similarly, He does not place each man in his office by direct commission or mandate, but gives him at birth the natural ability for a certain occupation, or creates him a member of a certain social group. At the same time, God endows man with free will; He does not, as a rule, interfere with the individual during his lifetime, but, having endowed him with grace, free will, and his talents, He lets him work out his own salvation. Knowing God's will through the teachings of the Church, and knowing also his social obligations, man should exercise his free will in obeying God's commands and, particularly, in the faithful performance of his vocational duties. In this way he will earn his own place in heaven, since each one is going to be judged according to the use he made of the talents which God gave him. Whatever the office is to which he is assigned,—whether it be that of king, priest, or laborer—only a careful execution of its duties, in connection with a virtuous life, will assure man eternal life in heaven. Passages such as the following occur repeatedly in the writings of Berthold:

Wan unser herre hat eime ieglichen menschen ein amt verlihen, er hat nieman ze müezekeit geschaffen, wir müezen uns alle eteswes underwinden, da mite wir genesen. . . . So hat er den geschaffen daz er babest si; so sol der ein keiser sin oder ein künic oder ein bischof oder ein ritter oder ein grave oder diz oder daz. Unde swelherleie amt du hast, ez si hoch oder nider, von dem muost du gote reiten [Rechenschaft ablegen] . . . <sup>8</sup>

Wan allez daz got ie geschuof daz hat er allez sament ze nutze geschaffen und ist ouch allez sament nütze unde guot. . . . Und ez dienet allez dem almehtigen gote. Der vogel in den luften, der visch in dem wage, die wurme in der erden und alle kreaturen und allez daz got ie geschuof daz dienet allez gote, ane der ubele mensche und ander übel engele: die dienen gote niht, wan die tuont im alle tage widerdriez unde leit; . . . Unde dar zuo hat ez allez got geschaffen, daz ez dem menschen nutze si, unde da mite dienet ez gote allez sament, ieglichez in der wise als ez got geschaffen hat. . . . Ez endienet aber niht von rechter liebe und von rechten minnen: ez dienet niwan von nature. . . . <sup>9</sup>

. . . wan der ohse unde der esel müezent den wagen unde den pfluoc ziehen unde den sac tragen, sie tuon es gerne oder ungerne. Also wolte uns unser herre niht twingen unde binden an unser willekur. Er hat uns ze wizzen geben übel unde guot, kalt unde warm, sur unde süeze an unsern fünf sinnen. . . . Sit er uns so genzlichen z'erkennen gegeben hat übel unde guot, so wil er, daz wir unser frien

<sup>8</sup> Pfeiffer, *Predigten*, II, 13, 36 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiv, 374, 2 ff.

willekur selber binden zuo den guoten unde zuo den reinen gedenken, unde die unreinen lazen varn. . . .<sup>10</sup>

To the laity, work in one's vocation is, in fact, more important even than praying or going to church, for by serving humanity in his proper way, man serves God just as all creation serves Him.

So sullen dise gerne beten, die gerne fasten; so sullen dise gerne arbeiten mit triuwen unde mit eren, so sullen die got dienen, daz sie guote rihter sin; so sullen die got dienen, daz sie guote lere geben mit predigen unde mit bihte hoeren; so sullen dise guote liute sin. And also solte ein ieglich mensche gote dienen, alse erz geordent hat . . .<sup>11</sup>

Bruoder Berhtolt, nu han ich etewaz anders ze tuonne. Ich mac durchgenden tac niht alle zit gebeten unde zer kirche sin." Des muotet got niht von dir, wan daz du getriuwe unde gewære sist, mit swelher leie amte du umbe gest. Wan ez ist nieman, im habe got ein amt gegeben, da mit er gote dienen sol, einhalb ze dem libe und anderhalb ze der sele. Und swenne du din antwerk lazlichen uebest unde trügenlichen, so hast du der tugende niht unde tuost reht als ein niderlender. Ez si pfaffe oder leie, rihter oder ritter, koufman oder gebure, die sulnt alle ir amt mit triuwen üeben unde mit der warheit. Geistliche liute unde witewen, sie sin in kloestern oder niht, so sulnt sie vil gebeten unde geweinen unde sulnt aller guoten dinge vil durch got üeben an in selben. Des durfent die liute mit der e niht tuon: die mügent lihte gebeten, daz ez got benueget, sint sie eht anders ane toetliche sünde und üebent ir amt getriuwelichen. . . .<sup>12</sup>

But, as we have seen, the rest of the universe serves God by necessity; only man can serve or refuse to serve, according to his own free will. Therefore Berthold rejects predestination.

The same ideas are expressed with some variations by other writers of the thirteenth and the following centuries. A few examples may suffice. In one poem, the devil is speaking of the various vocations:

Got wil gaistlich und weltlich han,  
Die wil er die welt lat stan.  
Darumb tüg iederman dem sinen recht,  
So haist er ain truer gotz knecht.<sup>13</sup>

Also verwüstends dik den segan  
Den in got umb ir arbeit welt geben;  
Wan selig ist der sich begat sinr hend,  
An dem ist wol bewent,  
Daz im got daz himelrich wil geben,  
Darinn er besitzt daz ewig leben.  
So muoz ain müssig genger in der segi [Netz] kleben.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 13, 11 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 478, 28 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 255, 18 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Des Teufels Netz*, edited by K. A. Barack (Bibl. des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, LXX, Stuttgart, 1863), p. 364.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

Recapitulating, it may be said that in this system the conception of a "calling" is based on a pronounced community spirit, the idea of the social organism and of the institutional character of the Church. The principle of free will and of the meritoriousness of good works give the conception its particular quality. Work is recognized and praised, and receives a strong impulse, but only work in the interest of the eternal welfare of the individual and his fellowmen.

Returning now to the picture of life in the Middle Ages as a procession to heaven, it may readily be realized that leadership is one of the essential features. Whole-hearted coöperation of all is required, but leadership is of prime importance. Failure in this was, to a great extent, responsible for the gradual disintegration of the mediæval system. The failure of a large part of the priesthood to live up to their "calling" caused a lack of confidence in their leadership. Literature of that time is full of complaints in this respect, the priests being severely criticized for their failings, since they are responsible for all those souls who trust in their guidance and are misled by them.

Her babest, unde wæret ir hie, ich getorstez iu wol sagen: alle die sele die ir dem almehtigen gote verlieset oder verlorn werdent von iuwern schulden, als verre und irz erwenden soltet unde möhtet, ir müezet sie gote gelten mit iuwerm grozen schaden. . . .<sup>15</sup>

Swaz aller der kristenheit wirret  
Und rehten glouben si verirret,  
Daz ist der hohen prelaten schult,  
Die mit grozer ungedult  
Groz dinc wöllen überkumen,  
Des lant und liute niht nement frumen.<sup>16</sup>

wenn ich den pfaffen numend gefach,  
So lauffend die laigen selb hernach.<sup>17</sup>

This failure of the spiritual leaders of humanity resulted mainly in two conditions. On the one hand, many people lost their faith and interest in the heavenly goal of life, and began to busy themselves more and more with the things of this world, with its beauty and its pleasures. The other group, however, and the one which for our purpose is much more important, inferred from the failure of institutional leadership the necessity for a still more intense search for God, a personal search, not guided by external authority but rather by one's own inner self. In Germany this group is represented chiefly by the mystic writers of the

<sup>15</sup> F. Pfeiffer, *Predigten*, xxiii, 361 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Der Kenner*, von Hugo von Trimberg, edited by Gustav Ehrismann (Bibl. des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, ccxlvii, Tübingen, 1903), p. 92. <sup>17</sup> *Des Teufels Netz*, p. 46.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially by Eckhart, Tauler, and Seuse. These German mystics accept the teachings of the Church as to the way to God; they believe in the function of the Church as mediator between God and humanity, and in the clergy as the ordained leaders of mankind; but they limit the validity of this doctrine to the mass of the unenlightened and stress the need of direct communication with God for the select.

The main object of the mystic is the reunion of the soul with God in this life, the birth of God in man. According to the mystic doctrine, this state is achieved by turning all one's thoughts toward God and freeing oneself of all that is not God. "Sol got in gan, überein so muoz creature uz gan."<sup>18</sup> This mystic union, however, is not earned by good works, or by any kind of activity.

Die liute endörfen niemer vil gedenken, waz sie teten, sie solten aber gedenken, waz sie weren. Weren nu die liute guot und ir wise, so möhten ir werc sere liuchten. Bist du gereht, so sint ouch diniu werc gereht. Niht gedenke heilikeit ze setzen uf ein tuon: man sol heilikeit setzen uf ein sin. Wan die werc heiligen uns niht, sunder wir sullen diu werc heiligen.<sup>19</sup>

All that man can do, to prepare the way for God's entrance, is to resign his own will, and give himself up entirely to God. Even then the actual union with God depends exclusively on God's will, and it happens only to those whom God has chosen. "Diz engeschicht nieman dan den alleine, die got ewicliche dar zuo erwelt hat, die ir selbes und aller dinge ledic sint. Diz beginnet hie unde wert ewiclichen."<sup>20</sup> If this highest object of the mystic desire is realized, if God is in man's soul, he will hear the voice of God calling in him, and if he follows this inner calling, he is doing the will of God. Then all his doings will become a divine service, and whatever he does will be pleasing to God: "sie habent sich gote lazen ganz unde gar: des ist got sines werkes ungehindert in in."<sup>21</sup> For the rebirth of God in man a state of contemplation is, however, not essential; it may be achieved in any state, in any occupation. The mystic does not despise worldly work; on the contrary, he realizes that the union with God will enhance the value of his works, and will make them more beneficial. "Wanc mit Gotte enmag man niht versumen, und dis werk ist Gotz werk und niht des menschen."<sup>22</sup> Moreover, for the man enlightened by God, even wealth has lost its danger; he can become rich without thereby being distracted from God. "Etliche lute sint als nösselich das in Got die

<sup>18</sup> *Meister Eckhart*, edited by Franz Pfeiffer (Leipzig, 1857), p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 546.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 477.

<sup>22</sup> *Die Predigten Taulers*, edited by Ferdinand Vetter (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, hsgb. von der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. XI, Berlin, 1910), p. 189.



richeit benemen mus. Aber were der mensche gelossen, so enbeneme es im Got nut und neme in der richeit wol zu."<sup>23</sup> The man in whose soul God has been reborn has become, to use a favorite term of mysticism, "God's loom," His instrument, in whom only the will of his divine master is active. "Mag der mensche darzu werden, das er gote si als dem menschen sin hant ist, so lass er im benugen und suche nit furbas."<sup>24</sup>

It is evident from the above that the idea of a "calling" forms a very important element in mystic thought, but also that it differs essentially from Berthold's conception. The mystics represent an aristocratic philosophy, which concerns itself primarily with the individual. They stress the idea of "election"; that is, the selection by God of a limited number in whom neither natural tendencies nor their own free will is active, but only the calling voice of God Himself. Besides, for this selected group they reject good works as a means to achieve the highest form of union with God, reversing in this respect the former doctrine: good works do not bring about the union with God, but this union brings about good works, works pleasing to God and beneficial to humanity. A further characteristic of the mystic conception lies therein that the voice of God is heard in the soul even of the selected one only after the union has been achieved, that it is not granted to him as his birthright, but only after a conscious strife has overcome his naturally free will, and has thereby prepared the way for the unobstructed working of God's will in him. The difference in the two mediæval conceptions of the "calling" thus concerns both the second and the third elements of our former definition, community spirit and outside urge.

The word *Ruf*, English calling, itself is frequently used by the mystics, and it may be said that they first introduced it into German literature.

wer uns ruffet, das ist der himelsche vater; der rufft uns mit allem dem das er ist, hat und vermag. Das ladet und locket uns . . . das hat er alles dar umbe geton das er uns do mit wider ruffe und lade in unsern ursprung und wider brechte in sich. Und alles ist dis ein luter ruffen zu unserm beginne.<sup>25</sup>

They use it in a meaning in which both the divine urge and the temporal activity of man are in some measure blended, although the religious meaning predominates. It is obvious, however, that the conception evolved by this comparatively small and esoteric group could not have penetrated deep enough into the consciousness of the mass of the people to bring about a general recognition of the new term and its meaning. This was possible only on the basis of a popular movement such as the

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>24</sup> *Theologia deutsch*, edited by Franz Pfeiffer, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1855), p. 232.

<sup>25</sup> *Die Predigten Taulers*, p. 240 ff.

Reformation and through the far-reaching influence of the translation of the Bible by Luther.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the symbol of humanity marching in procession towards the heavenly goal had faded in the minds of the people. The type of civilization which the central period of the Middle Ages had developed under the dominating influence of the Church, the idea of the *Civitas Dei*, was disintegrating. It had given the preceding centuries a uniform and unitary view of life by the acceptance of a transcendental purpose of the universe, by offering to the world a definite *Weltanschauung*, which, in turn, bore the marks of its origin from existing conditions of life. This reciprocity resulted in the essential harmony between the spiritual and the temporal ideals of the time which found literary expression in Wolfram's *Parzival*. With conditions of life changing under the influence of external forces, such as new contacts with foreign civilizations, growing population, there arose, however, a discrepancy between the old theory and the new practice. This discrepancy brought with it the danger of the transcendental motive being discarded altogether, not because it had been proved to be wrong, but because it had lost grip on life.

In the 14th and 15th centuries the mediæval unity had been practically destroyed. The new individualism had asserted itself in the appearance of many new sects, in the gradual substitution of the general emperor by a number of independent princes, in the strengthening of the vernacular against the predominance of the universal Latin. Instead of with Christianity as a unit, we have to do now with individual Christian nations. Outwardly the great masses still adhered to the old faith, but inwardly many had already broken away from it. The religious thought of the mystics and of other groups could not furnish a new popular ideal for them, and the attempts of the Church for a reformation within itself and the rejuvenation of the old ideals worked too slowly and with insufficient results. Many people therefore gave themselves over merely to enjoyment of life. Pleasure and worldly success threatened to supplant the supermundane aim of humanity as a stimulus for work, which then would be conceived not as a service to the community, but only as a means to gain riches quickly at the expense of others.

With this development in mind, Luther's life work and the Reformation as a whole might be regarded as an effort to check the rising tide of secularization and to preserve the old goal of Christianity, still recognizing it as the sole object of human life. But they tried to adjust it to the new conditions; they did not believe it attainable by the old way, and wished to point a new road to its achievement. In his earlier life Luther himself went through the various stages of mediæval thought.

He became a monk, passed through a period of contempt for the world and for himself, became acquainted with Mysticism and Nominalism, and finally came under the influence of secularizing forces. Mysticism impressed on him its conception of the "calling" and of the immediateness of man's relation to God. But although Luther accepted these doctrines, his intention was not the development of a more or less esoteric sect, but rather the evolution of a new all-embracing system for the guidance of humanity. In his conception of the "calling," Luther retained the social foundation of the mediæval organism, yet he welded it with the mystic idea of the personal calling of man by God instead of a general calling through the Church. According to Luther, it is God Himself who assigns to each man his position on earth and orders him to do the work.<sup>26</sup> But God only places man in his "office"; He is not calling within him constantly and guiding him on his way, as the mystics taught. On the other hand, man's work in the God-ordained position is not put down to his account as a means of earning salvation; it is only to prove his obedience to God's will. By fulfilling the assigned task, man serves God, and incidentally he thereby helps his neighbor. Luther's "calling" differs from that of the mystics in being directed to all men alike, independent of their own attitude and not in the form of a voice calling within the soul, but as a task given to man to prove his obedience.

Combining in this way some of the elements of both previous conceptions, Luther developed his own idea of the "calling," and embodied it in his religious teachings. His translation of the Bible then carried it forth among the mass of the people and preached to them once more the divine basis of man's doings, and the necessity of untiring work at the task to which one is called. For Luther and his contemporaries the symbol of the human procession was no longer valid. They did not conceive of the earth as a valley of tears through which man passes on his way to God, but as the garden which man has to cultivate, into which he is called to live and to glorify God by his work. From a mere thoroughfare the earth to them has become the home and permanent abode of man. Humanity also mirrored itself differently in their eyes. From a compact organism it had changed to a group of individuals not depending directly on each other for their salvation, but bound together solely by the exigencies of social life.

In conclusion a few words may be said about the further development of the conception of the "calling." In Germany, Luther's doctrine and

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Karl Eger, *Die Anschauungen Luthers vom Beruf*. Ein Beitrag zur Ethik Luthers, Giessen, 1900.—K. Dunkmann, *Die Lehre vom Beruf*.—Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik*.—Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus; Soziallehren der chr-Kirchen*.

the continuation of the mediæval theories on the problem of the "calling," retained within Catholicism, predominated in the main for the next two centuries. Outside of Germany it was, however, taken up by Calvinism and other religious groups. Calvinistic denominations stressed, more than Luther had done, the idea of predestination. But if some people were chosen, and others were not, the question naturally arose, to which group a certain individual belonged. Calvinism answered this important question by referring to the success of one's activity. If God had chosen the individual, his work would necessarily be good and successful. We have found a somewhat similar idea in the mystic doctrine. By success in his profession, or calling, man did not earn heaven, but proved to himself his predestination for it. A strong premium was thus set on successful work, not for earthly profit, but for religious reasons. Therefore the gains of man's strenuous work were not to be used for his enjoyment, but rather to assure further success, for only thereby could man feel sure of his calling, or selection.

This attitude is found, even to this day, in the religious denominations based on Calvinism. But in general, our time also knows and stresses work in one's "calling" for its intrinsic value and for the sake of results; it emphasizes work primarily for work's sake. These elements in the modern conception of work, although seemingly without relation to religious ideas, still have their roots in the conception of the "calling" developed chiefly by the Reformation. They constitute, Max Weber believed, the main ethical characteristics of modern capitalism.

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## II

### THE TROUBADOURS OF PEIRE D'ALVERNHE'S SATIRE IN SPAIN

A RECENT study<sup>1</sup> of Peire d'Alvernhe's *Chantarai d'aquest trobadors* identified one "Guossalbo Roitz" ridiculed by Peire with a certain Spanish nobleman named Gonçalvo Roiz, showed that this man had been in or near Puivert (Aude), where Peire's satire was written, in the summer of 1170, and proposed that the brilliant *cortège* with which he was travelling had attracted to that spot the troubadours of Peire's satire. Since this group of nobles was going into Aragon escorting Eleanor, the daughter of Henry II of England, to her wedding with Alfonso VIII of Castile, it suggested the possibility that at least some of the troubadours of the satire were attached to the bride's suite.

Were such the case, it would seem reasonable to look in the works of Bernart de Ventadorn, Peire Rogier, Peire d'Alvernhe, Giraut de Bornelh and Raimbaut d'Aurenga—all of whom, according to the hypothesis of Appel and Rajna, may have been present in person at the gathering of troubadours depicted by Peire d'Alvernhe—for some reference to historical events in Aragon in the fall of 1170 or early in the year 1171. This is the problem I shall examine in this study, especially in the works of Raimbaut d'Aurenga and Giraut de Bornelh. *Giraut* suggests immediately a series of poems already studied by Kolsen.<sup>2</sup> The group contains poems written in Aragon—one is even a tenson with the King of Aragon—all of which Kolsen believes date from the years 1168-69.<sup>3</sup> Let us begin, however, by studying a poem of Raimbaut d'Aurenga (Bartsch, *Grundriss*, Nr. 389, 33), in which the poet shows an intimate knowledge of conditions at the court of Alfonso II of Aragon.

Raimbaut is in love with a Catalan woman of lowly birth.<sup>4</sup> He speaks also of an intrigue at the court.

E'l reis non a cor d'ufana,  
a parven ni a semblan;  
quar absolre nouia tiran.  
Cans enrabiatz lo morda,  
reis, qui.us ditz per c'ar n'estancas.  
Qu'ieu no.l vos tenc per fize  
qui.us ho vedes conseillan,  
c'an vos te trop per enfan.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, xxxi, 19-34.

<sup>2</sup> *Guiraut von Bornelh, der Meister der Trobadors* (Berlin, 1894), p. 17 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-63.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. by Appel, *Provenzalische Inedita*, p. 261, vss. 17 and 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vss. 25-32.

And the king has not, apparently, a proud heart; for [only] a tyrant rejects his fiancée. King, may a mad dog bite the one who tells you you should stop now in this matter. For I do not hold as faithful to you the one who forbids it to you by his counsel, for rather does he consider you too childish.

This passage makes sense only when we recall that Alfonso II actually did reject his fiancée. He was originally pledged to marry a Byzantine princess, Eudoxia.<sup>6</sup> Before she had reached Aragon he renounced her, taking to wife instead Sancha, the aunt of Alfonso VIII of Castile. Eudoxia had by this time reached Montpellier, where Count William of that city married her. Most histories place the marriage of the King of Aragon to Sancha in 1174, a date which is rejected by Miret y Sans, the most recent and most careful historian of Alfonso II. He finds documents which show that Alfonso and Sancha were already married in 1171.<sup>7</sup>

Raimbaut's poem, with its indignation against those who advise Alfonso II to give up Eudoxia, was certainly written before the king had taken the irrevocable step of marrying Sancha. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the marriage of Eudoxia to William of Montpellier had yet been proposed, for the latter was Raimbaut's first cousin and had been his guardian during his youth.<sup>8</sup> Had Raimbaut any kindly regard for him, he would have been glad that the treachery of the king had cast such a rich match at his cousin's feet. Consequently, Raimbaut's poem Nr. 33 must be placed earlier than the marriage of Alfonso II to Sancha.

Another passage of this same work reads:

quar tota gens no.n s'accorda,  
e non passon pons e plancas;  
que non remazes per gel  
tro que fos sols guerreian,  
de qual dir quecx pres'aman. (vss. 20-24)

For all the people do not agree about the matter and they do not cross bridges and foot-bridges [i.e., they do not set out]; for I should not stay back on account of the cold until I were fighting alone [i.e., even if I were left to fight alone], from which speech let each one take advice (?).

These obscure lines must refer to events in Aragon: they occur between

<sup>6</sup> Stronski, *Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille*, pp. 153-154, and *Annales du Midi*, xxiii, 491; J. Laurent, *Annales du Midi*, xxiii, 333.

<sup>7</sup> Miret y Sans, *Itinerario de Alfonso I en Cataluña, II en Aragón*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, II, 260-261.—Stronski, *Folquet de Marseille*, pp. 153-154, erroneously supports the date 1174, citing Miret y Sans, *Bol. de la R. Acad. de B. Letras de Barcelona*, III, 278, on which page we read of the marriage of Pedro I in 1204!

<sup>8</sup> Appel, *Raimbaut von Orange*, p. 9.

the references to the Catalan woman and the treachery of the king. In my opinion, the poet has in mind a military campaign which was given up because of lack of concord among the troops and because of the approach of winter. In the fall of 1170, Alfonso II undertook a campaign against the Moors. One of the king's documents is dated from Fraga, close to Moorish territory, on November 10; but the expedition could not have lasted more than a month, since throughout December the Aragonese court appears in Christian cities away from the limits of Moorish territory.<sup>9</sup> Obviously, the military operations were abandoned at the beginning of the cold season. These historical allusions in Raimbaut d'Aurenga's poem Nr. 33 make the date of its composition fall after the renouncement of the campaign in December, 1170, and before the marriage of Alfonso II to Sancha, sometime in 1171.

At the time Raimbaut is writing he is not in Aragon. He tells us in his poem that he is "*entre l Monteill e Gorda*" (vs. 44), which I identify with Monteux and Gordes, both in Vaucluse not far from Courthezon, the usual abode of the troubadour. Furthermore, in a document dated January, 1171, Raimbaut pawns some of his lands and it appears that he is either in his own domains or somewhere near them.<sup>10</sup> Are we to conclude that he speaks of conditions in Aragon only on hearsay and that he did not actually visit that realm? If this were so, we should have to explain not only Raimbaut's intimate knowledge of an unimportant military expedition and rumors of the king's abandonment of his fiancée, but also his keen emotional reaction to these circumstances. We must not forget, too, that Raimbaut declares himself to be in love with a Catalan woman. To my mind, the only reasonable explanation of all these facts is to assume that Raimbaut wrote his poem Nr. 33 in Provence, early in 1171, not long after having returned from Aragon.

In my former study of Peire d'Alvernhe's satire, it was shown that statements Peire makes about Raimbaut seem to be ridiculing boastful assertions made by Raimbaut himself in one of his works (Bartsch, 389, 20). This poem Nr. 20 shows Raimbaut taking part in a poetic competition with more than twenty jongleurs. He confidently claims the prize for himself. One is tempted to try to establish some connection between the group of jongleurs with whom Raimbaut competes and the troubadours and jongleurs caricatured by Peire d'Alvernhe. In this same poem Nr. 20, Raimbaut says: "Let the Lord of Talaug know that I am not what I seem . . ."<sup>11</sup> Talaug has been identified with Talau, a hamlet in

<sup>9</sup> Miret y Sans, *op. cit.*, II, 268; Zurita, *Anales de Aragón*, I, 77.

<sup>10</sup> Appel, *R.v. Orange*, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. by Appel, *ibid.*, p. 27, vss. 19-20; also ed. by Crescini, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LXXXVI, 1235 ff.

the department of Pyrénées Orientales,<sup>12</sup> lying but a few miles from the Spanish border. More evidence to show that Raimbaut knew the territory near Aragon and that his supposed trip to that kingdom is plausible.<sup>13</sup>

A third poem by the same author (Bartsch, 389, 17) is sent to a lady dwelling in Urgel, across the Pyrenees from Puivert and Talau. The poet is not in that city; but since the legend of the prose biography to the effect that he fell in love with the Countess of Urgel without seeing her is unquestionably a fiction,<sup>14</sup> we must conclude with Appel that the poet knew a lady in Urgel. On the basis of all these links between Raimbaut and Aragon, I am willing to declare without reserve that the troubadour did actually visit that realm.

There remains one important work of Raimbaut d'Aurenga (Bartsch, 389, 7) which we must consider before turning to Giraut de Bornelh's famous Glove-series. I have mentioned that among the poems of Giraut's Glove-cycle there occurs a *tenson* with King Alfonso II. In this poetical dispute, Giraut asks the king if he believes that a noble lady could love him, her sovereign, as well as she could another man of lesser rank.<sup>15</sup> The king upholds his worth as a lover in a mild fashion, being more amused than offended at Giraut's strange question. At this point, however, Raimbaut enters the argument with a poem in answer to the *tenson*, upbraiding the other two hotly. "Those in whom love never dwelt are disputing about loving . . ." he begins; then adds, ". . . for I hear something else said, and it does not please me: that a noble lady who deigns to listen to a noble man wishes to ruin her reputation."<sup>16</sup> Appel lists a number of phrases in Raimbaut's work Nr. 7 which are aimed directly at assertions made by Giraut in the *tenson*. Appel con-

<sup>12</sup> Appel, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>13</sup> One of the easiest passes of the Pyrenees is the Col de la Perche at Puigcerda, which was the most frequently travelled route into eastern Spain. Cf. L. B. Holland, *Traffic Ways about France in the Dark Ages (500-1150)*, p. 79. From Puivert this pass can be reached by ascending the river Aude and then crossing to the valley of the Tet. Curiously enough, if one takes the earliest route between these two river valleys—the Col de Creu, by which it is six hours' travel on foot from one river to the other—one passes through Talau. Could it be that Raimbaut's poem Nr. 20, with its allusion to the Lord of Talau and its relation to Peire d'Alvernhe's satire, was written at or near Talau, after the performance of the satire at Puivert? In this case Raimbaut would be defending himself against Peire's assertions when he twice says that he is haughty "because of his lady" (vss. 29 and 48).

Moreover, when one crosses the Col de la Perche into Spain, the first important town is Urgel, which is mentioned in works of both Raimbaut and Giraut de Bornelh dating from this same period. Although we cannot be positive, the Col de la Perche seems to be the route of the troubadours and the wedding party.

<sup>14</sup> Appel, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. by Kolsen, *Sämtliche Lieder des Troubadors Giraut de Bornelh*, Nr. 59, vss. 1-8.

<sup>16</sup> Appel, *op. cit.*, p. 17.



cludes, "Dann aber dürfen wir beide Dichtungen der gleichen Zeit und Gelegenheit zuschreiben. . . ."<sup>17</sup> We shall soon see that Giraut de Bornelh's *tenson* with Alfonso II must have been composed between about 1167 and 1173. It was certainly composed in Aragon. If, as Appel says, Raimbaut's vehement reply is "to be ascribed to the same time and occasion," both works must fall during Raimbaut's trip into the domains of Alfonso II in the latter part of the year 1170. Appel's opinion is supported largely by the tone of Raimbaut's work, but to my mind, this evidence is significant. There is a great spontaneity and a keen indignation visible in the composition, which would certainly not be so evident were Raimbaut far removed from the young disputants at whom he wishes to strike.

Turning now to the works of Giraut de Bornelh, we find at this period a cycle of poems bound together by certain common themes. One such motif is the series of allusions to a glove, given to him as a love-token by his lady, Mo Senher or Bel Senher. Unfortunately the poet lost the glove and with it his lady's affection. He was condemned by her to a wandering life, journeying first to Provence and afterwards to Spain.

Several of the poems of the Glove-cycle are roughly dated by their author. Twice he tells us that the loss took place "last year";<sup>18</sup> in a poem written in Spain it is "more than a year" since the misfortune befell him;<sup>19</sup> finally, in one of the last works of the series, from which we learn that Mo Senher has called him back to her from Spain, we also hear that he has been suffering her displeasure for three years.<sup>20</sup> So the whole adventure of the glove covers a period of three years, and Giraut went to Spain during the second year.<sup>21</sup> The whole series can be limited in time to a period from 1166 to 1173. The lower date is set by the fact that Raimbaut d'Aurenga (dec. 1173) and another friend of Giraut de Bornelh called Mo Joi or Joios, who died not long before Raimbaut,<sup>22</sup> are mentioned in works from all periods of the cycle.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, one of

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 26, vs. 46; Nr. 27, vs. 68.

<sup>19</sup> Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 28, vss. 31-36.

<sup>20</sup> Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 51, vss. 46-56.

<sup>21</sup> Nrs. 26 and 27, both of which tell us that the glove was lost "last year," show that Giraut is in Languedoc. In Nr. 26 he is probably at Narbonne (vs. 98), while in Nr. 27 he has recently left Provence (vss. 76-77). Then in Nr. 28, which informs us that the glove was lost "more than a year ago" (vs. 31 ff.), we discover that Giraut is in Spain (vs. 15). Giraut wishes to impress us with the length of his exile; he would certainly have said "more than two years" had such a period elapsed. Consequently, his sojourn in Spain must have begun during the second year of his exile.

<sup>22</sup> His death is mourned in the *planh* for Raimbaut's death. Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 76, vs. 15.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, ed. Kolsen, Nr. 29, where both these patrons are named. This work is one of the last of the series, hence the whole series falls before 1173.

the last works of the group, which shows Giraut going back to his lady, is dedicated to the Dauphin of Auvergne.<sup>24</sup> Robert, the first Count of Auvergne to take the title of Dauphin, began to rule in 1169.<sup>25</sup> It follows that if one of the last poems of the series was written in or after 1169, the beginning of the cycle cannot be earlier than 1166.

In order to fix the period of the Glove-cycle more precisely, I direct attention to one of the last works of that group. The theme of this song (ed. Kolsen, Nr. 51) is the reluctance of the poet to return to his lady—who has finally sent for him—since his return would necessitate giving up a campaign against the Moors. Giraut says:

If I hesitate and if the king and his court keep me [from going back to my lady], the advantage is great and I don't know what the harm will be; and if she complains that I dared to put off my return, let her do what she pleases about avenging herself well. If she lets me put my hope in the campaign which the kings will make, to go is better than to stay back; although honor and worth cannot be so great that I should disobey her command.

And may God now advance our cause and us, so that the evil Saracens may suffer loss and harm, until they are cast down. And one ought not fear evil when winning for God, nor to doubt about the beginning, for good hope [of gain] will bring over the Gascons and Navarrese, if booty is abundant for them, and God will go forward leading our side (ed. Kolsen, Nr. 51, vss. 61-90).

From other Glove-poems of this same epoch we learn that the proposed campaign was in the spring.<sup>26</sup> Is there any historical record of the operations to which Giraut is referring?

The end of the three-year Glove-cycle must fall somewhere between 1169 and 1173. We know nothing of the whereabouts of Alfonso II of Aragon in the spring of 1169; in 1170, various documents from the months of March, April, and May prove definitely that he was not on a military expedition; the same statement holds good for the years 1171 and 1173.<sup>27</sup> Only in the spring of 1172 do we find mention of operations against the Moors.<sup>28</sup> Apparently Alfonso invaded the district of Valencia but was compelled to beat a hasty retreat when the King of Navarre descended upon Aragon with an armed force. Although Giraut's poem was redacted before the expedition, its slighting reference to the people of Navarre, who fight only for material gain, seems to reflect the strained relations between the two kingdoms which culminated in the attack on Aragon.

<sup>24</sup> Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 48, vss. 4 and 72.

<sup>25</sup> Stronski, *Annales du Midi*, xviii, 476.

<sup>26</sup> Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 16, vs. 13 ff; Nr. 49; Nr. 19, vss. 4-6.

<sup>27</sup> Miret y Sans, *Bol. de la R. Acad. de B. Letras de Barcelona*, II, 266-275.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 274; Zurita, *Anales de Aragón*, I, chap. 32.

Now it is precisely in Giraut's poem Nr. 51 that he states that he has been exiled from his lady for three years (vss. 46-56). Consequently, I believe we can state definitely that the Glove-cycle covers a period from the spring of 1169 to the spring of 1172. Since Giraut entered Spain more than a year after the loss of the glove,<sup>29</sup> his trip must have begun some time after the spring of 1170, and probably before another year had passed. Thus the belief that Giraut came to Spain in late August or September of the year 1170 is admirably supported by evidence from Giraut's own works.

I have already mentioned the *tenson* between Alfonso II of Aragon and Giraut de Bornelh, against which Raimbaut composed his irate reply. The existence of this answer makes the *tenson* fall before 1173, the year of Raimbaut's death. Yet both Giraut and the king were very young and could not have been interested in poetry very long before that date. Alfonso was fifteen years old in 1167. He would not be likely to discuss his position as a lover before that age, although once fifteen, the age of one's majority in medieval times and not an uncommon age for marriage, his interest in amatory questions might well be awakened. Giraut himself is said to have been writing as late as 1220;<sup>30</sup> hence we can hardly place his beginnings in poetry earlier than about 1165. From these considerations we see that the *tenson* between Giraut and the king must date from about 1167 to 1173, during which period Giraut visited Spain. Furthermore, since Giraut accuses Alfonso of incapacity to love truly, could the poem possibly fall after the king's rejection of Eudoxia in 1171? Would Giraut dare to accuse the king of inability to appreciate the delicate feelings of courtly love when the king had already shown himself guilty of infidelity to his lady—the one great sin against the system of *fin amor*?<sup>31</sup> I have already ascribed Raimbaut's answer to the *tenson* to the fall of 1170, when that troubadour was in Aragon. With Appel, I feel that the connection between this answer and the original *tenson* was intimate and immediate, a relation explained by the presence of both Raimbaut and Giraut at the court of King Alfonso.

The theme of the lost glove is not the only one common to the Glove-series. Throughout this group of works Giraut is much preoccupied with the question of literary style, especially the deliberately obscure style known as *trobar clus*. The writings from the first year of his exile all take a determined stand in favor of obscurity,<sup>32</sup> but those written in

<sup>29</sup> See above, note 21.

<sup>30</sup> Jeanroy, *Romania*, lvi, 517, n. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Indignation was shown by other troubadours at the betrayal of Eudoxia. Cf. Stronski, *Annales du Midi*, xxiii, 491. This indicates that Alfonso's deed was generally regarded as a breach of the code of love.

<sup>32</sup> He says, for example, "Last year, when I lost my glove, I used to sing in the clear

Spain—with one exception, which I believe is the first work written in Spain<sup>33</sup>—show a remarkable change in Giraut's attitude. He now attacks the dark style just as enthusiastically as he had defended it.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting discussion of this problem of style is to be found in a second *tenson* (ed. Kolsen, Nr. 58), one between Giraut de Bornelh and Raimbaut d'Aurenga. The latter begins the dispute by accusing his friend of having abandoned the dark manner. "I should like to know," he says, "why and on what grounds you go about condemning *trobar clus*?"<sup>35</sup> Giraut excuses himself by saying:

I do not complain if anyone composes according to his desire; but, for myself, I wish to condemn it [i.e., *trobar clus*] inasmuch as a song is better liked and more esteemed if one makes it light and simple; and do not bear a grudge against me because of this (vss. 8-14).

Sufficient internal evidence in the *tenson* fixes its date with considerable precision. First of all, it is definitely of the Glove-cycle,<sup>36</sup> thus limiting it to the period from 1169 to 1172. Then, at the end of the poem, occur the oft-quoted lines:

Giraut, greu m'es, per Saint Marsal  
Quar vos n'anetz de sai nadal.

Linhaure, que vas cort reial  
M'en vauc ades rich'e chabal. (vss. 57-60)

Giraut is leaving Raimbaut at Christmas time in order to go to the court of a king. I cannot agree with Kolsen, who places the poetic dispute in the first year of Giraut's exile from Mo Senher and before his trip into Spain.<sup>37</sup> The mere fact that all of Giraut's works from the first year of

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style, but now [I use] the obscure style. . . ." Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 26, vss. 46-53. See also Nr. 27, vss. 50-58; Nr. 25, vss. 1-19.

<sup>33</sup> This poem is Nr. 28, which, we have already seen, speaks of the loss of the glove as having taken place "more than a year ago." Giraut is deliberately making this poem clear and simple, in order to send it to his friends in Provence who objected to *trobar clus* (vss. 1-10, 15).

<sup>34</sup> Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 16, vss. 1-12; Nr. 48, vss. 1-2; Nr. 49, vss. 1-9; Nr. 51, vs. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 58, vss. 1-3.—Jeanroy has suggested (*Romania*, LVI, 517, n. 1) that Giraut may argue against the obscure style merely because it is the convention of the *tenson* to take a stand opposed to the proposition of the first *copla*. But Raimbaut's opening words reproach Giraut for previous attacks on *trobar clus*.

<sup>36</sup> It mentions an honor conferred on him by his lady (vs. 56) as in one of the poems which speaks of the glove (Nr. 27, vss. 69 and 74).

<sup>37</sup> Kolsen's dating of the whole Glove-cycle hangs on his statement that the *tenson* on *trobar clus* was written at Christmas, 1168. His reasons are as follows: From 1166 to December, 1168, Alfonso II was in Languedoc and Provence. It seems that Giraut must have left Raimbaut on Christmas and followed Alfonso into Spain at the latter's return (*G. von Bornelh, der Meister der Trobs.*, pp. 60-61).

the Glove-cycle take a firm stand in favor of *trobar clus*, while the *tenson* shows him now as definitely against that style, makes it impossible that the poem should be dated at Christmas, 1169. On the other hand, Giraut appears in Spain before Christmas, 1170,<sup>38</sup> and we are also certain that he is in Spain in the winter of 1171.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, Raimbaut was in Aragon in the last months of 1170 but had returned to his lands in Provence by January, 1171. The *tenson* between Raimbaut and Giraut could have been written only at Christmas, 1170, when both these troubadours were in Aragon.

But how explain the statement that Giraut is leaving for a royal court? Are we not to believe that the two troubadours were already at the court of Aragon?<sup>40</sup> It is not necessary to think that they remained with the royal suite all the time. No doubt they visited some of the local potentates, and we can easily imagine that they parted at the abode of one of these local rulers, Giraut to go back to the court, while Raimbaut was to pursue his way back to Provence. Or, supposing the *tenson* to have been written at the court of Aragon, could not Giraut be alluding to a projected visit to the court of either Castile or Navarre?

What significance has Giraut de Bornelh's and Raimbaut d'Aurenga's trip to Aragon when considered simultaneously with facts already gained from a study of Peire d'Alvernhe's *Chantarai d'aquest trobadors*? We saw that one of the members of the group ridiculed by Peire was a Spanish nobleman, an amateur poet, and one of the resplendent suite accompanying the bride of Alfonso VIII of Castile into Aragon, where the royal wedding was to take place. Since this cortège passed either through or close to Puivert, where Peire's satire was written, it appeared probable that the group of poets portrayed in that work had been attracted to Puivert by the brilliance of the bride's cavalcade. Finally, it seems only reasonable to infer that some of these entertainers followed the bridal party into Aragon, since at the lavish Spanish weddings the troubadours and jongleurs were unusually well received. The bride reached Aragon in September, 1170, and about that time we find two of the figures of *Chantarai d'aquest trobadors* at the court of Aragon. What better evidence

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Not only are these statements devoid of logical coherence, but the historical event on which they depend has recently been disproved. Alfonso did not return to Spain in December, 1168. His trip to Provence fell between the spring and the fall of 1167 (Miret y Sans, *op. cit.*, II, 264-265).

<sup>38</sup> See above, note 21.

<sup>39</sup> Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 16, was written in the winter (vs. 13 ff.) and Giraut is planning to leave Spain the following April (vss. 25-28), i.e., April, 1172.

<sup>40</sup> The court was at Roda in Ribagorza as can be seen by a document published in *España Sagrada*, xxx, 110, 421.

could we hope to find to substantiate belief in the intimate relation between the wedding party and the group of singers of Peire's satire?

Before closing this study, we should look briefly at the evidence afforded by the works of other troubadours of the satirized group. Here we find that information is scanty. In the works of Peire d'Alvernhe and of Peire Rogier we find no hint of a sojourn in Spain in the year 1170. The case of Bernart de Ventadorn and Lemozi, known to have been a jongleur in Bernart's service,<sup>41</sup> is curious. From the juxtaposition of their names in *Chantarai d'aquest trobadors* it appears that they were together as composer and performer at the time of Peire d'Alvernhe's writing. Now Bernart names Lemozi in two poems, both from the same period,<sup>42</sup> in one of which we learn that they are on their way to a foreign land.<sup>43</sup> It follows that if Lemozi appears only in works from a limited period of Bernart's life, and if Bernart and Lemozi are together in Peire's satire, the works naming Lemozi must be approximately contemporary with the satire. And in one of these works we learn that Bernart and Lemozi are en route to a foreign land!

Only one more figure from the merry group of singers of Peire's satire need concern us here. This is a Sir Ebles de Saigna. When Giraut de Bornelh had left Spain to return to his Bel Senher,<sup>44</sup> he sent a song to the Dauphin of Auvergne with the wish that "if it could find Sir Eblon on the way, it could well say to him that I say the difficulty is not in making the work obscure but in making it clear" (vss. 5-10). Giraut has renounced *trobar clus* and wishes to send news of his decision to a Sir Eblon who lives somewhere toward Auvergne. But why send the news to him? Because—and this is the only way we can interpret the above-quoted passage—Giraut and Sir Eblon had already argued the question of style. Now the Sir Eblon of Giraut's poem Nr. 48 has been identified with the Sir Ebles, or Eblon, de Saigna of *Chantarai d'aquest trobadors*.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, his home is said to be a Saigna in the department of Cantal, which lies in the region of Auvergne.<sup>46</sup> It seems certain that Giraut, who had argued for *trobar clus* before his arrival in Spain, had had as one of his opponents this same Eblon de Saigna. Since internal evidence from *Chantarai d'aquest trobadors* suggests that Eblon was personally at

<sup>41</sup> Appel, *Bernart von Ventadorn*, p. xli; Crescini, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LXXXVI, 1227; Zingarelli, *Studj Medievali*, I, 332.

<sup>42</sup> Appel, *ibid.*, pp. xl-xli.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Nr. 45, vs. 47.

<sup>44</sup> Ed. Kolsen, Nr. 48, vss. 71-74.

<sup>45</sup> Kolsen, *G. von Bornelh, der Meister der Trobs.*, p. 61; Crescini, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LXXXVI, 216.

<sup>46</sup> Kolsen, *loc. cit.*; Crescini, *loc. cit.*; Chabaneau, *Hist. Gén. de Languedoc*, x, p. 345, n. 5; Jeanroy, *Romania*, XLII, p. 115.

Puivert, it is highly probable that the dispute on style took place while both men were following the wedding escort of Princess Eleanor.

We cannot say with certitude that Bernart de Ventadorn, his jongleur Lemozi, and Sir Eblon de Saigna took part in the same journey into Aragon which Giraut de Bornelh and Raimbaut d'Aurenga made. Yet the fact that these two last poets appear in Aragon not long after we believe them to have been at Puivert strengthens the theory that the troubadours ridiculed by Peire d'Alvernhe were present in person at Puivert. Moreover, we get perhaps our most vivid picture of the life of the troubadours from our interpretation of the poems which group themselves around the wedding of Alfonso VIII of Castile. We see how the singers flocked to a brilliant festival in search of gifts; how they argued with kings, being received on terms of equality with the nobles out of consideration for their poetic skill; how they discussed literary style among themselves;<sup>47</sup> and how, in lighter moments, they joked one another and poked fun at their divers idiosyncrasies. We can well agree with Crescini when he calls *Chantarai d'aquest trobadors* "a palpitating document, which brings to life again, as if the intervening centuries were a thin and vaporous veil, even rent and spread apart here and there, the life and art, the spirit and customs of the troubadours and jongleurs. . ."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Giraut de Bornelh's renunciation of *trobar clus* late in the year 1170 should be checked against similar statements of other troubadours to see if there was a universal change of taste about that time. Cf. Peire d'Alvernhe, ed. Zenker, Nr. 1, vs. 6; Nr. 3, vss. 13-18 and Raimbaut d'Aurenga's Nrs. 3, 7, and 38 in Bartsch's *Grundriss*.

<sup>48</sup> *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LXXXIII, 795.

### III

#### THE MAGIC CHESSBOARD IN THE *PERLESVAUS*: AN EXAMPLE OF MEDIEVAL LITERARY BORROWING

LITERARY endeavor in the Middle Ages, as in the Renaissance, was essentially an art of imitation. Since little emphasis was placed upon originality of subject-matter, since praise went rather to the combination and interpretation of familiar materials—or to stylistic qualities—the author felt free to appropriate whatever themes or episodes best suited his fundamental conception. Thus an Arthurian romance was usually a tissue of commonplace incidents and motifs, developed in accordance with the purpose or the taste of the individual writer. To distinguish between the narrative content of a work and the particular interpretation applied to it by the artist, the Middle Ages employed the terms *matière* and *sens*. The *matière* might come from any source; the *sens* alone was the contribution of the latest reworker.<sup>1</sup>

The practice of building with borrowed materials was given full justification by the rhetoricians of the time; they renewed for their period the doctrine of imitation as formulated by Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian. Among the writers of *poetriae* Matthieu de Vendôme, in his *Ars versificatoria* (written before 1175), gives advice to those who would adapt the writings of others:

Materia de qua aliquis agere proponet, aut erit illibata, aut ab aliquo poeta primitus exsecuta. Si exsecuta fuerit, juxta tenorem poeticae narrationis erit procedendum, tali quidem consideratione, ut quaedam collateralia quae non sunt de principali proposito, scilicet comparationes et poeticae abusiones et figurativae constructiones, modus temporum et syllabarum, non inducantur.<sup>2</sup>

Geoffroi de Vinsauf, in his *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* (written c. 1210?), interprets the "Difficile est proprie communia dicere" of Horace as authorizing such borrowing, and elaborates a system for its application:

<sup>1</sup> Gerbert de Montreuil, for example, prides himself on the originality of his *sens*:

Puis ce di que li sens est miens;  
Ne li doit nuire ne peser,  
Se je me deduis au penser.

(*Roman de la Violette*, ed. Buffum, SATF [Paris, 1928], vss. 26–28).—On the general problem, see Wm. A. Nitze, "Sans et *matière* dans les œuvres de Chrétien de Troyes," *Romania*, XLIV (1915), 14–36; Cross and Nitze, *Lancelot and Guenevere* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 63–65.

<sup>2</sup> In E. Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du xii<sup>e</sup> et du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1924), pp. 180–181.—For the date of the *Ars*, see p. 14.



Et quanto difficilius, tanto laudabilius est bene tractare materiam talem, scilicet communem et usitatam, quam materiam aliam, scilicet novam et inusitatam . . . Possumus enim materiam communem proprie dicere si quatuor modos observemus . . . Primus modus est ne moremur ubi moram faciunt alii; sed, ubi moram faciunt, transeamus, ubi transeunt, moram faciamus . . . Secundus modus est ne sequamur vestigia verborum, et hoc est intelligendum quantum ad corpus materiae . . . Tertius modus est ut de materia non transeamus ad talem articulum unde reverti nesciamus ad materiam . . . Quartus modus est ne praemittamus tale principium quod sit nimis arrogans et superciliosum . . .<sup>3</sup>

Thus imitation as a literary dogma was fully developed by the early thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> It is altogether probable that such theoretical documents, widely read as they were, influenced verse and prose composition in the vernacular, as well as Latin poetry.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, the skill and practice of individual authors in the handling of such *materia communis* varied considerably. While one writer would follow his source closely, another might make notable changes. Thus a writer's originality may frequently be evaluated by studying his method of adaptation.

The author of the *Perlesvaus* is peculiarly adept in the *remaniement* of his source materials. He rarely borrows an entire episode from one of his predecessors; usually, his indebtedness is limited to details—narrative or descriptive—which he weaves skilfully into the fabric of his own work. When a complete incident is incorporated, it undergoes an extensive transformation akin to the *dissimulatio* of Renaissance writers.<sup>6</sup> The author's favorite device is the division of a story into two or more parts, and the inclusion of these parts at widely separated places in his romance. This interweaving and interlinking of episodes gives the *Perlesvaus* an integrated type of structure, and produces in the reader an impression of continuity and solidity.

The Chessboard Episode offers an excellent example of the author's method of adaptation, and of his technique of interlinking. It affords one of the closest parallels between the *Perlesvaus* and any other earlier work. Furthermore, we possess a third text which borrows from the

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 309–310.—Faral gives no definite date for this work which, he says, might either precede or follow the *Poetria nova* (c. 1208–1213). See p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> An example of its extensive application in the field of education may be found in the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury, ed Migne, *PL*, cxc, col 855B; quoted by Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York, 1928), p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the opinion of Saintsbury, *History of Criticism*, (London, 1922), I, 415, that "in so far as they [the vernaculars] were deliberately practiced, the principles of composition and of taste which guided the practice cannot have been different [from those for Latin work]."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. H. Gmelin, "Das Prinzip der Imitatio in den romanischen Literaturen der Renaissance," *Romanische Forschungen*, XLVI (1932), 125, for Petrarch's definition.

same source for this episode; by studying it, we may appreciate more fully the method and the originality of our author. The source is the Wauchier continuation of the *Conte del graal*, the additional text the Modena (or Didot) *Perceval*. The relationship of the *Perlesvaus* to Wauchier, on this point, was indicated by William A. Nitze,<sup>7</sup> whose opinion was corroborated by Walther Hoffmann.<sup>8</sup> Hoffmann studied primarily the Wauchier-Didot *Perceval* relationship and concluded that: "Diese Übereinstimmungen machen es einleuchtend, dass G[Wauchier] von PP [the archetype of Didot and Modena] als Quelle benutzt ist."<sup>9</sup> Miss Weston mentioned the occurrence of the episode in the three texts, but did not agree with Nitze's conclusion that Wauchier was here the source of the *Perlesvaus*.<sup>10</sup> Later Miss Mary Williams, in her study on *Peredur*, compared the texts of Wauchier and the Didot *Perceval*, without taking the *Perlesvaus* into account.<sup>11</sup>

Before proceeding to an analysis of the literary method of the *Perlesvaus*, we must establish the source relationship between the three texts. For the *Perlesvaus*, the recent edition of Nitze and Jenkins has been used;<sup>12</sup> for Wauchier, the British Museum Additional MS 36614 (fols.

[Text continues p. 33]

<sup>7</sup> *The Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus* (Baltimore, 1902), pp. 59-61.

<sup>8</sup> *Die Quellen des Didot Perceval* (Halle, 1905), p. 58.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.—Hoffmann's arguments are accepted as conclusive by Lot, *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose* (Paris, 1918), p. 134, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *The Legend of Sir Perceval* (London, 1906), I, 107-110.

<sup>11</sup> *Essai sur la composition du roman gallois de Peredur* (Paris, 1909), pp. 60-63, 75-76.—The Chessboard Episode in *Peredur* is a mere summary, containing no descriptive detail, and is of slight value for comparison with our texts. The entire passage (ed. Loth, *Mabinogion*, [Paris, 1913], II, 114-115) follows.

*Peredur* se dirigea vers le château. Le portail était ouvert. En arrivant à la salle, il trouva la porte ouverte: il entra et aperçut un jeu d'échecs: les deux troupes de cavaliers jouaient l'une contre l'autre; celle à qui il donnait son aide perdait et l'autre jetait un cri, absolument comme l'eussent fait des hommes. Il se fâcha, prit les cavaliers dans son giron, et jeta l'échiquier dans le lac. A ce moment entra une jeune fille noire qui lui dit: "Puisse Dieu ne pas t'accorder sa grâce. Il t'arrive plus souvent de faire du mal que du bien."

Magic chessboards appear in other Arthurian romances; e.g., in the prose *Lancelot* (Sommer, v, 151-152 and 189-190; for the relationship of this to the other romances, cf. Bruce, "The Composition of the Old French Prose *Lancelot*," *Rom. Rev.*, IX [1918], 375-376); in the Dutch *Lancelot* (cf. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 75); and in the Dutch *Walewein* (cf. G. Paris, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXX, 82-84). These seem to be unrelated to our episode.

<sup>12</sup> (Chicago, 1932).—In several cases (lines 2338, 2339, and 2340) the readings of MSS BrP have been adopted in preference to those of the text (MS O), in accordance with the opinion of the editors that the former constitute the best readings. Reasons for this preference will be given in the forthcoming Volume II of the *Perlesvaus*. Brackets have been used to indicate departures from the text of MS O.

To facilitate comparison, the three texts are given in parallel columns, each complete, and with no changes in order.<sup>13</sup> Agreements of the Perlesvaus and Wauchier are shown by the use of small capitals; of Wauchier and Modena, by italics; of all three texts, by bold face type.

PERLESVAUS	WAUCHIER	MODENA PERCEVAL
<p>(2334) Et vient en chastel et descent,</p> <p>ET APOIE SON GLAIVE ET SON ESCU AU MUR DE LA SALE,</p> <p>et monte amont LES DEGREZ de mar- bre,</p> <p>et entre en une sale MOLZ BELE ET MOLT RICHE,</p>	<p>A la premiere porte vint Parmi le boile entra &amp; tint Sa voie tot droit a la tor <i>Qui molt estoit de grant valor</i> Ne pareit se mervelle non Des herbergemens d'environ Ne del onbrage que tenoient Dui pin qui en la place estoient A ce voer molt entendi Lors raconte qu'il descendi <i>De son (son) cheval puis l'arcesna</i> AU PIE DE LA TOR APUJA SON ESCU &amp; est sus montes En la sale PAR UNS DEGRES Laiens vit lances en lanciers Coples a ciens &amp; colers ciers &amp; clers espiaus trencans burnis En roides hantes bien forbis LA SALE FU DE GRANT BIAUTE</p>	<p>... si vit aparoir parmi l'espesse de le forest le pumel d'une tor, <i>qui molt estoit biaux et gros</i>; et quant Percevals le vit si en ot molt grant jote et cevauga cele part grant aleüre, et quant il vint la si vit que ce estoit li plus biaux castiaus del monde, et vit le pont abaissié, et le porte desfermée, si entra ens tot a cheval, et vint au perron devant le sale,</p> <p>et descendi et <i>atacha son cheval</i> a .j. anel,</p> <p>et monta amont tous armés l'espée gainte. Et quant il fu amont el palais si garda amont et aval,</p>

<sup>13</sup> In only two cases does the *Perlesvaus* insert a descriptive detail at a point different from its appearance in Wauchier. The correspondences are then indicated by (I) and (I') (II) and (II'). Modena makes no alterations in order.

PERLESVAUS	WAUCHIER	MODENA PERCEVAL
<p>ET ESTOIT DE LEX EN LEX PAINTE A YMAGRES D'OR.</p>	<p>N'onques en nule roiaute N'ESGARDA HOM SI TRES CIER LIT COM IL TROVA EN MI &amp; vit Covert d'un fres paile grigois Ainc si rice n'ot quans ne rois Lors cuida il molt bien trover Gent o cui il poist parler Mais <i>n'i vit nule rien vivant</i> Au lit s'adrece maintenant Desus s'assist &amp; si pensa Son cieuf &amp; ses mains desarma PUIS A LA SALE REGARDEE QUI A FIN OR ERT TOTE OVREE TOT ENVIRON &amp; PAR DESUS &amp; LI LANBRUNS D'OR MUSI TOS</p> <p>(I)</p> <p>(II)</p> <p>[MS B.N. f. fr. 12577, 149<sup>vo</sup> ET VIT LA SALE A OR MUSIE ]PAINTE ET DE CIPRES LAMBRUISIE]</p> <p>Onques ne rois ne enperere N'ot si tres bele ne si clere Lors dist molt par fait ci bel estre Atant voit .i. huis devers destre Quant il le vit si se leva &amp; vint la droit si s'apuia Si voit unes loges trop beles</p>	<p>et <i>ne vit home ne fame</i>, et vint a une cambre et entra dedens et garda partout, mais il <i>n'i vit home</i> <i>ne feme</i>. Et Percevaus revint arriere ens el palais, si s'en mervella molt, et dist:</p>

PERLESVAUS	WAUCHIER	MODENA PERCEVAL
<p>(I') ET TROVE EU MILEU UNE COUCHE MOLT RICHE ET MOLT HAUTE, et au [pie] de cele couche avoit un eschequier molt bel et molt riche, [a] un [orle] d'or tot plain de pierres precieuses, et estoit li point d'or et [d'azur] ne n'estoient pas li eschec deseure en estant. Missire Gavains</p>	<p>D'erbe fresque &amp; de fleurs noveles <i>Erent juncies</i> lues tot droit Si bone odor laiens avoit Qu'il n'est espice de valeur Dont cil n'i sente la flaireur Signeur ja celer nel vos quier  Enmi leu ot un eschequier  A POINS D'AZUR &amp; DE FIN OR Par molt grant savoir furent (sic) mor Les riches esces d'or polis D'esmeraudes &amp; de rubis Ne vos puis dire leur biaute Molt par rendoient grant clarte Car vos saves bien que ce sont Les plus cieres pieres del mont</p>	<p>'Par Diu, mervelles puis veoir car <i>ceste sale est si juncie</i>, et si sai bien qu'il n'a mie lonc tans qu'il i ot gent, et or n'i voi nului.'  Lors s'en revint <i>en mi la sale</i> et vit devant les fenestres .j. eskekier de fin argent, et par desus l'eskekier avoit uns eskés de blanc ivoire et de noir,</p>
<p>(II') ESGARDOIT LA BIAUTÉ ET LA RICHCE DE LA SALE.</p>	<p>(In <i>Perlesvaus</i> there is another incident inter- calated here; the chessboard episode is re- sumed at line 2457).</p>	<p>... Et il esgarde tot environ et voit toz les huis clos et fermez, et esgarde as piez de la couche et voit .ii. chandeliers ardanz devant l'eschequier et</p>

PERLESVAUS	WAUCHIER	MODENA PERCEVAL
<p>voit les eskés assis, dont li un sont d'ivoire et li autre d'or.</p> <p>Missire Gavains commença a traire des eskés d'ivoire, et cil d'or traient contre lui</p> <p>et le materent .II. foiz.</p>	<p>Li geu furent trestuit assis  Seur .i. feutre de paille bis  Vaut percevaus laiens seoir  Par les esces qu'il vint veoir  <i>S' commenca a manoir</i>  Les geus qu'il vit seur l'escequier  A soi meisme pense &amp; dit  C'aïnc mais si rices geus ne vit  Ne jamais jor tes ne verra  Mais que d'iluec departira  Lors prent .i. des paons atant  &amp; dit que il le trait avant  Autresi tos sans plus d'escart  Traistent li giu de l'autre part  <i>S' percevaus quant veu l'a</i>  A dit ostes; ce que sera  <i>Puis traist encontre vistemant</i>  Tot autresi isnelement  <i>Retraist li geus</i> &amp; cil que fist  Par foi j'ai reconté qu'il prist  &amp; il lui ce dist por verte  Lors fu a desbarat torne  &amp; que vos iroie aloignant  Ne trestos lor trais acoutant  C'AU DAESRAIN EN fu mates  Li bons percevaus c'est vertes  Estrangement en fu maris  Mais asses plus fu esbahis</p>	<p>et estoient assis autresi com por juer. Et quant Percevaus vit les eskés si biaux, si vint cele part et regarda les eskés molt longement, et quant il les ot assés regardés si prist les eskés,  <i>si les manota,</i></p> <p>et en bouta un avant,</p> <p>et li eskés retraist contre lui.  <i>Quant Percevaus vit les eskés qui traioient contre lui, si le tint a molt grant mervelle et retraist un autre esker,</i></p> <p>et <i>uns autres retraist</i> contre lui, et quant Percevaus le vit si s'asist et commença a juer,</p>

PERLESVAUS	WAUCHIER	MODENA PERCEVAL
<p>A la tierce fofee, qant il se quida revenchier et il vit q'il en out le poior, il depeça le geu,</p> <p>et une damoisele isr d'une chambre et fet prendre a un vallet l'eschequier et les eschés, et si les en fait porter.</p>	<p>De co qu'il vit tantos par eus Les geus raseoir en lor leus <i>Lors joa tant que mas refu</i> Trois fois <i>tel duel en a eu</i> Que par ire les esces prist <i>El pan de son hauberc les mist</i> &amp; dist <i>jamaïs ne materois</i> <i>Nul chevalier</i> car n'est pas drois Puis <i>vint volt tost droit as fenestres</i> La grant iaue vit sor les estres <i>El plus parfont les veul geler</i> N'i avoit mais que del ruer Quant une damoisele vint As fenestres qui le retint Vn samit vermel ot vestu Brode de fin or &amp; tisu &amp; ele fu a desmesure Bele sor tote creature De l'iaue s'en issi tant hors Que pardesus par li cors Tos des la cainture en amont <i>Lors dist</i> sire li escec sont En ma garde nes getes mie <i>Car vos ferties vilonie</i> Qu'el monde ne puet on trover Si biaux si les doit on garder</p>	<p>et tant iua que par .iij. fois le mata li gius, et quant Percevaus vit çou si <i>en ot molt grant engogne</i>, et dist: 'Par la foi que je doi a Nostre Segnor, grant mervelle voi, car je cuideoie tant de ce giu savoir et il m'a maté par .iij. fois, et je ai dehait quant <i>jamaïs moi ne autre cevalier matera ne fera honte.</i> <i>Lors prist les eskés au pan de son hauberc</i>  <i>et vint a le fenestre</i>  et les volt jeter en l'aigue que desous courroit Issi com il les devoit laisser aler si li escria une demisele qui desus lui estoit a une fenestre en haut</p> <p>et li dist: 'Cevaliers vostre cuers vois a esmeu a molt grant <i>vilenie faire</i> qui les eskés volés ensi jeter en l'aigue, et saciés que si vous les getés vous ferés grant mal.'</p>

167<sup>vo</sup>–168<sup>vo</sup>);<sup>14</sup> for the Modena *Perceval*, the edition of Miss Weston.<sup>15</sup>

An examination of the parallel texts points to the following conclusions with regard to the source relationship:

1. The *Perlesvaus* (*P*) and the Modena *Perceval* (*M*) both show definite similarities to Wauchier (*W*).
2. The order of presentation of details is the same in all three, except for two places where *P* includes a descriptive detail at a different point.
3. In only eight places does a given detail of *W* appear in both *M* and *P*. These are all essential points of the narrative: the hero arrives at the castle, ascends to the hall, finds the chessboard, sees the chessmen upon it, and moves one of them; the board plays against him, and checkmates him three times; finally a damsel appears.
4. *P* and *W* have at least six points of similarity which are not found in *M*: the hero rests his shield against the wall when he dismounts; the stairs are mentioned; the beauty of the hall, the bed, the gold painting of the room, and the gold and blue squares on the chessboard, are described. Since *M* does not have these details, we may reject the hypothesis that it might be the common source of *P* and *W*.
5. On the other hand, *M* and *W* have in common at least ten details which do not appear in *P*: the hero sees the castle tower, ties his horse after his arrival, finds the hall deserted; it is "joncie"; the first four moves of the chess game are indicated; the hero becomes angry, states his intention to destroy the chessmen, which he puts into the "pan de son hauberc"; he attempts to throw them out the window; at the end the damsel forbids him to do so. Thus *P*, which lacks these elements, cannot be the common source of *M* and *W*.
6. *P* and *M* have no details in common which are not also to be found in *W*. There is thus no necessity to posit a common source other than *W* to explain their agreements.

Since *W* contains many details, which are divided between *P* and *M*; since *P* and *M* agree only in details contained in *W*; and since neither *P* nor *M* could be the source of the other two texts, we may accept *W* as the

<sup>14</sup> This MS has several readings which are closer to the *Perlesvaus* than those of the Potvin text, lines 22401–22504. The *Perlesvaus* (line 2340) reads: "estoient li point d'or et d'azur." Here MS 36614 reads:

Enmi leu ot un essequier  
A poins d'azur & de fin or

whereas Potvin 22442–43, has:

Enmi avoit .i. eskcékier  
Porpoint d'asur et de fin or.

Similarly, where the *Perlesvaus* (line 2341) reads: "Missire Gavains esgardoit la biauté et la richece de la sale," MS 36614 reads: "Puis a la sale regardee." Potvin, however, has "Et vit la sale toute peinte" (line 22429).

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 31–32.



common source of *P* and *M*.<sup>16</sup> Because of the preservation of the order of details, it is highly probably that the author of each prose romance had a copy of *W* before him, or had but recently read that text, at the time he composed his own romance.

We may now contrast the way in which *P* and *M* adapted their common source, *W*. (1) In *W*, the Chessboard Episode had served as a prologue to the quest of the white stag. The situation is the same in *M*.<sup>17</sup> In *P*, however, the setting is entirely different; the place is now the Grail castle, the time before and after the Grail visit. There is no connection whatsoever with a stag quest. (2) In *W*, the hero of the episode is Perceval, and he is the same in *M*. But *P* ascribes the adventure to *Gauvain*. (3) In *W*, all of the actions of the incident follow one another without interruption, as they do in *M*. On the contrary, *P* divides the episode into two parts, putting the first half before the appearance of the Grail, the second half after it. (4) *W* is the most elaborately developed of the three versions. Of the numerous accessory details which it contains, *M* borrows a large number, while *P* borrows comparatively few. As a result, *P* is extremely brief and compact—the whole episode is contained within six sentences—while *M* is much longer, occupying over a page in the printed text.

It is apparent, then, that *M* follows *W* practically without innovation, giving the episode at the same place in the romance, with the same background and hero, and with most of the descriptive detail.<sup>18</sup> In contrast, *P* takes the incident out of its background and relations, changes its hero, splits it into two parts, and reduces it in size by omitting almost all of the accessory elements. We may suggest reasons why *P* handled the material as he did. Although he did not intend to include the stag quest, the Chessboard Episode appealed to him for its color and its magic qualities; he therefore retained it. But since he used the episode only as an ornament, he shortened it considerably. Of the two possibilities, amplification and abbreviation, the latter was here imposed upon him by the æsthetic demands of the situation. He located the incident at the Grail Castle in order to add another marvelous element to the *merveilleux chrétien* of the castle itself. The change of hero was a result of the change of scene.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> To assume a common source for all three texts seems unnecessary, since *W* adequately satisfies the requirements of a source for *P* and *M*.

<sup>17</sup> As is the stag quest which follows; cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–58.

<sup>18</sup> Modena is not always unoriginal. Cf. Pauphilet, "Le Roman en prose de *Perceval*," *Mélanges offertes à Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925), pp. 610–611, for an appreciation of his method. Modena's originality, however, is generally less striking and less complete than that of the *Perlesvaus*.

<sup>19</sup> *P* frequently changes the hero of a story in like manner; Miss Weston, in *Rom.*, II (1925), 361–362, remarks upon the freedom with which he handles his sources. On the general practice of treating borrowed episodes in French verse works, cf. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–269.

Finally, the characteristic device of interweaving serves to disguise the story and to make it encircle, so to speak, the important visit of Gauvain to the Grail.

In this manner, the author of *P* has assimilated the story, transformed it to serve his own purposes and, except for the essential points and a few significant details, made himself independent of his source. His method is that recommended by the theorists—the borrowing and conversion of narrative materials. To this general method he adds a process characteristic of his own work, that of interlinking. He thus becomes an imitator rather than a mere copier, and a creative artist according to the requirements of his time.

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## IV

### THE LANGLAND MYTH

IT is remarkable that the one possibly contemporary statement in regard to the authorship of *Piers Plowman* has never been adequately examined. That is the note in the Trinity College Dublin MS. D, 4, I (Skeat's No. xli, C-text), to the effect that the author was William Langland, the son of a gentleman, Stacy de Rokayle, who lived in Ship-ton-under-Wychwood as a tenant of Lord le Spenser in the County of Oxford:

Memorandum quod Stacy de Rokayle pater Willielmi de Longlond, qui Stacius fuit generosus, et morabatur in Shypton under Whicwode, tenens domini le Spenser in comitatu Oxon., qui predictus Willielmus facit librum qui vocatur Perys ploughman.

From what source came this information and what is its value? Why should it appear in a Dublin manuscript—a somewhere near contemporary text, but corrupt and in a "Northumbrian dialect"?

An answer to these questions is, strangely enough, contained in the poem itself in two lines which have quite escaped notice and comment:

"By Marie," quod a mansed prest of þe march of yrlonde,  
"I counte namore conscience bi so I cacche sylver."

(B. xx, 220-1; C. xxiii, 221-222)

Is it not quite singular that the author of the poem should concern himself at all with a cursed, corrupt priest of the March of Ireland? Had this priest anything to do with the note in the Dublin manuscript? I believe the note in the Dublin manuscript has some connection with these lines, for I believe the lines were aimed at a specific individual, and further, that this individual tried to find out what he could about the author and that it is some form of his memoranda which is preserved for us.

In the late fourteenth century there was no priest "of the March of Ireland" quite so conspicuous as Walter de Brugge, "parson of St. Patrick's Trym, in Ireland, and prebendary of Houthe in the Cathedral church of St. Patrick, Dublin."<sup>1</sup> This man not only inspected the king's armies going to Ireland,<sup>2</sup> and dealt with the Irish rebels,<sup>3</sup> but also was right-hand man to the earl of March<sup>4</sup> and eventually guardian of both

<sup>1</sup> Pat. Rolls., 14 Richard II, p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 405.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 404.

<sup>4</sup> "Grant for good service to the king and earl of March, to Walter Brugge, parson of Trym and prebendary of Houthe in Ireland, to whom the king granted license to remain in England at the schools or elsewhere for ten years, receiving the fruits of his benefices

Edmund and Roger de Mortuo Mari.<sup>5</sup> Inasmuch as Richard II in 1385 declared Roger de Mortuo-Mari, then a mere lad, heir apparent to the English throne,<sup>6</sup> we may assume that his guardian was very much in the public eye and that readers of the poem might have known to whom the author alluded. This connection with the earl of March and his family might explain the poet's slur, "priest of the March of Ireland." Walter de Brugge was the type of person described by the poet—one who cared nothing for conscience so long as he caught silver. He had become inordinately wealthy by serving as attorney in Ireland for those soldiers and gentlemen whom duty or business called back to England to the neglect of their Irish affairs.<sup>7</sup> In addition to these large revenues, he received incomes from the prebends of Warham in the Cathedral church of Hereford<sup>8</sup> and of Fenton in the Cathedral church of York<sup>9</sup> and from the estate of Sir John de Cobeham.<sup>10</sup> When for some reason he apparently desired to study at one of the universities,<sup>11</sup> he was granted a living at St. Mary's Burwell, Cambridgeshire, in the diocese of Norwich, for this purpose.<sup>12</sup> At all times he was the subject of especial favors:

License, for ten years, for the king's clerk, Walter de Brugge, parson of Trym in Ireland and prebendary of Houthe in the Cathedral church of St. Patrick, Dublin, to bring from Ireland into England and Wales such times as he chooses corn, fish and other victuals for his household, as well as horses, goshawks, and falcons for his own use notwithstanding any ordinance to the contrary.<sup>13</sup>

Judging from the records relating to Ireland, no priest there would have been more likely to excite the wrath of the author of *Piers Plowman* than Walter de Brugge. If another were intended, the passage would nevertheless be easily applied to him.

If, then, Walter de Brugge was the victim of the poet's attack, how did he take that attack? We must enter now definitely into realm of con-

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meanwhile, notwithstanding ordinance to the contrary, *that he be one of ten persons excepted from the provisions of the ordinance* of the king and council directing that Thomas, duke of Gloucester, shall have the rents and profits of all those who have possessions in, and are absent from Ireland, to continue for 9 years from Jan. 9 last." Pat. Rolls, 15 Richard II, p. 16. "Roger de Mortuo Mari, earl of March, staying in England, has letters nominating Thomas Mortymer, kngt., and Walter Brugge, clerk, his attorneys in Ireland for one year." Pat. Rolls, 17 Richard II, p. 313. "Pardon to Walter Brugge . . . whilst he tarries in England about the earl's affairs. . . ." Pat. Rolls, 20 Richard II, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Pat. Rolls, Edward III, Apr. 12, 1371; Pat. Rolls, 17 Richard II, p. 304 (June 24, 1393).

<sup>6</sup> "Mortimer, Roger," *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> For examples, see: Pat. Rolls, 44 Ed. III, p. 378; 45 Ed. III, p. 66; 47 Ed. III, p. 335; 51 Ed. III, p. 430; 3 Ric. II, p. 496; 16 Ric. II, p. 117; 17 Ric. II, p. 313; etc.

<sup>8</sup> Pat. Rolls, 16 Ric. II, p. 207.

<sup>9</sup> Pat. Rolls, 11 Ric. II, p. 405.

<sup>10</sup> Pat. Rolls, 19 Ric. II, p. 498.

<sup>11</sup> Pat. Rolls, 15 Ric. II, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Pat. Rolls, 19 Ric. II, July 27, 1395.

<sup>13</sup> Pat. Rolls, 14 Ric. II, p. 380.

jecture, but conjecture not entirely unsupported by fact. I believe the poet's barb sank into the March priest's flesh and rankled there. I believe he, like some of his kind in England, made every effort to find out who the author was in order in some way to retaliate. The most conclusive proof of Brugge's interest in the poet is furnished by his will, drawn at Trym in 1396 but probated in the Cathedral of York, because of his connection with Fenton. I quote:

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Walterus de Bruge clericus et Canonicus Ebor. condo presens testamentum meum in hunc modo. In primis lego animam meam Deo, et B. Mariæ, et omnibus Sanctis, & corpus meum ad sepeliendum in choro ecclesiæ Sancti Patricii de T[r]yme, si me in Hiberniâ mori contigerit; vel alibi, ubi Deus disposuerit. Item lego fabricæ cancellæ S. Patricii de T[r]yme decem libras. Item fabricæ ecclesiæ S. Patricii Dublin xx<sup>l</sup>. Item lego dictæ ecclesiæ S. Patricii Dublin unum novum missale magnum & unum novum calicem deauratum, summo altari deserviturum; ita quod celebrantes ibidem specialem memoriam animæ meæ extunc habeant. Item lego fabricæ cancellæ ecclesiæ de Kylbarrok xl<sup>l</sup>. Item fabricæ ecclesiæ meæ prebendalis de Fenton in ecclesiâ Ebor. x marcas. Item lego quadraginta libras monetæ sex capellanis ydoneis et devotis, per executores meos eligendis & providendis, ad celebrandum per unum annum continuum, in uno loco vel diversis locis juxta dispositionem dictorum executorum meorum, pro animâ meâ, animabusque partris et matrix meorum, Leonelli nuper ducis Clarenciæ, et Edmundi nuper Comitis Marchiæ, et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. . . . *Item lego Domino Johanni Wormynton unum ciphum argenteum cum uno cooperculo, bibleam meam rubeo coreo coopertam, unum librum vocatum Pers plewman, et unum alium librum vocatum Pars Oculi, cum aliis tractatibus in uno volumine. . .*<sup>14</sup>

This legacy of "unum librum vocatum Pers plewman" to a priest of his parish, "Domino Johanni Wormynton" is all the proof we need of Walter de Brugge's interest in the poet and the poem. I believe the Trinity College Dublin manuscript is either the very manuscript left by Walter de Brugge or a copy of that manuscript, and I believe the note which it contains about the author of *Piers Plowman* is either Walter de Brugge's own memorandum or a copy of his memorandum. One of the interesting things about the Dublin manuscript is the fact that it is in the dialect of Northern England. The best explanation for the dialect is this, that Brugge learned he had been attacked and sent to England for a copy of the poem, which copy was made in his own prebend, that of Fenton,

<sup>14</sup> *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Pt. 1, pp. 207-210 (Surtees Society, 1836). I wish here to acknowledge my debt to Mr. H. G. Pfander, who copied out in full for me (I had it only in part) the note from the Micklethwaite Collection (B.M. MS. Add. 37,504) which led me to this very important document: "Walter de Bruge Canon of York makes his will 1396—leaves 'unum librum vocatum Pers plewman.' York wills vol. 1. p. 209. This is William Langland's lifetime."—The italics in the quoted portion are mine.

in Yorkshire. Though there is the element of conjecture in this, it makes the first complete story offered for the note in the Dublin manuscript—and the only one.

It does not follow that the information contained in the note in the Trinity College Dublin manuscript is of any particular value. Indeed, the note is suspect because it contains an obvious contradiction: it tells us that the author of the poem is William de Longland and yet that his father was Stacy de Rokayle. This contradiction has led to what may be called without malice the Bastard Theory of the poet's origin. Thus A. H. Bright states:<sup>15</sup>

William, Eustace de Rokayle's son, was illegitimate. His mother is unknown. She may have been some "serving wench" at Hanley Castle, or more probably, the daughter of some farmer or tradesman. . . . Being the illegitimate son of a bondswoman, he was born to the position of a serf—*adscriptus glebae*. . . . His home was at the Longland . . . [a field] of the length of two furlongs or furrow-longs. . . . William . . . adopted the name Langland, or Longland, from the place where he had spent many years of his life, and which may have been connected with his mother's family. . . .

There is one grave difficulty in the way of accepting William Langland as the poet and a bastard. Nothing is clearer than the poet's scorn of illegitimacy! When the poet would describe False, one of the most vicious characters in the poem, he makes him a bastard:

*That False is a faytur [traitor]. a faylere of werkes  
And a Bastard i-boren. of Belsabubbes kin.*  
(A. II, 99-100)

So, too, when he heaps contempt upon some unholy nuns:

. . . Dame Johanne was a bastarde,  
And dame Clarice a knyghtes douhter. a cokewald was hure syre.  
(C. VII, 133-134)

Adultery is the practise of sham beggars:

þei weddeþ no wommon . þat þei with deleþ  
Bote as [wilde] Beestes wiþ wo . worceþ togedere  
And bringeþ forþ Barnes . þat Bastardes ben holden.  
(A. VIII, 74-76)

There is no point in multiplying passages of this sort: it is clear enough, even to the casual reader of the poem, that the poet had no patience with *Concupiscencia-carnis*. He was not only a devout man, but pure; there

<sup>15</sup> Allan H. Bright, *New Light on "Piers Plowman"* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 36, 37, 42, 43, 66.

is the greatest likelihood that he was a cleric, and if a cleric, a rigid churchman, for he would have enforced the test of legitimacy upon all who would be frocked:

For shuld no clerk be crouned . but yf he ycome were  
 Of franklens and free men . and of folk ywedded.  
 Bondmen and bastardes . and beggers children,  
 Thuse by-longep to labour . and lordes [kyn to] seruen.  
 (C. vi, 63-66)

It seems scarcely credible that the author of these lines was a bastard.<sup>16</sup> We are forced, then, to dismiss the notion that William de Longlond was the bastard son of Stacy de Rokayle or we are forced to dismiss entirely the note in the Dublin manuscript as reliable evidence about the author of the poem. This is the dilemma of the scholar who would trust too implicitly in the Walter de Brugge note.

Supposing that note, however, is not wholly reliable, is it any less acceptable? The answer must be, Yes and No. Supposing Walter de Brugge or one of his followers discovered there were afloat two theories about the author—one, that his name was William de Longlond, and the other, that the poet was the son of Stacy de Rokayle—is it not conceivable that he combined them in the memorandum in the Dublin manuscript? Once the bastard theory is dismissed this is the only possible interpretation of the contradiction in that memorandum, but it would appear to diminish considerably the value of the Dublin note. Walter de Brugge had no certain evidence if he combined two current theories about the poet. Yet if Walter de Brugge had no certain evidence, one of his informers may have had. Whoever supplied him with the Langland theory or whoever supplied him with the Rokayle theory may have had some glimmer of the truth. Our problem is to determine which of the theories of Walter de Brugge is the more acceptable.

Though scholars have persistently refused to take this view of the Dublin note,<sup>17</sup> they have pushed the search for William Langland to its

<sup>16</sup> Attention should be called to Mr. Bright's error in assuming that the poet was a bastard and "a serf—*adscriptus glebae*." A bastard was a serf because of his body and legally was not free; the type of serf described as "a serf—*adscriptus glebae*" was a freeman, in that he held freely his tenement and could not be compelled to hold it unless he chose. See Henry de Bracton, *Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* (London, 1878) I, 35; 52 (53).—The point is important because, while the latter might take his name from the soil, the former would be far less likely to. I am afraid that it was a misunderstanding of the phrase "*adscriptus glebae*" which led Mr. Bright to his theory that the poet took his name from the land. See below as to how the name Langland possibly originated.

<sup>17</sup> Note the entire absence of comment on Professor Samuel Moore's article, "Studies in *Piers Plowman*," *Mod. Phil.*, xii (May, 1914), 19-50. Though Professor Moore followed a different line of reasoning and accepted the statements of Brigham, Sparke, Wisdom as

utmost limits. It would appear that no one by this name existed in contemporary England; if he did exist, it would be yet another matter to prove him the poet. Since investigation fails to reveal such a person, are we not at liberty to doubt his existence, to ask ourselves if it were possible for a Langland myth to have sprung up from the poem without any person to attach it to? If this was a possibility, are we not free to investigate Brugge's other theory, that a son of Stacy de Rokayle made the poem?

It now becomes the purpose of this paper to suggest that, if William Langland were *not* the poet of *Piers Plowman*, it is astonishingly easy to show how the poem was attributed to him and how a whole myth has developed about him. If the identity of the poet could only be guessed at, it is clear that line 148 in Passus xv of the B-text *might* furnish a clue: "I have lyved in londe," quod I. "my name is Longe Wille." Reading this line backwards, provides, as has been pointed out countless times, the name "Wille Longelonde." Let us assume that it *did* provide the guess as to the poet's name. Does it follow that this was a good guess?

Those who hold that an inverted reading of B.xv, 148 does name the poet can hardly hold that the poet went by the nickname "Longe Wille." Fancy ever alluding to him as "Longe Wille Longelonde!" Yet there is the best evidence to show that the poet's nickname might have been "Longe Wille" and that the line does make sense without inversion. In another line in the poem, the author frankly alludes to his unusual size, and hence, to a reason for the nickname: "A muche man, as me þougte. and lyke to my-selve" (A.ix, 58; B.viii, 70; C.xi, 68). Yet rather than meet the dogged assertion that B. xv, 148 does have an astonishing *double entendre*, let us ask why the author should have risked so much on a device so easily deciphered. His life had been in jeopardy from the moment the A-text was issued. In that version of the poem, the author had championed anonymously the cause of the Good Parliament of 1376, and had made a host of enemies which included some of the most powerful people in England.<sup>18</sup> These enemies were in full control of the government again in 1377; they imprisoned Peter de la Mare, speaker of the Good Parliament, and forced even the great Bishop of Winchester, William Wykeham, to go into hiding. Is it likely that within a year or

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of greater antiquity than they really are, his conclusions about the Dublin note are very like mine. Differences will be developed below.

<sup>18</sup> John of Gaunt, Simon Sudbury, Alice Perrers, Adam de Bury, etc. See my article, "The Date of the A-text of *Piers Ploughman*," *PMLA*, XLVII (June, 1932), 354-362. Had the author made no political enemies, his attacks on the Friars would have endangered him.



two the poet would gratuitously furnish them with a clue to his identity? If William Langland existed in the fourteenth century,<sup>19</sup> he would have been easily located, but there were probably hundreds of Long Wills.<sup>20</sup> Those who hold that the poet named himself in B. xv, 148, have yet to explain why he did it.

Evidence for this first step in the presumptive growth of the Langland myth is provided by one of the oldest statements on the authorship of the poem, a note in the manuscript (formerly Ashburnham 130) now in the Huntington Library: "Robert or William Langland made pers ploughman." This statement reveals how the legend grew directly from the poem: B. xv, 148 provided some searcher with the name "William langland," but he thought he found it contradicted, as Skeat has shown,<sup>21</sup> by another line in the poem which he read as, "I, Robert in russet, roamed about":

Thus i-robed in russet, romed I about.  
(A. ix, 1; B. v, 1-2)

The next stage in the growth of the legend was supplied by a little group of rabid sixteenth-century Protestants who were interested in the poem as propaganda. At this time, probably, the notion originated that the poet was born in Mortimer Cleobury, in the county of Shropshire, within eight miles of Malvern hills. This stage is represented by a note, said to be in Bale's hand, beneath the earlier one in the same manuscript in the Huntington collection:

Robertus langlande natus in comitatu Salopie in villa Mortymers Clybery in the claylande, within viij myles of Malborne hylles, scripsit, piers ploughman, li. i.

In somer season whan set was sunne.

It is easy enough to see how the conclusion that the poet was born in the neighborhood of Malvern hills was reached from the allusions to these hills in the poem, but scholars have always looked upon the designation of "Mortymers Clybery" for the poet's birthplace as a fact derived from some other source than the poem itself—they have looked upon it as an authentic tradition. Yet one part of this statement clearly reveals that the person who made it had no knowledge of the locality—the assertion that the "villa" is eight miles from Malvern hills. We do

<sup>19</sup> A most thorough search has failed to reveal him; see Skeat's "General Introduction." I may add that I have been through the printed records of the century in a search for him.

<sup>20</sup> See Skeat, "General Introduction," p. xiii; also Vol. iv, p. 212, note to line 68, and p. 344, note to line 286.—It might be suggested that the poet's several allusions to his life and appearance are deliberate falsifications to lead his enemies astray; I do not altogether endorse this view.

<sup>21</sup> B-text, p. xxviii, note 3.

not have to look upon this (as Professor Moore does)<sup>22</sup> as a mistake for eighteen miles,<sup>23</sup> but as the guess of someone, unacquainted with the region, from one of the crude maps of the time, for the distance.<sup>24</sup> The point is not an important one, save as it indicates the general ignorance of the person responsible for the rest of the information.

The thing in this note which arrests attention is the phrase, "in the claylande." This lets the cat out of the bag—or rather, makes it possible for us to bell the cat—for it shows us how the idea that the poet's birthplace was Cleobury Mortimer originated. There was no district in Shropshire called "the Clayland," nor did Bale mean that there was one. In the second edition, in 1559, of his *Scriptorium Illustrium Maioris Britannie . . . Catalogus* (p. 474) he makes it clear that it is clay soil he has in mind:

Robertus Langelande, sacerdos, ut apparet, natus in comitatu Salopiæ, in villa vulgò dicta Mortymers Clibery, *in terra lutea* [italics mine], octavo à Malvern's montibus milliaro fuit. . . .

This insistence upon the "*terra lutea*" of Langland's birthplace reveals the origin of the selection of Cleobury for that place. Scanning many manuscripts for facts about the poet, either John Bale or Nicholas Brigham, or someone of their immediate group, inevitably came upon that passage at the end of one version of the A-text which describes the death of the poet and contains the all important line—

And is closed under clom . crist have his soul.

(A. XII, 100)

"Ah-hal!" said he, "we know that the poet came from the region of Malvern hills, and there he lies buried *under the clay* in his birthplace." If he decided that this line did furnish a clue, it is easy to see how, through a mistaken etymology,<sup>25</sup> this grew into the place name "Cleybirie" and ultimately into "Mortymers Clybery in the claylande."

Proof that, among the pseudo-erudite about 1550, Cleobury meant etymologically "Clay-bury" is possibly indicated by Crowley's spelling in his note on Langland's life.<sup>26</sup> Crowley got his information, he tells

<sup>22</sup> "Studies in *Piers the Plowman*," *Mod. Phil.*, XII (May, 1914), 19-50.

<sup>23</sup> There seems to be some difficulty as to the actual distance of the Malvern hills from Cleobury. See Allan H. Bright, *New Light on "Piers Plowman"* (London, 1928), p. 34.

<sup>24</sup> If he had used a map on which the Woodbury or Abberley hills to the north were undistinguished from the Malvern hills, of which they are a continuation, the actual distance would be eight miles!

<sup>25</sup> "Cleobury Mortimer (Salop). *Dom. Cleberie*, 1278; . . . = 'cliff-burge' or 'castle,' etc." J. B. Johnston, *The Place Names of England and Wales* (London, 1915).

<sup>26</sup> *The Vision of Pierce Plowman*, 1550 (second issue); reproduced in Bright, *New Light*, Appendix C, p. 79.—See also third entry in Bale's note-book below.

us, by consulting "such men as I knew to be more exercised in the study of antiquities, then I myself have ben." When the rabid Protestantism of each is considered as supplying the grounds of a mutual attraction, and proximity afforded the opportunity, is it not likely that Crowley chiefly consulted Bale for his information?<sup>27</sup>

Yet on whom we shall pin the infamy of thus selecting Langland's birthplace depends upon the interpretation of passages in Bale's note-book, and perhaps is not a vital matter. Worth revealing, however, is the character of the scholarship of Bale and his friends. The following are the entries in Bale's note-book:<sup>28</sup>

Robertus Langlande, natus in comitatu Salopie in villa Mortymers Clyberi in the cleyeland within viij myles of Malborne hylles, scripsit, Peers Ploughman

li. i. 'In a somer

sonday whan sote was ye sunne."<sup>29</sup>

*Ex collectis Nicolai Brigam.*

Visio Petri Ploughman, edita per Robertum Langlande, natum in comitatu Salopie, in villa Mortymers Clybery in the cley lande within viij myles of Malborne hylles.

li. i. 'In quodam estatis

die cum sol caleret,' &c.

*Ex collectis Nicolai Brigam.*

Robertus Langlande, a Shropshyre man, born in Claybery about viij myles from Malverne hylles, wrote  
Peers ploughman

li. i. 'In a somer

season whan set was the sunne,' &c.

*Ex domo Guilhelmi Sparke.*

Robertus Langlonde, sacerdos (ut apparet) natus apud Clybery prope Malvernium montem, scripsit Peers plowghman opus eruditum ac quodammodo propheticum. Claruit A.D. 1369, dum Ioannes Chichester pretor esset Londini.

*Ex Ioanne Wysdome medico.*

The first two of these entries (and the earliest entered in the note-book) are marked, "*Ex collectis Nicolai Brigam.*" Whether this means that Bale made these entries from facts he elicited from manuscripts<sup>30</sup> collected by Nicholas Brigham or whether some one else had already so

<sup>27</sup> Compare Crowley's statement with Sparke entry (*infra*) in Bale's notebook; see also *D.N.B.* articles for Bale and Crowley.

<sup>28</sup> *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (autograph note-book, ed. R. Lane-Poole, Oxford, 1902), pp. 383, 509, 510.

<sup>29</sup> Above *sonday* Bale has written *seson*; above *sole*, *warme*.

<sup>30</sup> So "*collectis*" would seem to imply; when he is citing from one of Brigham's works, he clearly indicates it. Compare "*Ex venatione Nicolai Brigam*" (*Index*, p. 479, etc.). This is a reference to Brigham's *De Venationibus Rerum Memorabilium* (See *D.N.B.*), not now extant.

interpreted the manuscripts, there is no way of determining—no way of telling who is responsible for “Mortymers Clybery in the cleyland.”<sup>31</sup> But what is of importance is the fact that whoever did it was a third-rate scholar, only superficially acquainted with the poem,<sup>32</sup> for he has confused the first line of the lyric “Somer Sondag” “In a somer sonday whan sote was ye sunne”—with the first line of *Piers Plowman*.<sup>33</sup>

I do not know what the phrase “*Ex domo Guilhelmi Sparke*” affixed to the third entry in Bale’s note-book means. It may be interpreted to mean that, at the house of William Sparke, Bale got from a manuscript of the poem, or from someone who had studied a manuscript, the information he sets down. It is significant, however, that Bale followed his Brigham notes in his *Catalogue* and in the second note in the Huntington manuscript, for it indicates he placed no great weight upon this one. William Sparke was no learned searcher of manuscripts, as has generally been supposed, but a London draper, a contemporary of Bale!<sup>34</sup> The fact that Sparke apparently tailored “scutcheons” and sometimes dealt in books,<sup>35</sup> might mean that occasionally manuscripts passed through his hands and that “scholars” sometimes congregated at his house to wag their heads over them.

Evidently Bale held very highly Doctor John Wisdom, the source of the last entry in his note-book, for he quotes him directly (“*Ex Ioanne Wysdome medico*”) and adopts his language for the beginning of his article in his *Catalogue* and his date for the composition of the poem.<sup>36</sup> Who this Dr. John Wisdom was, has always remained a mystery—a mystery, however, commanding a great deal of respect.<sup>37</sup> I am now able to demonstrate that he was a contemporary medical quack:

<sup>31</sup> The most obvious solution the duplication of the errors of fact in this note-book, in the note in the Huntington MS, and in Crowley, is to suppose that Bale is responsible for all; in a word, that the entries in his note-book in these cases represent his interpretation of lines in the poem and his guess as to the distance of Cleobury from Malvern hills. I am not absolutely committed to this view.

<sup>32</sup> It is worth pointing out that all the “facts” embodied in the Langland myth were easily accessible, for *they all lie at the beginnings or ends of Passus*. Casual examination produced them!

<sup>33</sup> Professor Carleton Brown first called this to my attention.

<sup>34</sup> See Pat. Rolls, 6 Henry VII, pp. 337, 346; 13 Henry VII, p. 120; 17 Henry VII, p. 251; also letters in time of Henry VIII (*infra*, Note 35).

<sup>35</sup> “I have detained Sparke for my Lord’s scutcheons, but cannot get them yet, & must pay more for them than they are worth.” (John Husee to Lady Lisle, *Letters & Papers, Foreign & Domestic*, 30 Henry VIII, 17 April, No. 791; see also Nos. 784, 813). “I hope you have received the matins book & Mrs. Denny’s token by Sperke.” (Same correspondents, April 26, 1539, No. 859). William Sparke is not to be confused with the soldier, John Sparke, of Lord Lisle’s household, who was possibly a relative (See, *ibid.*, 32 Henry VIII, No. 749. etc.).

<sup>36</sup> Reproduced, Bright, *New Light*, Appendix C, pp. 79, 80.

<sup>37</sup> See Bright, *New Light*, p. 34: “This John Wisdom may have been the father or brother of Robert Wisdom, Archdeacon of Ely. . . .”

Grants in June, 1542. No. 443.4: John Wysedom. Pardon of all penalties incurred by him in exercising the mystery of physic in London without license. The preamble states that information was sworn before the barons of the exchequer, 6 July last, by one Otwell Wylde that the said John Wysedome of the parish of St. Stephen's Colman Street, had since 13 July, 32 Henry VIII practised as a physician without having been approved by the Bishop of London or the Dean of St. Powles, contrary to the statute of 3 Henry VIII, and had thereby forfeited 55£, of which the said Wylde prayed to have half; it however appears that the said Wysdome has done many great cures upon the King's subjects, and that Wylde was instigated by evil disposed persons maliciously stomached against the said Wysedom. Also license to him and his son Gregory Wysedom to exercise the said science and mystery in London or elsewhere in the Kings dominions.<sup>38</sup>

This complete view of Bale's "authorities" must considerably diminish our respect for the "evidence" they have supplied about the poet. Yet it is these "authorities" and this "evidence" which furnish our notions today of the poet. Despite the "life" of the poet done by Mr. Allan Bright, under the influence, apparently, of Lytton Strachey and the "modern" school of biography, our actual knowledge of the poet is nil, or like theirs of the sixteenth century, the product of wild conjecture based upon a dubious interpretation of the text. It would appear that no genuine progress could be made with the authorship of *Piers Plowman* until we have completely abandoned the notions that either William or Robert Langland wrote the piece or that Cleobury Mortimer was his birthplace.<sup>39</sup> Is it not singular that Walter de Brugge, who, through the Mortimers, may be assumed to have had some knowledge of Mortimer Cleobury, makes no mention of this place in his memorandum? This part of the legend developed *after* his time.

If William Langland is only a myth, we are free to investigate the other theory advanced in the Dublin manuscript memorandum; namely, that the poet was a son of Stacy de Rokayle, a gentleman of Shipton-under-Wychwood, who was a tenant of Lord le Spenser. It is all important to note that *this information could not have been derived from the poem itself*. It must have come ultimately either from an informer who betrayed the poet or from a friend who deliberately led Walter de Brugge

<sup>38</sup> *Letters & Papers, Foreign & Domestic*, xvii, 255.

<sup>39</sup> Or Ledbury, either, which does happen to be eight miles from Malvern hills (See Bright, *New Light*, pp. 33 ff.). Of what significance is the fact that in the neighboring parish of Colwall in 1840 there was a meadow called "Longlands," if the name is common in the locality and merely describes a field of two furlongs length (Bright, p. 43)? Why does Mr. Bright make so much of the dubious "eight miles" (for which several explanations can be given) and ignore the more important phrase "in the Claylands"? See also, below.

(or an intermediary) astray. With the possibility of finding the poet no less than the possibility of missing him altogether, there might be some incentive for the idle scholar to run down the Rokayle theory.<sup>40</sup>

I began an investigation of the Rokayle family in 1927, and since that time I have gathered from the Rolls Series and from the various county publications many hundred records relating to this family.<sup>41</sup>

That there was such a person as Stacy de Rokayle, and that he held lands of Lord le Spenser in Oxford, was known before I began my search. Professor Samuel Moore had produced the following records:

1. In 1328 Roger de Nowers brought suit against Stacium de la Rokele for a debt of 40£.<sup>42</sup>

2. On Jan. 21, 1331, Eustace, son of Peter de la Rokele, acknowledged that he owed to Peter son of Eustace £100 to be levied, in default of payment, of his lands and chattels in the county of Oxford.<sup>43</sup>

3. On Mar. 20, 1349, Eustachius de la Rokeille was a juror in the inquisition post mortem, held at Shipton, Ox., upon the death of Hugh le Despenser.<sup>44</sup>

4. On Oct. 22, 1360, Eustace Rokaill' "of the county of Oxford" & others became mainpernors for Matthew de la Villa Nova, who was appointed keeper of the priory of Mynsterlovel, about 5 miles from Shipton-under-Wychwood.<sup>45</sup>

5. On May 19, 1361, Eustacius Rokaill' was a juror to determine if Thomas de Langeleye should be permitted to enfeof certain persons with his bailiwick of the forest of Wychwood.<sup>46</sup>

These five records established the existence of Eustace or Stacy de Rokayle and rather definitely located him in Shipton-under-Wychwood. Professor Moore then showed that the Despensers had held the manor of Shipton since 1322, and dropped the case. He made no search for a William de Rokayle, for he held that "*Piers Plowman*" was attributed in the fifteenth century to two different persons, to Robert Langland, a Shropshire man, and to an Oxfordshire man, a son of Stacy de Rokayle"<sup>47</sup>—not necessarily William at all.

<sup>40</sup> There is yet another inducement for garnering the records of the Rokayle family: if, after all, there was a William Langland who was the bastard son of Stacy de Rokayle, he may have assumed the name of Rokayle at times—for all but literary purposes. In no event would an inquiry be wholly futile.

<sup>41</sup> In addition to examining an equally large number dating from the Norman Conquest, collected by Professor William Rockwell, of Union Theological Seminary, whose generosity is here acknowledged.

<sup>42</sup> De Banco Roll, 247; Trinity, 2 Ed. II. Rot. 175 designated "Oxfordshire."

<sup>43</sup> Cal. Close Rolls, 1330-33, p. 178.

<sup>44</sup> Inquis. post. mortem, 23 Ed. III, Pt. II, No. 169 (12).

<sup>45</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, p. 474.

<sup>46</sup> Inquis. post mortem, 35 Ed. III, Pt. II, Second Numbers, 32.

<sup>47</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, XII (May, 1914), 19-50.

That Stacy had a son, apparently his heir, is seen in the following record:

Release by Roger Rokayle of Oxford Middleton, to Sirs John Lovel and Richard Abberbury, knights, of all his right in a meadow called "Capronemed" in Shupton under Wychewode.<sup>48</sup>

Did he have another son named William? I produce the following:

Commission of Oyer and Terminer to [various persons] because the abbot of Ste. Katherine's, Rouen, complained that [various persons including] William, son of Eustace de la Rokele, felled his trees growing at Tyngwyck, co. Buckingham, carried them away, also his goods, and assaulted his men and servants.<sup>49</sup>

But this record was made at Lincoln, on Feb. 1, 1316! William, son of Eustace, must have been at least twelve to have had such a charge preferred, even technically, against him. If he were twelve in 1316, he was seventy-two in 1376 when the A-text appeared, seventy-four when the B-text appeared, and past eighty when the C-text was issued. This is possible, but not probable. The whole matter is complicated by the following record (Moore's No. 2):

Eustace, son of Peter de la Rokele, acknowledges that he owes Peter, son of Eustace de la Rokele, £100, to be levied in default of payment, on his lands and chattels in co. Oxford.

It appears that there were two Stacy Rokayles! There originally must have been two brothers or cousins, one named Peter and the other Eustace. Peter had a son named Eustace, who is our Stacy Rokayle of Oxfordshire; Eustace had a son named Peter, to whom the Oxfordshire man owes money. But the latter must also have had a son named William, who at best can be only a first cousin to the Stacy de Rokayle of Shipton-under-Wychwood. The elder Eustace was dead, however, before 1325, for a number of records after that time seem to indicate property settlements on Peter.<sup>50</sup>

If Stacy de Rokayle of Shipton-under-Wychwood had a son William, we have no record of it of the clear character of this one I have just produced. Yet there are, including this record, forty-three entries of a William Rokayle, in the fourteenth century, in my collections. It is necessary to examine these separately if we are to eliminate the names of those who cannot possibly be the poet, for it will appear that these records are not all of the same person.

*Record 1.*—This is a duplicate of the charge that William, the son of

<sup>48</sup> Ancient Deeds, II, B. 3268. 15 May, 14, Ric. II. See also B. 3269.

<sup>49</sup> Pat. Rolls, Ed. II, p. 652.

<sup>50</sup> Close Rolls, 18 Ed. II, p. 341; 18 Ed. II, p. 347; 4 Ed. III, p. 181; 3 Ed. III, p. 556.

Eustace de Rokele, committed robbery and assault at Tyngewyck, co. Bucks., only this entry is made at Clipstone, Jan. 1, 1316.<sup>51</sup>

*Record 2.*—William de la Rokele [with others, including William Jordan] is charged with trespass and theft at Aston, Ilmere, and Adynton, co. Bucks., on Feb. 18, 1328.<sup>52</sup> Because of the location of the alleged crime, and because of its nature, it would appear that this William might be the person mentioned in Record 1.

*Record 3.*—Pardon on Feb. 19, 1316, to William de Rokele and Elizabeth his wife [and others] of that which pertains to the king for a certain disseisin committed by them against William Jurdan of Bray, and Sibyl his wife, for which they were convicted and condemned to prison by John le Foxle and his fellows, justices of assize in the county of Berks.<sup>53</sup> Because the location is that of the adjoining county (to Bucks.) and because William Jurdan is mentioned, it seems probable that the William of this record is the same person as in Records 1 and 2.

*Record 4.*—Commission of oyer and terminer, on Dec. 8, 1309, to William de Echingham, John de Foxle, and John de Batesford, on complaint by Robert, vicar of the church of Burghershe that certain persons including William de Rokkeley assaulted him at Burghershe, co. Sussex, imprisoned him, cut off his testicles, and carried away his goods.<sup>54</sup>—Although I suspect that this is the same William de Rokele as of Records 1, 2, and 3, I cannot establish this. What is of consequence, however, is the fact that this William, like the persons previously mentioned, is too old from the record (1309) to be the poet.

*Record 5.*—This is of William Rokel, "masoun," of the Bury of St Edmunds.<sup>55</sup> He is a distinct person from the Williams previously mentioned, but there is no reason why we should suspect that he is the poet.

*Records 6-18.*—These records, dating from 1323 to 1428, are of two Williams, Sir William de la Rokele and his son of the same name, who are important Norfolk gentlemen, holding large properties.<sup>56</sup> This family is related to the Oxfordshire Rokeles, but neither William is a fitting candidate, from anything that I can discover, for the poet.

*Record 19.*—This mentions William de la Rokel as "late parson of Reddegrave," in 49 Edward III.<sup>57</sup> If the word "late" here means "dead" (I have discovered in going through the records it does not always mean this), we may dismiss Record 19 as not related in any way to the poet,

<sup>51</sup> Pat. Rolls, 9 Ed. II, pp. 425-426.

<sup>52</sup> Pat. Rolls, 2 Ed. III, p. 281.

<sup>53</sup> Pat. Rolls, 10 Ed. II, p. 621.

<sup>54</sup> Pat. Rolls, 3 Ed. II, p. 246.

<sup>55</sup> Close Rolls, 8 Ric. II, p. 571.

<sup>56</sup> Pat. Rolls, 16 Ed. II, p. 198; 7 Ed. III, p. 504; Close Rolls, 13 Ed. III, p. 35; Pat. Rolls, 18 Ed. III, p. 245; Close Rolls, 37 Ed. III, p. 476; Feudal Aids, III, pp. 484, 506-507, 523, 531, 534, 569, 590, 591. See also: W. Rye, *Norfolk Families*, p. 745.

<sup>57</sup> Close Rolls, p. 255.



for the B-text dates after 1376. At any rate, this record is without any present significance.

*Record 20.*—This is also without present significance. It is a license issued to William Rokele in 42 Edward III to cross from the ports of Southampton, Weymouth, or Melcomebe to parts of Brittany.<sup>58</sup>

*Record 21.*—This merely mentions a William Rokele as collector of the tax in Devon.<sup>59</sup> I cannot identify this man nor connect him with any branch of the family. It is unlikely that he is the poet.

*Records 22-27.*—These are not so easily dismissed. The first two are rentals in the parish of St. Ebbe, in the city of Oxford (the county of Stacy de Rokayle) in the years 1317, 1324, by Will. de la Rokele.<sup>60</sup> Record 24 makes William Rokel witness to a grant in the parish of All Saints, Oxford, on Sept. 25, 1346.<sup>61</sup> A William (spelled Rokaille) is again a witness in the parish of St. Thomas on Oct. 20, 1348 (Record 25).<sup>62</sup> In Record 26, William Rocaill' is a witness in the parish of St. Thomas, on May 17, 45 Edward III (1372).<sup>63</sup> In Record 27 a piece of land is mentioned as abutting a tenement "which will soon be of William Rokaylle, on the east," in the parish of St. Thomas, Oxford.<sup>64</sup>

If these are records of the same person, it is highly unlikely (because of his great age) that he is the poet. But Records 22 and 23 are not necessarily related to the rest; Record 24 is not necessarily related to the others; and the person mentioned in Record 27 may be distinct from the person or persons mentioned in Records 25 and 26, though this is unlikely since all are connected with the parish of St. Thomas.

In Records 24, 25, 26, 27 we have two, possibly three, candidates for the son of Eustace de la Rokele and the poet. The date of the last record (No. 27) is interesting, for it falls between the last record of Eustace and the single record of Roger who is disposing of property in Shipton-under-Wychwood. The fact that a William Rokele is connected at all with the university town is noteworthy, because of the several discussions in the poem itself of controversies which originated in Oxford—the attack on the Pelagians led by Bradwardine and the attacks on the Friars.<sup>65</sup> These disputations, however, attracted national attention; it is not necessary that the poet should have resided in the city to have written about them. Finally, one of the three William Rokeles, if not all, can conveniently be identified with the "Will Rokaille R" [egrator]<sup>66</sup> who is three times mentioned in an "assise of ale" (Records 28, 29, 30)

<sup>58</sup> Pat. Rolls, p. 130.

<sup>59</sup> Fine Rolls, 6 Ric. II.

<sup>60</sup> Ox. Hist. Soc. xci, pp. 141, 157.

<sup>61</sup> Ox. Hist. Soc. lxxxix, p. 420.

<sup>62</sup> Ox. Hist. Soc., xc, p. 388.

<sup>63</sup> Ox. Hist. Soc., xc, p. 387.

<sup>64</sup> Ox. Hist. Soc., xc, p. 487.

<sup>65</sup> Burrow's *Collectanea*, iii, 188 ff. See Wood, *Hist. and Antiquities* (ed. Gutch), p. 491.

<sup>66</sup> Med. Arch. of Univ. of Oxford, Vol. II.

in the city of Oxford about the year 1340. This keeper of a public house *might* have been the poet, but it is not likely.

*Record 31.*—Here William Rokel is a witness at Braye, on Oct. 29, 1346, to "the enrolment of a deed testifying that whereas William Jurdan of Braye the elder, granted and confirmed to Isabel, wife of Hugh de Berewyk, his daughter, all his lands in the town of Braye to hold for herself and the heirs of her body, with the remainder, in default of such heirs to William, the son of said William."<sup>67</sup>

Now this William Jurdan, the elder, of Braye, is in all likelihood the William Jurdan of Braye mentioned previously in Record 3 (Feb. 19, 1316) and in Record 2 (Feb. 18, 1328). Then the William Rokel of Record 31 is the William of Records 1, 2, and 3—who is possibly the first cousin, but not the son of Stacy de Rokayle.

*Record 32.*—Here this William Rokel's death is probably intimated. It is of date Aug. 6, 1351.

License for the alienation in mortmain by John de Bokehurst to the prioress and convent of Bromhale of the manor of Crecchefeld, co. Berks., said to be held in chief, in aid of the sustenance of a chaplain to be found by them to celebrate divine service daily for the good estate of the king, for his soul when he is dead, for the souls of his progenitors, *and for the soul of William Rokele*.<sup>68</sup>

*Record 33.*—This is dated Nov., 1371, and is definitely related to Records 31 and 32:

To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer: Order to stay their demand made by exchequer summons upon Alice, prioress of Bromhale for the portion of a sum of 36£, 5 s.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  d., falling upon her as tenant of certain lands which were of William de Rokele, late Queen Philippa's bailiff of the manors of Cookham, Braye, Binfield, and Sonynghull, thereof acquitting her, so that answer be made at the exchequer for the portions thereof falling upon others, the tenants of lands which were the said William's, as the king of his favour has pardoned her of the portion falling upon her for the said sum wherein the said bailiff was bound to Queen Philippa.<sup>69</sup>

This William, who endangered the bond which the prioress of Bromhale had posted for him, is undeniably some kin to the William of Record 33 for whose soul the prioress had employed a chaplain to celebrate daily divine service. The question is, What kin was he? If he was the son, he is of no interest to us, for he could not be the poet. It is quite conceivable however, that he was the son of the cousin of William of Records 1, 2, 3, 31, and 32—the son of Stacy de Rokayle. He might easily have persuaded the prioress to go his bond because of his relationship to the

<sup>67</sup> Close Rolls, 19 Ed. III, p. 677.

<sup>68</sup> Pat. Rolls, 25 Ed. III, p. 193. Italics are mine.

<sup>69</sup> Close Rolls, 45 Ed. III, p. 260.

William for whom daily services were said. It might be pointed out that the poet of *Piers Plowman* could very well have been bailiff for Queen Philippa—his animosity towards Alice Perrers, later the king's mistress, could thus be explained on a personal as well as a political basis.<sup>70</sup> We do not have to accept this William of Record 33, however, as the son of Eustace or as the poet.

*Record 34.*—This surpasses in interest previous records; it is a Papal letter, dated May, 1353:

To the bishop of Norwich. Mandate to examine and reserve to William de la Rokele a benefice in the gift of the abbot of Peterborough; the church of Estorp, diocese of London, is to be resigned.<sup>71</sup>

Esthorp, co. Essex, was the manorial home of one branch of the Rokele Family, the chief representative of which was then John, at times coroner, justice, tax collector, verderer, and escheator for the county of Essex.<sup>72</sup> It is conceivable that William, the son of the Oxfordshire relative, was given this living, and that Record 34 names for us the poet, whom most authorities concede was a churchman. Secondly, the fact that this William of Esthorp desired to be moved to the diocese of Norwich cathedral is perhaps of significance. Norwich, the county Norfolk, and the adjacent territory was the home of yet another branch of the family, as we have seen.

Further, certain facts, not before remarked, connect *Piers Plowman* with Norfolk, and it is possible that the poet enjoyed a brief residence in that district. I do not allude to the contemptuous reference in the poem to the "frenche" spoken in the "ferthest end of Norfolk" (B. v. 239), nor to the casual mention of places in the diocese of Norfolk ("Walsingham," "Rode of Bromholm," B. v. 145).<sup>73</sup> More interesting to my mind is the fact that the families of Rokele and But are closely associated in this region. John But, it will be remembered, is the person, allegedly, who added the lines to the A-text asserting that William the poet was dead. Now it is generally conceded that John But must have been a person of prominence whose word would have been readily accepted. Further, it is clear he must have been bound by some ties to the poet to have participated in the deception. In my records are many which show

<sup>70</sup> See *PMLA*, XLVII, 354 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Vol. III, I Innocent VI, p. 487.

<sup>72</sup> Close Rolls, 8 Ric. II, p. 511; 12 Ric. II, p. 607; 15 Ric. II, p. 535; 43 Edward III, p. 23; Pat. Rolls, 29 Ed. III, p. 296, etc.

<sup>73</sup> Yet these imply a greater familiarity with the district than the single reference to Shropshire—Malvern hills—on which so much weight has been placed. Bright's anxious effort to localize the poet has led him to take a description of the Ten Commandments for one of the manor of Brockbury, Colwall (*New Light*, pp. 60, 61)! Aside from London, there are more references to Essex and to Hampshire than to any other localities.

the long and intimate connection of the families in this region. For example, in one, Edward III acknowledges a loan from "William But and Thomas de Rokele, merchants of Norwich."<sup>74</sup> A John But, also a merchant of Norwich, is mentioned from 1333 to 1351 in the rolls.<sup>75</sup> This man is probably either the parent or kinsman of the John But, messenger, selected by Miss Rickert as the person who alleged that William was dead.<sup>76</sup> This perhaps may be inferred from the fact that the messenger is granted tenements in a general locality once common to both the Rokeles and Buts.<sup>77</sup> If the name of the poet of *Piers Plowman* is not Rokayle, the association of the names But and Rokele in the Norfolk region is certainly curious and may have been responsible for somebody's guess that the poet was William de Rokayle.

In view of the many allusions to the wool trade in the poem (especially B.v, 209 ff., where some of the tricks of the trade are revealed), the fact that Thomas Rokele and William and Thomas But, all merchants, served conjointly as takers of the wool customs in Norwich<sup>78</sup> perhaps has significance.

It is possible, further, to trace one rather unique manuscript of *Piers Plowman* directly back to the Norfolk Buts. In light of all the discussion about John But, it seems to me remarkable that no one has commented on the fact that at the end of manuscript Rawlinson Poet. 38 is the mark of ownership—"William Buttes"—in an early sixteenth-century hand. On a fly-leaf in this same manuscript is another note of possession: "Suum cuique, Tho[mas] Hearne. Sept. 29, 1732."

<sup>74</sup> Pat. Rolls, 1374-77, Edward III, p. 505.

<sup>75</sup> Close Rolls, 6 Ed. III, p. 434; Pat. Rolls, 13 Ed. III, p. 293; Close Rolls, 13 Ed. III, p. 168; Supple. Pat. Rolls, 14 Ed. III, p. 505; Pat. Rolls, 19 Ed. III, p. 484; Close Rolls, 14 Ed. III, p. 423; Close Rolls, 24 Ed. III, p. 216.

<sup>76</sup> "John But, Messenger and Maker," *Mod. Phil.*, xi, pp. 107-116; July, 1913. Miss Rickert, of course, believes that John But actually did add the lines at the end of the A-text, and that William was dead. She doesn't explain how William wrote the B- and C-texts nor how he happened to use the same language as John But (Compare But's "medleth of makyng," A. xii, 105 with Ymagnatyf's accusation, "þow medlest with makynges . . ." B. xii, 16).

<sup>77</sup> At Barton-upon-Humber, Pat. Rolls, 2 Ric. II, p. 280; p. 296. The whole region from Ipswich, Suffolk, through Norfolk, and along the Wash is common to both the Rokeles and Buts. For example, Arnold de Rokeles is creditor of the king through the collectors of the Port of Boston (Close Rolls, 5 Ed. III, p. 373), while Robert But (named as a merchant of Norwich, Pat. Rolls, 18 Ed. II, pp. 74, 143) was collector of the wool customs in Boston (Fine Rolls, 15 Ed. II, pp. 65, 135; 1-5 Ed. III, pp. 36 ff.).

<sup>78</sup> Many records. Examples: Thomas de la Rokele appointed to take wool for the king's use, Close Rolls, 12 Ed. III, p. 359; Thomas But, searcher in Norwich, Fine Rolls, 12 Ed. III, p. 88; William But, collector of customs on wool in Norwich, Fine Rolls, 7 Ed. III, p. 346. Was it by any chance these Norfolk merchants who were merry and gave Will for his writing woolen clothes. (A. viii, 42 ff.)?

Turning to Hearne's *Collections*, I discover that when he first became interested in *Piers Plowman* he possessed no manuscript of the poem (and apparently consulted none), but depended upon Crowley's text and the advice of friends who did have access to manuscripts. (See his entry for Jan. 28, 1712/13, for example.) On May 29, 1725, he records, "Received from Peter Le Neve, Norroy King of Arms, three MSS. lent me by Mr. Le Neve which I must return before the tenth of the month." Item No. 2 he notes as "*Piers Plowman* in folio on vellum writ (for aught I know) near the time of the author. . . . So very different from the Print . . . that it seems new done by somebody."

By "the Print" Hearne means Crowley's text, from which MS. Rawlinson Poet. 38 would differ decidedly. Moreover, Hearne's brief description of the manuscript loaned him corresponds rather closely with that given by Skeat of MS. Rawlinson Poet. 38;<sup>79</sup> finally, no other manuscript of the poem is mentioned in the *Collections*. Hearne does note, however, that "The Hegesippius [Item, No. 1] and *Piers Plowman* cost £1 1/- apiece." This would seem to indicate that he thought of buying the manuscript, but he neither records returning it within ten days nor buying it—which is singular, for it was his habit to set down such things very methodically. There are entries to show his continued interest in the poem—on Aug. 11, on Sept. 7, and on Nov. 3, 1725—and then silence. Mr. Peter Le Neve died in 1729,<sup>80</sup> and it looks as if Thomas Hearne decided, after waiting three years, that no one would claim the manuscript and wrote in it: "Suum cuique. Tho. Hearne. Sept. 20, 1732. An imperfect manuscript of *Piers Plowman*." The Peter Le Neve, Norroy King of Arms, of whom Hearne borrowed the manuscript was none other than the famous *Norfolk* antiquarian, who may very well have got it directly from some descendant of the Butts.

Record 34, connecting a William de la Rokele with Norwich cathedral, is further interesting because when Walter Brugge, the March priest, wanted to study at one of the universities, he was granted a living at St. Mary's Burwell, in the diocese of Norwich.<sup>81</sup> It may be through this connection that Brugge made his conjecture that William de la Rokele was the author of the poem. Finally, Record 34 is of value, as we shall see, because it makes possible an early acquaintance between William de la Rokele and Thomas Brunton, bishop of Rochester, whom the poet certainly admired. Brunton was a monk of the Benedictine house at Norwich about the time of this record.<sup>82</sup> In summary, Record 34 may be described as interesting, though nothing more than that. Granted that the author may have been in Norfolk with the Rokeles of that

<sup>79</sup> B-text, Preface, p. xi, No. xiv.

<sup>81</sup> Pat. Rolls, 19 Ric. II, July 27, 1395.

<sup>80</sup> "Peter Le Neve," *D.N.B.*

<sup>82</sup> "Thomas Brinton," *D.N.B.*

county and formed an acquaintanceship with John But there, it does not follow absolutely that he is the Rokele of this record.

*Record 35.*—This, unfortunately undated, makes William de la Rokele witness to a grant by Roger the prior and the brethren of the house of St. Mary Best[une] of a message in Bestune.<sup>83</sup> If this record could be dated, it might be valuable as establishing William de la Rokele in Norfolk.

*Record 36.*—This merely proves the existence of a William de la Rokele in the general neighborhood of Peterborough (See Record 34): To the sheriff of Roteland: Writ of supersedeas, by mainprise of Robert de Burgh, John Ernesby, William Outeby, of Leystershire, and William Boteler of Gloucestershire, in favour of Robert Saunderson, at suit of William Rokel averring threats.<sup>84</sup>

*Record 37.*—If William of Record 34 failed to get the Peterborough appointment, this has possible interest as indicating his placement in adjacent Suffolk:

William de la Rokele, who has a parish church for benefice, value 40 marks with cure of souls, or 30 without, in the gift of the abbot and convent of St. Edmunds, is granted permission in 1353 to have a portable altar.<sup>85</sup>

*Records 38, 39, 40.*—These establish the existence of a William de la Rokele in Landemare, Wethirmonford, and Colchester, co. Essex.<sup>86</sup> Whether this man is to be identified with any other William in the records cannot be determined at the present time.

*Record 41.*—This surpasses in interest possibly all the preceding records.

Appointment upon petition of Thomas Bromlegh, late master of the house of Strode . . . of Thomas Cobham, John Frenenynham, and William Rockell to audit the accounts of the ferry and bridge between Rochester and Strode.<sup>87</sup>

This record forces our attention upon Professor G. R. Owst's excellent article, "The 'Angel' and the 'Goliardeys' of Langland's Prologue,"<sup>88</sup> in which he establishes beyond the shadow of a doubt that the "Angel" of the B-text Prologue who "lowed to speke in latyn" was none other than Thomas Brunton, bishop of Rochester. Owst believes, moreover, that:

even in the days when the original Vision was still taking shape in his own mind, [the poet] may have learned to look upon the good bishop as his spiritual guide,

<sup>83</sup> Ancient Deeds, III, p. 120. A. 4918.

<sup>84</sup> Close Rolls, 10 Ric. II, p. 254 (June 28, 1386). Yet see allusion to "Rainalde the Reve of Rotland sokene" B. II, 110.

<sup>85</sup> Papal Petitions, I, 253 (I Innocent VI).

<sup>86</sup> Pat. Rolls, 32 Ed. III, p. 57; 43 Ed. III, p. 216. Feudal Aids, VI, 442 (1412).

<sup>87</sup> Pat. Rolls. 9 Ric. II, p. 79.

<sup>88</sup> *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XX (July, 1925), 272-280.

a hero of earlier preaching scenes. Here, then, was one worthy to appear in his poem as "Conscience" [cites A-text, v, 9-23].

This argues for a long acquaintance of poet and bishop. Record 41 supplies evidence that in 1386 William Rokell was known to the ecclesiastical authorities in Strode (the house of Strode was in the diocese of the bishop) and well enough thought of to be nominated for this auditing position. It is proof, if one cares to look at it in this way, that William Rokell was known to the bishop of Rochester.<sup>89</sup>

Record 41 is valuable also because it brings together again the names of William de la Rokele and Walter de Brugge, "priest of the March of Ireland." It will be noted that one of the auditors of the accounts of the bridge and the ferry at Strode was Thomas de Cobham. The Cobhams were founders of Cobham College, of which the bishop of Rochester was one of the trustees.<sup>90</sup> After the death of the bishop control of this college passed to the hands of the Friars—those mendicants particularly hateful to the author of the poem. Further, in this obvious shift of favor, Walter de Brugge managed in some fashion to procure himself an income from the estate of Sir John de Cobham.<sup>91</sup> This common connection with the Cobhams may have supplied the March priest with the information for his guess that the author of the poem was William de la Rokele. Did the Cobhams betray him or did they mislead Brugge?

*Record 42.*—This names a Willelmo de Rokell as a witness to a quit claim in London and may furnish evidence as to the metropolitan residence which was certainly a part of the experience of the poet.<sup>92</sup>

*Record 43.*—This names "John de Cobham, knt.," and "William Rokylle" as witnesses to a court action in London, thus enforcing the Cobham connection and completing the list of records I have to present.<sup>93</sup>

In conclusion, it would appear that there is not one iota of evidence to show that the poet of *Piers Plowman* was William Langland, while there are enough facts connected with the name of William de la Rokele to lead to speculation. The mathematical probabilities that the poet was Rokele can be calculated by Professor Chambers.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Brunton was bishop from 1372-1389, see *D.N.B.*

<sup>90</sup> Pat. Rolls, 48 Ed. III, p. 17, *et seq.*

<sup>91</sup> See note 17 above and text.

<sup>92</sup> Ancient Deeds, iv, 156, A. 7358 (undated).

<sup>93</sup> Close Rolls, I Ric. II, p. 137.

<sup>94</sup> Who has exploited the laws of chance for the first time in scholarly controversy. See his preface to Bright's *New Light on "Piers Plowman,"* p. 10.

## BISHOP BRUNTON AND THE FABLE OF THE RATS

PROFESSOR G. R. OWST has called attention to the fact that the fable of the rat parliament, which forms a striking addition to the B-version of *Piers Plowman*, was also employed with reference to contemporary political conditions in a sermon preached at just this time by Thomas Brunton, Bishop of Rochester.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Brunton, in an unsparing denunciation of corruption in the English government, praised Parliament for its action in bringing the conditions to light, but warned that vigorous steps must be taken to punish the guilty. Otherwise, he continued, Parliament would be like the assembly of rats and mice in the fable which decreed that a bell be hung about the cat's neck yet provided no one to carry the plan into execution.<sup>2</sup> Father F. A. Gasquet,<sup>3</sup> who was the first to point out this passage in Brunton's sermons, conjectured that the parliament in question was the "Good" Parliament and consequently suggested that the sermon was preached sometime in 1376. The interest which the document holds for both the historian and the student of *Piers Plowman* gives the question of its origin a peculiar importance. Detailed study of the manuscript arrangement of Brunton's collected sermons makes it possible, I believe, to arrive at a clearer

<sup>1</sup> "The 'Angel' and the 'Goliardeys' of Langland's Prologue," *M.L.R.*, xx, 270-279.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, MS. Harley 3760, fol. 187b: ". . . ne parlamentum nostrum comparetur fabuloso parlamento murium et ratonum, de quibus legitur quod cum in parlamento suo precipue ordinassent quod campanella cato cuilibet ad collum imponeretur vt mures ad campanelle sonitum premuniti ad sua possent confugere foramina satis tute, cuidam muri de parlamento reuertenti rato antiquissimus obuiauit. Cui noua inquirenti, cum mus veritatem negocij intimasset, intulit ille rato, 'Ista ordinacio est optima si quis in parlamento est consitutus vt sit tanti negocij executor.' Et ille respondisset hoc non fuisse in parlamento diffinitum, et per consequens inualidum erat et inane."

<sup>3</sup> Father Gasquet translated selections from several of Brunton's sermons in a chapter, "A Forgotten English Preacher," in his *Old English Bible and Other Essays* (London, 1908). Concerning the date of the sermon which uses the fable of the rats he remarks: "It is most probable, as I have said, that the sermon was preached during the time when the sitting of the 'Good Parliament' had led men of honesty and uprightness to hope, through the powerful support of the Black Prince, for an improvement in the government, and to insist on the removal of the King's evil counsellors, and the wretched courtesan, Alice Perrers, who had obtained supreme influence over him." (p. 64)

Mr. Owst, (*loc. cit.*, p. 274), accepts without further evidence the date suggested by Father Gasquet: "Now Dr. Gasquet, apparently without any thought of the Plowman's Vision in his mind, has himself identified one sermon of the Brunton Manuscript with the period concerned, when the Good Parliament meets in April of the year 1376."



understanding of the circumstances which inspired the sermon and even to determine the very day on which it was delivered.<sup>4</sup>

In the only known copy of the collection (preserved as MS. Harley 3760) the sermon under discussion stands as No. 69.<sup>5</sup> The first three sermons have disappeared through the loss of ten folios at the beginning of the manuscript. The end of Sermon 4 and the beginning of Sermon 5 are also missing because of the loss of folios 14-17 (according to the original numbering). At the beginning and end of the manuscript the order of sermons appears hopelessly confused. The sermons in the main body of the manuscript (folios 35-284 by the present numbering), however, afford a series of clearly distinguished groups, with addresses designed for the Lenten season and for certain saints' anniversaries recurring at regular intervals. Within each of the groups, moreover, the arrangement of sermons, with sporadic exceptions, follows the course of the calendar year. These facts are sufficient to show that in this manuscript Brunton's sermons do not stand in a haphazard, nor yet an arbitrary, arrangement, but approximately in the order of actual delivery. Occasional inversions of calendar order indicate that MS. Harley is one or two steps removed from the original record, and it is easy to understand how such disarrangements might occur in the course of compiling and copying.

In endeavoring to determine the calendar years to which the several groups belong it is best to proceed on the basis of known biographical data. From some date prior to December 1366 until his appointment to the bishopric of Rochester, Thomas Brunton held the office of papal penitentiary and was presumably absent from England.<sup>6</sup> On January

<sup>4</sup> Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin in her unpublished doctoral dissertation, *The Date of the C-Version of Piers the Plowman* (University of Chicago, Dec. 1925), discusses Brunton and refers to his use of the fable. An abstract of this dissertation is printed in *Univ. of Chicago Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series*, iv (1925-26), 317-320. A typewritten copy is available at the library of the University. After most of my work on this sermon had been completed, I learned through correspondence that Sister Devlin intends to publish the much needed edition of all Brunton's sermons with an introductory discussion of their relation to *Piers Plowman*. Since, however, our investigations were wholly independent, it seemed worth while to offer my fragmentary results.

<sup>5</sup> A complete facsimile of this manuscript has been prepared as No. 58 of the Modern Language Association's *Rotographs of Manuscripts and Rare Printed Books*. Copies are available at both the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library.

<sup>6</sup> See *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers, relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, edited by W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow (London, 1902), *Papal Letters*, iv, 25 for the following dispatch dated "7 Kal. Dec.," 1366 (4 Urban V) at Avignon: "To the dean of St. Agricola, Avignon, and the sacristans of Narbonne and Bourges. Mandate to cause two gold florins a day to be supplied by ecclesiastics, secular and regular, to Nicholas Lebrehon, an Augustinian friar, S.T.P. papal penitentiary and nuncio, and to Thomas de Brynthon,

31, 1373, however, the pope designated him Bishop of Rochester in place of the elected candidate.<sup>7</sup> He received the spiritual see on March 20, 1373, the temporal on April 8.<sup>8</sup> Since the sermons in MS. Harley were clearly delivered in England and many of them in the diocese of Rochester,<sup>9</sup> let us assume tentatively that the first of the annual groups is composed of those which belong to 1373, when Brunton first returned to England to enter upon his duties as bishop.<sup>10</sup> The second group would then be assigned to 1374, the third to 1375, the fourth to 1376, the fifth to 1377, and the sixth to 1378.

In order that the reader may have the evidence before him, I list herewith the sermons in the Harley collection from folio 35 to folio 284 with indication of the season to which each belongs. The sermon numbers are those given by the manuscript. Inserted titles mark off the annual groups.<sup>11</sup>

Examination of the ensuing list furnishes positive confirmation of the assumption that Group I is to be assigned to 1373 and the succeeding groups to the years immediately following. Number 78

a Benedictine, doctor of canon law, of the diocese of Norwich, papal penitentiary and nuncio, bearers of these presents."

The statement is usually made that Brunton spent these years at Rome, cf. Tanner, Dugdale, the *D N.B.* etc. Since, however, the papal court was at Avignon during this period and since an important duty of a papal penitentiary was to hear confessions in the principal church of the town where the pope was in residence (cf. *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, 275), it seems probable that he was actually at Avignon.

<sup>7</sup> Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (London, 1691), I, 378.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379.

<sup>9</sup> Brunton's activity as a preacher after he became bishop is well established. Walsingham (*Historia Anglicana*, edited by H. T. Riley, Rolls Series [London, 1863], I, 338-9) gives a summary of the sermon which he preached in connection with the coronation of Richard II in 1377. The present collection seems to correspond with the "Sermones solemnes li. i" concerning which Bale (*Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, edited by R. L. Poole and M. Bateson [Oxford, 1902], p. 51) had a note from the Monastery at Norwich. His preaching while at the papal court was probably covered by the "Sermones coram pontifice Romano factos, lib. i" which Bale (*ibid.*, p. 433) mentions upon the basis of another note from the same source. That information about Brunton should have been preserved at Norwich is logical in view of the fact that he began his career as a monk there.

<sup>10</sup> This group begins with Ash Wednesday or possibly (see note 12 below) with Quinquagesima Sunday. Brunton was not installed as bishop until the third Sunday in Lent, 1373. There is, however, no reason why he should not have begun to preach before his formal assumption of the new office. If he left Avignon shortly after his appointment, he could easily have reached England by Quinquagesima (Feb. 27). It will be noted that Sermon 23, which comes in this group, is headed "apud Roffam" in the manuscript.

<sup>11</sup> Although the number of sermons in each of the groups is approximately the same, it will be observed that not more than seventeen are included within the limits of a single year. This, however, is what one would expect in the case of a bishop, who not having the responsibilities of a parish priest would preach only on special occasions.

Folio (New No )	Ser- mon No.	Sermon Headings Recorded in the MS.	Calendar Position
<i>Group I (1373)</i>			
35a	17	Dominica 24 post Trinitatem, ad Clerum	Late summer <sup>12</sup>
37b	18	In Die Cinerum	Ash Wednesday
39b	19	Dominica Prima Quadragesime	First Sunday in Lent
42b	20	Dominica .3. Quadragesime	Third Lent
45a	21	Dominica in Passione	Fifth Lent
47a	22	In Die Parasceue	Good Friday
51a	23	Ad Clerum, in Visitacione, apud Roffam	Indefinite
52b	24	Dominica 5 post Trinitatem	Summer
54a	25	Dominica 6 post Trinitatem	Summer
55b	26	Dominica 14 post Trinitatem	Late summer
57a	27	Dominica in Quinquagesima	Winter <sup>12</sup>
60a	28	Dominica . . post Trinitatem	Summer
65a	29	Dominica . . post Trinitatem	Summer
66a	30	De Sancto Thoma Cantuariensi, ad Clerum	December 29
70a	31	In Die Natalis Domini	December 25
<i>Group II (1374)</i>			
73a	32	In Die Cinerum, apud Roffam	Ash Wednesday
76a	33	Dominica Prima Quadragesime	First Lent
79a	34	Dominica 2a Quadragesime	Second Lent
82a	35	Dominica 3 Quadragesime	Third Lent
86a	36	Dominica 4a Quadragesime	Fourth Lent
90a	37	Dominica in Passione	Fifth Lent
93a	38	In Annunciatione Beate Virginis, apud Eylisforde in Domo Carmelitorum coram Domino de Grey <sup>13</sup>	March 25
96b	39	In Die Parasceueo	Good Friday
101b	40	In Die Pasche	Easter
103b	41	Dominica .3. post Pascham	Late spring
106b	42	De Maria Magdalena	July 22

<sup>12</sup> Here is an obvious error. The sequence would be much improved if No. 17 and No. 27 were interchanged. The former, assigned to the 24th Sunday after Trinity, would then come in a group belonging to the Sundays after Trinity instead of in mid-winter. The latter, for Quinquagesima Sunday, which is now so badly out of place among the Trinity sermons would come properly just before Ash Wednesday. That there has been some confusion in placing No. 17 is further indicated by the fact that in the manuscript, although this sermon is called No. 17 in the running title, it is numbered 27 at the beginning of the text. It seems probable, therefore, that in some way No. 17 and No. 27 have been reversed. The dislocation, however, must have occurred before or during the copying of this manuscript for it is not shown by the original foliation.

<sup>13</sup> The Carmelite house at Aylesford was founded 1242 by Richard de Grey, Lord of Cudnor. As late as 1492 a member of the Grey family was buried there. See *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Kent* (London, 1926), II, 201 ff.

Folio (New No.)	Ser- mon No.	Sermon Headings Recorded in the MS.	Calendar Position
109b	43	Dominica infra Octavis Ascencionis, ad Clerum, Londinum	Early summer
111b	44	(No heading given)	Indefinite
115a	45	(No heading given)	Indefinite
119a	46	Londinum	Indefinite
120b	47	Apud Roffam, in Celebracionem Ordinacionis <i>Group III (1375)</i>	Indefinite
122a	48	Dominica post Epiphaniam	January
126a	49	In Die Cinerum	Ash Wednesday
128b	50	Dominica Prima Quadragesime, apud Derteforde	First Lent
131b	51	Ad Clerum	Indefinite
133a	52	In Festo Annunciationis Beate Virginis	March 25
136a	53	Dominica Quarta Quadragesime	Fourth Lent
139b	54	Dominica in Passione Christi	Fifth Lent
144a	55	In Die Cene, in Ecclesia Cathedrali Roffense	Holy Thursday
146a	56	In Die Parasceue, in Ecclesia Cathedrali	Good Friday
152a	57	Pro Mortuis, apud Pepinbery	Indefinite
155a	58	Pro Mortuis, apud Wrotham	Indefinite
156b	59	Pro Mortuis	Indefinite
159b	60	De Sancta Maria Magdalena	July 22
162b	61	De Apostolis Petro et Andrea	May 15
164a	62	De Mortuis, apud Clelisfeld <i>Group IV (1376)</i>	Indefinite
166b	63	In Capite Ieiunij, Roffam	Ash Wednesday
169b	64	Dominica Prima Quadragesime	First Lent
172b	65	Dominica Tercia Quadragesime	Third Lent
175a	66	Dominica in Passione	Fifth Lent
179a	67	In Die Cene	Holy Thursday
180b	68	In Parasceue	Good Friday
186b	69	<i>Dominica 5a post Pascham</i>	<i>Fifth Sunday after Easter</i>
190b	70	Dominica	Indefinite
194a	71	Dominica	Indefinite
196b	72	Dominica in Septuagesima	Winter
200a	73	Dominica Prima post Pascham	Spring
203a	74	In Exequiis	Indefinite
205a	75	In Visitacione	Indefinite
206b	76	Dominica Prima Quadragesime	First Lent
209b	77	De Sancta Maria Magdalena	July 22
212a	78	Apud Roffam pro Domino Edwardo, Principe Wallense <i>Group V (1377)</i>	Summer or Fall, 1376
214a	79	In Die Cinerum	Ash Wednesday
216b	80	In Parasceue, apud Roffam	Good Friday
221b	81	Dominica .3a. Quadragesime	Third Lent

Folio (New No.)	Ser- mon No.	Sermon Headings Recorded in the MS.	Calendar Position
224a	82	In Festo Annunciacionis	March 25
226b	83	De Sancta Maria Magdalena	July 22
230a	84	Dominica . . ; De Sancto Lodewyco	August 19 (?)
233a	85	Ad Clerum, Londinum	Indefinite
237a	86	Dominica in Passione	Fifth Lent
240b	87	In Die Cene	Holy Thursday
243a	88	Dominica Prima post Trinitatem	Early summer
245b	89	Dominica 4a post Trinitatem	Summer
248a	90	De Sancta Maria Magdalena	July 22
251b	91	De Translacione Sancti Thomae Cantuariense	July 7
256b	92	Dominica post . . , ad Clerum	Indefinite
<i>Group VI (1378)</i>			
261a	93	Dominica Secunda Quadragesime	Second Lent
267a	94	Apud Roffam, in Elezione Roffense	Indefinite
268a	95	Dominica 2 post Pascham	Late spring
271a	96	Dominica Prima Quadragesime	First Lent
274b	97	In Die Cene, apud Roffam	Holy Thursday
277a	98	In Festo Annunciacionis, apud Hoo	March 25
280b	99	Dominica Quarta Quadragesime	Fourth Lent
283a	100	Dominica infra Octavis Ascencionis	Early summer
285b	101	In Festo Sancte Marie Magdalene, apud Cobham	July 22

is a funeral tribute to Edward, Prince of Wales. Since the Black Prince died in June 1376, this sermon must have been composed in the summer or early fall of that year and serves, therefore, to identify Group IV with 1376. Even more conclusive is the confirmation supplied by the position of the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25) with reference to the Sundays in Lent during the years under consideration. In Group II the Annunciation stands between *Dominica in Passione* and *In Die Parasceue*; and in 1374 the actual dates were Passion Sunday—March 19; Annunciation—March 25; and Good Friday—March 31. In Group III the Annunciation precedes the Fourth Sunday in Lent; in 1375 the respective dates were March 25 and April 1. Group IV, like Group I, has no sermon for the Annunciation. In Group V, the Annunciation follows the Third Sunday in Lent; in 1377 the dates were March 1 and March 25.<sup>14</sup> In Group VI the Annunciation precedes the Fourth

<sup>14</sup> This group is less satisfactory than the others because, after a break caused by the insertion of two sermons which belong to the summer season and one headed simply *Ad Clerum*, there is a sermon for the fifth Sunday in Lent. In 1377 March 25 was the Wednesday in Passion Week and were the sequence perfect the sermon for the Annunciation would follow that for the fifth Sunday in Lent. The irregularity is doubtless accounted for by the confusion caused by the intruding sermons. In Group VI the sermon for Holy Thursday is obviously misplaced since it comes before that for the fourth Sunday in Lent.

Sunday in Lent; the dates in 1378 were March 25 and March 28. For all the years suggested, therefore, the groups in MS. Harley and the actual Lenten sequences correspond. If, on the other hand, the groups be assigned to any other series of years at about this period, the sermon on the Annunciation will not come in its proper place with respect to the Lenten Sundays in more than one, or at most two groups. Finally in Group III (1375) no less than four sermons are headed *Pro Mortuis* although no sermons with this title appear in the other groups. The most natural explanation would seem to be that these sermons were called forth by the unusual mortality of that visitation of the plague which began in the south of England in 1374 and was especially virulent in London in 1375.<sup>15</sup>

No. 69—the sermon which particularly concerns us—stands in Group IV, and accordingly belongs to the year 1376. This address carries the heading *Dominica Quinta post Pascham*. In 1376 the fifth Sunday after Easter fell on May 18. Consequently we are justified in fixing this as the definite date on which Bishop Brunton put forth his bold application of the familiar fable of the attempt made by the rats and mice to restrain their ancient enemy, the cat.

This date fits remarkably well with the sentiments expressed in this sermon which, as Father Gasquet and Professor Owst have pointed out, reflects the political and governmental situation at the time of the Good Parliament. The phrase, "the king and his sons,"<sup>16</sup> which Brunton uses to describe the royal family, would have been pertinent at any time before the death of Edward III in June 1377. The majority of his references to contemporary conditions, however, would have lost their value after the session of the Good Parliament.<sup>17</sup> Brunton states that persons of evil character have long had control of the government,<sup>18</sup> that a

<sup>15</sup> See *The Anonimale Chronicle 1333 to 1381 from a MS. Written at St. Mary's Abbey, York*, edited by V. H. Galbraith, Publications of the University of Manchester CLXXV, Historical Series XLV (Manchester, 1927), p. 77: "Mesme celle an mille CCCLXIII (a scribal error for CCCLXXIII) comensast le quart pestilence en plusours villes en Engleterre devers le south pais et endurrast par longe temps En quel pestilence murrerent en lan apres graunt noumbre des citisaunz de Loundres de les meliours et plus riche de toute la cite et plusours vaillaunt clerkes de la Chauncellerie et de le Commune Bank et del Eschequer."

<sup>16</sup> MS. Harley 3760, fol. 190a: "rex et filij"; "regi et filijs."

<sup>17</sup> In the fall of 1376, to be sure, the reforms instituted at this session were swept aside by the king who dissolved the advisory committee appointed by Parliament and restored Alice Perrers and several of the banished officials. By that time, however, John of Gaunt had personally assumed a dominant place in the government, and there seems little doubt that Brunton's attack on official corruption, if made at this later period, would have taken a very different direction.

<sup>18</sup> MS. Harley 3760, fol. 187a: "Set numquid est scitum et quasi vndique predicatum quomodo singulares persone non virtuose set vicose et scandalose per multa tempora habuerunt priuose regimen huius regni?"

woman (obviously the king's mistress, Alice Perrers) is exerting an undue and pernicious influence,<sup>19</sup> that the king and his sons are being em-poverished by greedy officials,<sup>20</sup> and that the king needs more advisers chosen from men of high rank and proved excellence.<sup>21</sup> Surely these complaints and suggestions were made before the Good Parliament had brought about the disgrace of a number of high officials upon charges of peculation, had banished Alice Perrers from court, and had appointed a committee of peers to advise the king. Nor would Brunton have described the latter as ignorant of the conditions in question after a detailed knowledge of these very points had been forced upon him by Parliament.<sup>22</sup>

Brunton's text for his sermon is the phrase *Factor operis hic beatus* (James I, 25). This text he applied with particular emphasis to Parliament because that body, which apparently was in session, had called attention to certain abuses but had not yet taken steps to bring about reform.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, this was just the point that the fable of the rat parliament was designed to drive home. It is, therefore, particularly noteworthy that these were the conditions existing precisely at the time to which this sermon has been assigned on the evidence of the manuscript. By May 18 all the members of Parliament—and presumably most Londoners—knew of the scandalous conduct of public affairs in the preceding years. The king, however, had not been formally notified, nor had action been taken against the guilty officials. Within ten days after this date Parliament by doing just these things had carried out Brunton's most important suggestions.

The following table, which puts the date determined for the sermon

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 190b: "Nec est decens vel tutum quod ad vnus vxoris cingulum pendere debeant omnes clauēs."

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 190a: "Apparetne vobis regnum equitatis si rex et filij per consiliarios ita sunt ducii quod ipsi sunt pauperes et erumpnosi prae gradu et ipsi duciores ita habundant pecunijs?"

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 190b: "Rex autem Anglie, licet habeat consiliarios et officarios prudentes et fideles, tum in arduis per vnus consilium. . . ."

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 187b: "Tacent domini temporales quod timent offensam regis, trepidantes vbi non est verisimiliter trepidandum, quod si creduliter veritas diceretur, ita est trac-cabilis et ducilis quod talia in regno nullatenus pateretur."

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 187a: "Primo inter opera cetera in regno Anglie a retroactis temporibus at-temptata, iam pendet in manibus opus arduum et excellens ex eo quod ad parliamentum sunt vocati prelati, domini, et communes ad traccandum et declarandum de regimine bono regni. Set quid proderit puncca parlamenti traccare et facca transgressorum publice de-clarare nisi post declaracionem sequitur penalís executio debita in hac parte, cum frustra sint iura, nisi sint qui iura debite exequuntur? . . . (fol. 187b) Non sic, domini reuerendi, set ne parliamentum nostrum comparetur etc. . . . (fol. 188a) Amore Christi et ob defen-sionem regni in tanto discrimine constituti, non simus tantum locutores set facciores."

in its proper place in the best extant chronology of the Good Parliament (that preserved in the *Anonimalle Chronicle of St. Mary's, York*), makes this clear.<sup>24</sup>

Event	<i>Anonimalle Chronicle</i>	Calendar Date
Parliament convenes.	Le lundy en le tierc symaigne apres le Pasche (p. 79).	Monday, April 28.
First separate meeting of Commons denounces conditions.	Le secunde iour apres (p. 80).	Wednesday, April 30.
Commons deliberate and select Sir Peter de la Mare as spokesman.	Le tierce iour apres... tanqe la vendredi proschein (p. 82 f.).	Saturday, May 3– Friday, May 9.
Peter de la Mare denounces corruption in full Parliament.	Le lundy apres (p. 85).	Monday, May 12.
King grants council of Peers requested by Commons to advise with them.	Le dysmaigne apres (p. 88).	Tuesday, May 13.
<i>Date of Brunton's Sermon.</i>	<i>Dominica Quinta post Pascham.</i>	<i>Sunday, May 18.</i>
First meeting of Commons with its advisory committee demands that evils be corrected.	Le lundy proschein (p. 88).	Monday, May 19.
Separate meetings of Peers and Commons held.	Lendemaigne (p. 90).	Tuesday, May 20.
Commons in presence of Peers demand that Alice Perrers be banished and council appointed to direct the king.	Le quart iour apres (p. 90).	Saturday, May 24.
Demands announced to the king who consents. The council chosen. Alice Perrers and the guilty officials removed.	Le secunde iour apres (p. 91).	Monday, May 26.
Parliament disbands.	La translacion de seint Benett (p. 79).	July 11.

<sup>24</sup> The calendar dates in column three are those supplied by Professor Galbraith. Concerning this chronology T. F. Tout (*Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* [Manchester, 1928], p. 291 note) makes the following comment: "Fortunately we now have in the *Anonimalle Chronicle* of St. Mary's, York, admirably edited by Mr. V. H. Galbraith, a new source, which makes absolutely clear the chronology of at least its (i.e. the Good Parliament's) early proceedings. . . ."



To determine the circumstances in which the sermon was preached is a more difficult matter. For a number of the other sermons the manuscript gives the place of delivery, the type of audience, or both. In this instance these details are omitted. There is reason, however, to suppose that the place was London. Brunton often preached there,<sup>25</sup> and, as Professor Owst pointed out, Sermon 28 mentions preaching at the capital among the imperative duties of his office.<sup>26</sup> There is evidence, moreover, that Brunton himself was a member of the Good Parliament,<sup>27</sup> and while it remains possible that he returned to Rochester or went to some other place to preach this sermon, far more probably he did not. The phrase *domini reuerendi*, which he uses in addressing his audience, indicates that the sermon was not delivered before an ordinary congregation. In any case it would seem to have been a congregation composed in the main of members of the parliament. Father Gasquet offered the interesting suggestion that the group in question was the Convocation which met in connection with the Good Parliament.<sup>28</sup>

From what has thus been determined as to the date and the occasion upon which Brunton's sermon was delivered, it is clear that the author of the B-text of *Piers Plowman* could hardly have failed to know of it.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Nos. 12, 43, 46, 108.

<sup>26</sup> Owst, *loc. cit.*, p. 278. MS Harley 3760, fol. 60b. "... predicando, et precipue post curam nostram Londonijs predicando, quia est civitas Anglie principalis. . . . Item quia ibi est maior deuocio et capacios populus et ideo presumitur maior fruccus. Item quia quilibet episcopus Anglie habet Londonijs subditos vel parochianos, igitur ibi docens quasi predicat suis et ceteris ecclesiis Anglicanis, vt ista in effectu faciendo "

<sup>27</sup> "L'Evesq de Roucestre" is listed in the account of the Good Parliament preserved in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (II, 322) among the "Hearers of Petitions for Gascony and the Other Lands beyond the Sea."

The *Chronicon Angliæ* (edited by E. M. Thompson, Rolls Series [London, 1874], p. 69) includes the Bishop of Rochester among the peers chosen by the commons to advise with them. Unfortunately his presence on this second committee is not confirmed by the other extant lists. That in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (II, 322) substitutes the Bishop of St. Davids; that in *The Anonimale Chronicle* (p. 91) the Bishop of Bath. Could we be certain that Brunton served in this capacity, the interest of No. 69 would be even greater than it is.

<sup>28</sup> Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 64 "It is even possible that the discourse, spoken evidently to the clergy, may have been delivered at the meeting of Convocation, which at this time (during the session of the Good Parliament) insisted that William of Wykeham must be allowed to take his place at their deliberations, although he had been disgraced and deprived of the resources of his See of Winchester through the influence and misrepresentations of those who held the old King in their power."

There is some confusion here. The Convocation which demanded the restoration of William of Wykeham was that which met in conjunction with the "Bad" Parliament of 1377. He was not disgraced until the fall of 1376 and his downfall at that time was in large measure due to his activity as a member of the Good Parliament.

<sup>29</sup> Since Skeat's edition of the B-Text for the Early English Text Society, Original Series xxxviii (London, 1869), it has been the consensus of opinion that the poem reflects the

Certainly an address of so controversial a nature must have created a considerable stir. The original audience may have been limited in size and character, but the report of the sermon must have come to the attention of everyone who had acquaintance with political events. In this report the daring application of the well-known fable would certainly have had an important part.

The author of the B-text, then, presumably had Brunton's use of the fable in mind when he retold it in the prologue of his own poem. The material could have come to him from other sources, for instance, from Odo of Cheriton or the *Contes Moralisés* of Nicholas Bozon.<sup>30</sup> Fables however, were not a customary device with the author, in the whole bulk of the three versions of *Piers Plowman* this is the only real fable. The probability at once suggests itself, therefore, that this unique example was the result of an unusually strong stimulus. Brunton's sermon, which had made the story familiar, and possibly bruited, as a weapon of political controversy, was certainly better suited to act as this stimulus than a general and otherwise quiescent knowledge of fable literature.

The relation of Brunton's sermon to the B-text makes the definite date which we have established for the former especially valuable. If the addition to the prologue was suggested in this way, then the middle of May 1376 becomes the *terminus a quo* for this part of the poem. How long after this, however, the passage in question—and the rest of the poem—were completed cannot be determined on this basis. It is likely that the sermon would be remembered for some time, so that a number of years may have intervened between Brunton's address and the issuance of the B-text. The more difficult problem of the *terminus ad quem* must be approached from other angles.<sup>31</sup>

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Good Parliament. M. Jusserand, *Piers Plowman, A Contribution to the History of English Mysticism* (London, 1894), stresses this particularly.

<sup>30</sup> Odo of Cheriton, edited by Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, II, 633. Nicholas Bozon, *Les Contes Moralisés de . . .*, edited by L. T. Smith and P. Meyer, (Paris, 1889), p. 144 and p. 212.—Brunton probably got the fable from a source of this kind. The use of exempla, especially fables, was a consistent part of his preaching technique. The present fable is treated in his usual manner; cf. MS. Harley 3760, fol. 61.

<sup>31</sup> Although our investigation thus confirms Professor Owst's general hypothesis as to the source of the fable in the B-prologue, it seems impossible to accept his interpretation of the allegorical figures in this part of *Piers Plowman* as allusions to actual persons prominent at the time of the Good Parliament. The theory that Brunton himself was the historical prototype of the "angel of heuene" who spoke "in the eyre on heigh" (B, Prologue, l. 128) is particularly unconvincing. The phraseology of the passage is more or less conventional, and the warning spoken by an angelic voice is a literary commonplace. It seems to have

grown up in connection with the story of the divine disapproval of the Donation of Constantine which was a favorite with Wyclif and which is introduced, without this particular phrase, in another part of the B-text (xv, 519 ff.). See 1. John of Paris (*ca.* 1290). "... audita est vox angelorum dicentium in aere," *De Pot. Reg. et Pap.*, xxii (cited by Skeat, *Piers Plowman*, Notes, EETS 67 [London, 1877], p. 367). 2. Wyclif: "vox audita est in aere angelica," *Dialogus* iv, 18 (cited by Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 367). "þer was herde a voyce in þe eyre . . ."; "þe awngelle of god, aperyng in þe eyre in þe tyme of doynge of þis wickid dede, saide þes wordis," *The Clergy May not Hold Property*, edited by F. D. Matthews, *The English Works of Wyclif* (London, 1880), p. 374 and p. 380. 3. Gower:

"Ly Rois du gloire celestin  
Amont en l'air de son divin  
Par une voix q'estoit celestre  
Faisoit crier . . ."

*Mirour de L'Omme*, l. 18640 ff., edited by G. C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower*, i, *The French Works* (Oxford, 1899);

"Hec vox angelica, que nuper in ethere Romam  
Terruit . . .",

*Vox Clamantis*, iii, 283 f., edited by Macaulay, iv, *The Latin Works* (Oxford, 1902);

"Anon as he hath mad the yifte,  
A vois was herd on hih the lifte,  
Of which al Rome was adrad,"

*Confessio Amantis*, ii, 3486 ff., edited by Macaulay, ii, *The English Works* (Oxford, 1901). 4. Pecoock's *Repressor*: "a voice of an aungel was herd in the eir," p. 323 (cited by Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 367).

## VI

### THE TWO PETROS IN THE "MONKES TALE"

THE chronology of the "Monkes Tale" has been often discussed,<sup>1</sup> and there are widely divergent views regarding its composition. Skeat and others have suggested that it was an independent work of Chaucer's, written early as the beginning of a collection after the form of the *De Casibus*.<sup>2</sup> More recently, Professor Robinson has suggested that Chaucer's model was the *Roman de la Rose*, which provided not only the source for some of the stories but the connecting link of the Fortune Moral as well. If Chaucer did use the *Roman de la Rose*, the "Monkes Tale" may very well have been written early, at a time, indeed, when the French influence on Chaucer was still strong. For this reason and others, Professors Robinson and Kittredge regard the poem as an early composition.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Professor Tatlock<sup>4</sup> has argued that the poem was written expressly for the *Canterbury Tales* and at a time when this project was already well under way.

A complicating factor in dating the "Monkes Tale" is, however, the series of tragedies, conveniently termed the Modern Instances. These tragedies deal with mediæval figures, whereas the other stories are drawn from biblical and ancient literature. Accordingly, the Modern Instances are considered by some scholars as having been later appended to the "Monkes Tale." In any case, the account of Bernabo could not have been written earlier than 1386, since he was slain in December, 1385.<sup>5</sup> It is notable, however, that this tragedy differs in two ways from the others. First, it lacks formal reference to the moral concerning Fortune, which is the central theme of the poem as a whole. In the second place, as Professor Kittredge<sup>6</sup> has pointed out, the stanza bears every indication of being an afterthought, because Chaucer makes the query (B<sup>2</sup>3591): "Why sholde I nat thyn infortune acounte. . . ?"

In considering the date of the Modern Instances, however, we reckon

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Professors Cirot, of the University of Bordeaux, and Oliver Towles, of New York University, for answering my inquiries regarding Spanish and French literature, respectively. My chief indebtedness is to Professor Carleton Brown, whose assistance throughout this investigation and especially in the study of manuscripts has been most generous. Other detailed obligations are expressed in their proper places.

<sup>2</sup> Skeat, *Complete Works* . . . (Oxford, 1900), III, 427 f.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *Complete Works* . . . (Camb. ed., 1933), p. 14; and Kittredge, *Date of Chaucer's Troilus* . . . (Chaucer Soc., 1909), p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *The Dev. and Chron.* . . . (Chaucer Soc., 1907), pp. 164-172.

<sup>5</sup> See Skeat, *Oxf. Chaucer*, v, 240-241, and Robinson's note, p. 856.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 44-46.

with the fact that in the manuscripts these occupy two alternate positions in the "Monkes Tale." Twenty-seven manuscripts<sup>7</sup> introduce them immediately following Zenobia, while fifteen<sup>8</sup> place them at the end, following the tragedy of Cræsus. Regard for chronology would, of course, favor the latter arrangement; but the Monk in his prefatory lines (B<sup>2</sup>3178) expressly announces that he does not propose a chronological arrangement for his tragedies: "But tellen hem som bifore and some bihynde." In the light of this statement, Chaucer's authority would rather favor the middle position. Furthermore, as Professor Robinson remarks, the fact that the account of Cræsus closes with a definition of tragedy makes it "a natural ending of the whole tale."<sup>9</sup>

Before drawing any conclusion in regard to this, it is necessary to note also an important difference in the text of the "Nun's Priest's Prologue" which immediately follows the "Monkes Tale"; and which seems to have some connection with the order of the tragedies. Whereas in twenty-nine manuscripts<sup>10</sup> the "Nun's Priest's Prologue" appears in its full form, in no less than ten manuscripts<sup>11</sup> a passage of twenty lines (B<sup>2</sup>3961-80) is lacking. It appears significant, now, that when one reads the prologue with these lines omitted, the connection is in no wise impaired. Moreover, with these lines omitted the Knight continues as the speaker down to line B<sup>2</sup>3995, while the Host comes into the dialogue with the line, "Thanne spakoure Hoost with rude speche and boold (B<sup>2</sup>3998)." It would be indeed singular if a scribe could have omitted this passage and left the text so perfectly connected. What is most significant of all, however, is that in this passage we have the statement, "He spak how Fortune covered with a clowde (B<sup>2</sup>3972)," which refers back to the last line of Cræsus: "And covere hire [Fortune's] brighte face with a clowde (B<sup>2</sup>3956)." This proves conclusively that when this passage was written the Modern Instances did not stand at the end.

It might possibly be argued that the Modern Instances stood at the end in the first draft and that Chaucer then put them back into the mid-

<sup>7</sup> B<sub>o</sub><sup>1</sup>, B<sub>w</sub>, C<sub>p</sub>, E<sub>n</sub><sup>2</sup>, F<sub>i</sub>, G<sub>i</sub>, H<sub>a</sub><sup>2</sup>, H<sub>a</sub><sup>4</sup>, H<sub>i</sub>, I<sub>i</sub>, L<sub>a</sub>, L<sub>o</sub>, L<sub>d</sub><sup>1</sup>, M<sub>e</sub>, M<sub>g</sub>, M<sub>m</sub>, N<sub>i</sub>, P<sub>h</sub><sup>2</sup>, P<sub>h</sub><sup>3</sup>, P<sub>w</sub>, R<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup>, R<sub>y</sub><sup>1</sup>, R<sub>y</sub><sup>2</sup>, S<sub>i</sub><sup>1</sup>, S<sub>i</sub><sup>2</sup>, T<sub>i</sub><sup>1</sup>, and T<sub>o</sub><sup>2</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> A<sub>d</sub><sup>1</sup>, A<sub>d</sub><sup>2</sup>, C<sub>b</sub>, C<sub>n</sub>, D<sub>d</sub>, D<sub>s</sub>, E<sub>i</sub>, E<sub>n</sub><sup>1</sup>, E<sub>n</sub><sup>2</sup>, G<sub>g</sub>, H<sub>g</sub>, L<sub>n</sub>, M<sub>a</sub>, P<sub>y</sub>, and S<sub>e</sub>.—These data were garnered from Sir William McCormick's *The Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Oxford, 1933).

<sup>9</sup> P. 853. Professor Robinson also suggests another means for accounting for the arrangement; but since this explanation "involves a complicated series of assumptions . . .," he prefers "to regard the order with Cræsus at the end as the one intended by Chaucer at the outset."

<sup>10</sup> A<sub>d</sub><sup>1</sup>, A<sub>d</sub><sup>2</sup>, B<sub>o</sub><sup>1</sup>, B<sub>w</sub>, C<sub>b</sub>, C<sub>n</sub>, D<sub>d</sub>, D<sub>s</sub>, E<sub>i</sub>, E<sub>n</sub><sup>2</sup>, E<sub>n</sub><sup>3</sup>, E<sub>n</sub><sup>3</sup>, F<sub>i</sub>, H<sub>a</sub><sup>2</sup>, H<sub>a</sub><sup>4</sup>, H<sub>i</sub>, L<sub>a</sub>, L<sub>e</sub>, L<sub>d</sub><sup>1</sup>, L<sub>n</sub>, M<sub>g</sub>, M<sub>m</sub>, N<sub>i</sub>, P<sub>h</sub><sup>2</sup>, P<sub>h</sub><sup>3</sup>, R<sub>y</sub><sup>1</sup>, R<sub>y</sub><sup>2</sup>, S<sub>i</sub><sup>1</sup>, and T<sub>o</sub>.

<sup>11</sup> C<sub>p</sub>, H<sub>g</sub>, I<sub>i</sub>, M<sub>a</sub>, M<sub>e</sub>, P<sub>w</sub>, P<sub>y</sub>, S<sub>e</sub>, S<sub>i</sub><sup>2</sup>, and T<sub>o</sub><sup>1</sup>.

dle at the time when these lines were inserted to bind the two together. This would supply a possible reason for transferring them from one position to the other. But there are only four manuscripts which have the Modern Instances at the end followed by the shorter prologue, and these manuscripts are of doubtful or unreliable authenticity.<sup>12</sup> Had such a change been made, we would expect a considerable group of such manuscripts.

The more probable explanation of the Modern Instances at the end is scribal tinkering. The reason for placing them at the end is obviously chronological, since these tragedies ranged from 1288 to 1385.

We appear to have, therefore, three stages in the arrangement of this material: (1) with the Modern Instances in the middle followed by the shorter form of the "Nun's Priest's Prologue;"<sup>13</sup> (2) with the Modern Instances in the middle followed by the expanded form of the prologue<sup>14</sup>—a stage also no doubt attributable to Chaucer; and (3) probably as the result of scribal arrangement, with the Modern Instances at the end and the expanded prologue following.<sup>15</sup> Chaucer may himself have made this shift, but whoever is responsible failed to notice that it resulted in breaking the connection between "Fortune" and the "clowde" and the last line of the tragedy of Croesus. The recognition of these three stages has important implications for the general problem of manuscript relations in view of the fact that this third stage is the arrangement followed, not only by Ellesmere, but by every one of the nine manuscripts which Manly designates as Class I.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The manuscripts in question are H<sub>g</sub>, M<sub>a</sub>, P<sub>y</sub>, and Se. Manly in the introduction to his edition lists M<sub>a</sub> as Class I, P<sub>y</sub> as II<sub>a</sub>, and both H<sub>g</sub> and Se as Very Irregular.

<sup>13</sup> For these six MSS, I give in parentheses Manly's classification, as follows: C<sub>p</sub> (II<sub>b</sub>), I<sub>1</sub>(II<sub>c</sub>), M<sub>c</sub>(II<sub>a</sub>), P<sub>w</sub>(II<sub>c</sub>), S<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>(II<sub>b</sub>), and T<sub>c</sub><sup>1</sup>(II<sub>a</sub>).

<sup>14</sup> Nineteen MSS are represented in this second stage: B<sub>o</sub><sup>1</sup>(II<sub>a</sub>), B<sub>w</sub>(II<sub>c</sub>), E<sub>a</sub><sup>2</sup>(II<sub>c</sub>), F<sub>1</sub>(II<sub>c</sub>), H<sub>a</sub><sup>2</sup>(II<sub>c</sub>), H<sub>a</sub><sup>3</sup>(II<sub>c</sub> for this portion), H<sub>i</sub>(II<sub>c</sub>), L<sub>a</sub>(II<sub>b</sub>), L<sub>c</sub>(II<sub>a</sub>), L<sub>d</sub><sup>1</sup> (Very Irregular), M<sub>g</sub>(II<sub>a</sub>), M<sub>m</sub>(II<sub>c</sub>), N<sub>1</sub>(II<sub>a</sub>), P<sub>h</sub><sup>4</sup>(II<sub>a</sub> for this portion), P<sub>h</sub><sup>3</sup>(II<sub>c</sub>), R<sub>y</sub><sup>1</sup>(II<sub>c</sub>), R<sub>y</sub><sup>2</sup>(II<sub>c</sub>), S<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup>(II<sub>c</sub>), and T<sub>o</sub> (Very Irregular).—Two MSS, G<sub>1</sub> and R<sub>a</sub>, lack the prologue, but have the Modern Instances in the middle.

<sup>15</sup> There are ten MSS to show the third stage: A<sub>d</sub><sup>1</sup>(I), A<sub>d</sub><sup>2</sup>(I), C<sub>h</sub> (Very Irregular), C<sub>n</sub>(I), D<sub>d</sub>(I), D<sub>s</sub>(I), E<sub>i</sub>(I), E<sub>n</sub><sup>1</sup>(I), E<sub>n</sub><sup>2</sup>(I), L<sub>n</sub>(II<sub>a</sub>).

<sup>16</sup> E<sub>i</sub>, G<sub>g</sub>, D<sub>d</sub>, D<sub>s</sub>, E<sub>n</sub><sup>1</sup>, A<sub>d</sub><sup>1</sup>, E<sub>n</sub><sup>3</sup>, M<sub>a</sub>, C<sub>n</sub>.—Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition* (Oxford, 1925), p. 492, n. 2, would have these tragedies at the end as Chaucer's own arrangement.—In discussing the "Nun's Priest's Prologue," Miss Hammond (*Bibliography*, pp. 242–243; cf. Robinson's note, p. 857) suggests that the first intention was to have the Host make the interruption (in l. 2767 four MSS, A<sub>d</sub><sup>1</sup>, E<sub>n</sub><sup>3</sup>, T<sub>c</sub><sup>2</sup>, Cx<sup>1</sup>, read *Hoste* and *Knyght*); but that Chaucer then perceived he would have the Host, not only interrupting before the *Melibee*, but here as well; and that, to avoid this repetition, he substituted the Knight, and added, the Croesus passage. But the interruption in the case of the Host could hardly be considered monotonous repetition, since his speech occurs at the end of *Sir Thopas*, which is separated from the "Nun's Priest's Prologue" by both the tale of *Melibee* and that of the *Monk*. More-

From the foregoing discussion, one point stands out: the Modern Instances were written, not as a postscript, but as a part of the fabric of the "Monkes Tale." The chronology of this group of stories carries with it, therefore, the date of the tale as a whole.

In this connection, the stories of the two Pedros ("Petros," Chaucer calls them) are clearly significant; for both Peter of Spain and Pierre of Cyprus died in 1369.<sup>17</sup> This fact gives the year 1369 as the earliest possible date for the composition of the poem. Contemporary references of this kind would be, moreover, less likely to have point long after the events themselves. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Chaucer wrote these tragedies while the facts were still fresh in his mind. Indeed, the two Pedros are so definitely of contemporary interest that we may inquire if the materials concerning them upon which Chaucer drew do not give indications of an early date.

It is notable that in introducing Don Pedro Chaucer addresses him as "O noble, O worthy Petro, glorie of Spayne."<sup>18</sup> But in thus presenting him in a favorable light, Chaucer appears unique; for all other contemporary writers,<sup>19</sup> even Ayala of Spain,<sup>20</sup> anathematized Don Pedro.

over, the statement (B 3998): "Thanne spak oure Hoost with rude speche and boold" would seem to introduce him for the first time as speaker in this short prologue.

<sup>17</sup> Pedro of Spain was murdered in 1369, shortly after the battle of Monteil (Alfred Morel-Fatio, "La Donation du Duché de Molina à Bertrand du Guesclin," *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LX (1899), 147). Pierre of Cyprus was assassinated in January, 1369. See N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (Paris, 1896), p. 390, n. 5. <sup>18</sup> B<sup>2</sup>3565.

<sup>19</sup> Notably, Froissart, *Chroniques de J. Froissart*, ed. S. Luce, (Paris, 1888), VIII, and Deschamps, *Œuvres Compl. de E. Deschamps*, ed. Marquis de Saint-Hilaire (Paris, 1880), II, 327-328; III, 1882, 100. For this second reference, I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Carleton Brown.

Edward Storer, *Peter the Cruel* (New York, 1911), p. 204, states that Villani and Machaut also severely criticized Don Pedro. Alfred Morel-Fatio, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LX (1899) 151, n. 2, has pointed out that in the *Cancionero de Baena* (no. 304) Pedro is made the subject of a vicious rhyme. And George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1849), p. 182, n. 15, found several Spanish ballads denouncing Don Pedro for his murder of Leonor de Guzman as well as for his cruelty in imprisoning Queen Blanche.

All these literary detractions were of course not without a basis in fact. For example, in the case of Queen Blanche, just referred to, the actions of the King appear thoroughly reprehensible; because at the time Pedro married Blanche he was still enamored of Maria di Padilla. Indeed, H. D. Sedgwick, *The Black Prince* (Indianapolis, 1932), p. 205, states that for this reason Pedro deserted Blanche on the Wednesday following their marriage on Monday. The case, however, appears even worse, for Blanche wrote the Pope she was deserted on the very day of the wedding (George Daumet's *Innocent VI et Blanche de Bourbon*, rev. by L. Mirot, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LX, [1899], 654-655). The French, as a matter of fact, suspected Pedro of having murdered Blanche in 1361 (Prosper Merimée, *Hist. de don Pedro, roi de Castille* [Paris, 1865], p. 265; E. Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, pt. I, ed. A. Coville [1902], p. 178; H. D. Sedgwick, *Spain, A Short History* [Boston, 1925], p.

Skeat has endeavored to explain this unusual view of Chaucer's on the ground that "our Black Prince fought on the side of Pedro against Enrique at the battle of Najera. . . ." <sup>21</sup> But Skeat fails to note that this very battle marked the beginning of a rupture between the English Prince and Don Pedro over Pedro's treatment of prisoners, <sup>22</sup> which developed later into a quarrel between the two over the payment for the Prince's military services. <sup>23</sup> Indeed, when the Black Prince returned to his home in Aquitaine, he was still unreconciled with Pedro. <sup>24</sup> Accordingly, if Chaucer had intended to represent the attitude of the Prince, his account of Pedro would have been unfavorable. As another possible explanation for Chaucer's sympathetic view of Pedro, Skeat <sup>25</sup> reminds us that Pedro's daughter, Constance of Castille, was later married to John of Gaunt.

Besides this, there is the still more important question as to how Chaucer received the same story as Ayala, whose statement of the tragedy appears to be the true one. This fact was first observed by Dr. Furnivall, who stated that "Chaucer is a witness for the truth of the Spanish chronicler Ayala as against the French writers Froissart, Cuvelier, and others. . . ." <sup>26</sup> We know quite a lot about Chaucer's relations to Froissart, <sup>27</sup> with whom we would normally expect him to be in agree-

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99). It was just such unprincipled actions as these that won for Don Pedro the name of the Cruel (T. Morgan, *Jour. Engl. Arch. Ass.*, XLVII [1891], 177).

On the fairness of the contemporary accounts, see Ticknor, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 17; J. B. Sitges, *Las Mujeres del rey don Pedro I de Castilla* (1910), p. 53; and C. E. Chapman, *History of Spain* (New York, 1918), p. 116.

<sup>20</sup> The first volume of Ayala's *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla* (Madrid, 1779) is concerned with the reign of Don Pedro. For an explanation of Ayala's attitude, see Ticknor (I, 176-178) and R. Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española* (Barcelona, 1929), pp. 10-12.

<sup>21</sup> Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VI, 238.

<sup>22</sup> Edward Storer, *Peter the Cruel* (New York, 1911), pp. 309-310.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. J. Leslie Hotson, "The Tale of *Melibeus* and John of Gaunt," *SP*, XVIII (1921), 432.

<sup>24</sup> J. R. Moreton Macdonald, *A History of France* (London, 1915), I, 254-255.—At an earlier period, the relations between England and Spain were more friendly. In fact, Edward III, who had once congratulated Alphonso XI on the conquest of Algeir (J. M. Manly, *Trans. and Proc. of the Am. Phil. Ass.*, XXXVIII [1907], 92), planned a marriage between Princess Joan and Don Pedro; but the project was abruptly terminated in 1348 when the English princess succumbed to the Black Death on the way to Castille (T. F. Tout, *Political History of England* [New York, 1905], III, 370). Later, in 1362, Edward III, in order to insure his hold on Aquitaine, concluded with Pedro an alliance offensive and defensive (J. R. Green, *Hist. of the English People*, p. 100).

<sup>25</sup> *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 238.

<sup>26</sup> J. J. Furnivall, "A Chaucer Difficulty Cleared Up," *Notes & Queries*, 4 S, VIII (1871), 449-450.

<sup>27</sup> See G. L. Kittredge, "Chaucer and Froissart," *Engl. Stud.*, XXVI (1899), 321-336.



ment. It is therefore surprising that Chaucer, who elsewhere turns to Froissart,<sup>28</sup> felt obliged in this story to refer to an outside source. There are serious chronological difficulties, moreover, in supposing Chaucer read Ayala.<sup>29</sup> How, then, are we to explain that both writers agreed in the details?

The solution which I wish to offer is that the story was transmitted to Chaucer through his friend, Sir Guichard d'Angle.<sup>30</sup> It is to be observed that Ayala, according to his own statement,<sup>31</sup> had been captured by the English at the battle of Nagara in 1367<sup>32</sup> and kept in prison until after the death of Pedro in March, 1369.<sup>33</sup> Sir Guichard, we may add, was also a participant in the Spanish campaign.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, at the battle of Nagara, he and his two sons, according to the Herald of Chandos,<sup>35</sup> distinguished themselves for their valor. Moreover, as Sir Guichard was

<sup>28</sup> R. D. French, *A Chaucer Handbook* (New York, 1929), pp. 88, 129.

<sup>29</sup> The first edition of Ayala's chronicle was printed at Seville, October 8, 1495 (A. Paulau y Dulcet, *Manual del Libro Hispano-Americano* [Barcelona, 1926], iv, 261). For this reference, I have to thank Professor E. Herman Hespelt, of New York University.

<sup>30</sup> On Chaucer's relation to d'Angle, see the present writer's account in *Three Chaucer Studies* (Oxford, 1932), pt. II, pp. 28 ff., 34-39; and in *MLN*, XLVIII (1933), 510-511.

<sup>31</sup> In the *Remado de Palacio*. My attention was first drawn to this in reading George Tickner's *Hist. of Sp. Lit.*, I, 100. See also D. Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos* (Madrid, 1918), iv, p. xii.

The poem may be consulted in the following editions: A. F. Kuersteiner's *Poesía del canciller Pero López de Ayala*, Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1920, *Bibliotheca hispanica*, vols. 21-22, also *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (Madrid, 1864), LVII, 425-476. For these references, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. R. Spell, of the Univ. of Texas.

One manuscript states Ayala was imprisoned in "Inglaterra," but the others report Gascony as the place. See Wm. J. Entwistle's essay in *Spain, A Companion to Spanish Studies*, ed. E. Allison Peers, New York, 1929), p. 112.

<sup>32</sup> Ayala was released when Enrico succeeded to the throne after the death of Pedro I. See Ticknor, *Hist. of Sp. Lit.*, I, 178-179.

<sup>33</sup> The date of March 23 for the murder of Don Pedro as given by Skeat, Robinson, and others appears to be inexact. R. Amador de los Ríos ("Los Restos Mortales del Rey don Pedro de Castilla," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, x [1904], 113) states in this connection that: "Aunque ni acuerdo en que la fecha existe, parece, la alevosa muerte de don Pedro acaeció en la noche del 22 al 23 de Marzo de 1369. . . ."

<sup>34</sup> Sir Guichard, in fact, is reported by the Herald (*The Life of the Black Prince*, ed. M. K. Pope and E. C. Lodge [Oxford, 1910]) as one of "les hautes officers du tre noble Prince":

Primerment Iohn Chaundos fust Conestable  
Et apres sa mort le Captawe sanz fable  
Mons Guichard dangle fut Mareschall (4197-99).

<sup>35</sup> Et la fut bons Guicharz d'Angle,  
Qui ne se tenoit pas en l'angle;  
Avoecques li ot ses deux filz  
Et d'autres chevaliers de pris,  
Qui bien fesoient lour devoir (3239-43).

the Black Prince's Marshal of Aquitaine,<sup>36</sup> it is clear that he would have heard the details. We can readily understand, therefore, how Sir Guichard and Ayala would receive the same report of Pedro's death.

Indeed, this interpretation seems more reasonable than any that has been suggested. An alternative view, however, is that the story came to Chaucer through Philippa.<sup>37</sup> But this suggestion, likely as it might seem, leaves unexplained a second important point in Chaucer's account. For in the second stanza Chaucer emphasizes the treachery of Don Enrico and the baseness of du Guesclin and de Mauny, who aided him in the conspiracy to murder Pedro.<sup>38</sup> Why should Chaucer in an additional stanza have been obliged to censure them? Now, if we suppose the poem to represent Sir Guichard's attitude, Chaucer's strong feeling against the conspirators is easily explained. In the first place, Chaucer's disapprobation of Enrico would be accounted for, because Sir Guichard, who had been captured by Enrico's forces in 1372, was compelled for two years to suffer the tortures of a Spanish dungeon.<sup>39</sup> While they were imprisoned, the English captives were on one occasion led before certain visiting Frenchmen, whom they prayed: "Noble gent de France et douce, se nous fussions voz prisonniers, vous ne feussions pas si villainement menez ni si durement traictiez comme nous sommes."<sup>40</sup> One month after the capture (i.e., in July) of Sir Guichard and his colleagues, Owen de Galles saw the prisoners (i.e., those who were not killed or wounded after their capture) "liés ou enchainés deux par deux, comme des chiens tenus en laisse."<sup>41</sup> In the light of these facts, it is clear that Sir Guichard would have represented Enrico unfavorably.

Furthermore, with regard to du Guesclin and de Mauny, Sir Guichard had equally good reasons for being embittered. For while he was imprisoned in Spain, these French generals persecuted Sir Guichard's wife. Dame d'Angle was, in fact, forced to surrender her castle of Achart. She

<sup>36</sup> The title of Marshal of Aquitaine was given to Sir Guichard as reward for his loyalty and fidelity to the English cause. R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V* (Paris, 1928), iv, 21.

<sup>37</sup> F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Cambridge edition, 1933), pp. 855-856.

<sup>38</sup> Chaucer (in B<sup>2</sup> 3573-80) alludes to du Guesclin by referring to the heraldic emblems on his coat of mail; to de Mauny by punning on his name in the phrase "wikked nest" (OF. *mau ni*; i.e., MnF. *mal nid*). Brusendorff (*The Chaucer Tradition* [Oxford, 1925], p. 489) has suggested that Chaucer drew upon a ballade on du Guesclin attributed to Deschamps in writing his description of Bertrand's coat of arms.

<sup>39</sup> *Chroniques de J. Froissart*, ed. S. Luce (Paris, 1888), viii, pp. 38-42, 295-299. Ayala mentions (*Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, II, 12 ff.) Guichard d'Angle by name as one of the prisoners captured at Rochelle.

<sup>40</sup> *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, ed. S. Luce (Paris, 1862), p. 235.

<sup>41</sup> R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V* (Paris, 1928), iv, 416.

received a safe-conduct, however, and fled to the Duke of Berry.<sup>42</sup> She made a personal appeal to the Duke, which we have in her own words:

Monsigneur, vous savés que je sui une seule femme à point de fait ne de deffense, et veve de vif mari, s'il plaist à Dieu; car mon signeur, messires Guichars [Guichard d'Angle], gist prisonniers en Espagne, ens es dangiers dou roy Henri. Si vous vorroie prier en humilité que vous me feissiés celle grasce que, tant que mon signeur sera prisonniers en Espagne, mi chastiel et ma terre, mon corps et (mes biens, avec) mes gens, puissent demorer en pais, par mi tant que nous ne ferons point de guerre, et on ne nous en fera point ossi.<sup>43</sup>

The plea touched the Duke's heart and he swore to place his aid in her behalf. Strong inducements, in the form of bribes and assurances to exchange prisoners, were accordingly made to Bertrand du Guesclin and Oliver de Mauny. At length, the Frenchmen were persuaded, not only to desist their persecutions of Dame d'Angle, but to effect in 1374-75 the release of Sir Guichard and his colleagues.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, in explaining Chaucer's denunciation of the French generals, the evidence points again to Sir Guichard as the informant.

According to the present interpretation, we have, therefore, not only an explanation of Chaucer's agreement with Ayala, but the source of his view of the conspirators who brought about the murder of Don Pedro. Nor is it necessary to call in (as have Skeat and others) either Gaunt or Constance, or much less Philippa, to account for Chaucer's taking the part of Don Pedro because the Duke married Constance of Castille. Obviously Philippa would have been informed only by hearsay. And there would be little reason for Chaucer to turn to Gaunt, especially when he could have received the story more directly from his friend. For Sir Guichard had been throughout a promoter of this particular marriage. It was he, indeed, who suggested to John of Gaunt the policy of a marriage with Constance of Castille. Moreover, he was intrusted

<sup>42</sup> The substance of the foregoing paragraph is drawn from G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter* (London, 1841), pp. 184-186.

<sup>43</sup> *Chroniques de J. Froissart*, ed. S. Luce (Paris, 1888), viii, 116.

<sup>44</sup> Du Guesclin and his nephew Oliver de Mauny, it appears, had received from Enrico certain lands in Spain as reward for their services. The estate of Soria in Castille du Guesclin surrendered for the Earl of Pembroke; Mauny, his estate of Agreda for Sir Guichard and other Englishmen captured at Rochelle. Beltz (pp. 186-187) explains another phase of the transaction as follows: "It happened that a rich French knight, the sire de Roie, a prisoner in England, had an only daughter whom Oliver de Mauni desired to espouse." But Beltz appears incorrect in representing Oliver as the suitor, for it is established by other evidence that the knight was Alain de Mauny (*Chron. de J. Froissart*, ed. Luce, viii, xcvi, note 4).—Beltz gives 1374 as the date of the prisoners' release; the time was in the early months of 1375 (Paul Guérin, *Archives Historiques du Poitou*, xix [1888], 173, n. 2).

with and succeeded in the negotiations for the marriage alliance. Afterwards, he was present when the nuptials of the Duke and Constance were solemnized at Rochefort. This clearly reveals, of course, the regard in which the Duke held him. It is to be observed, moreover, that he attended Lancaster and his bride to England, where the company was received by King Edward, "who, at the feast of St. George . . . 1372, admitted our heroic knight into the order of the Garter. . . ."<sup>45</sup> As another evidence of the high regard in which Sir Guichard was held by the English court, we may note that when King Edward III was asked in 1374 whether he preferred to rescue from the Spaniards Otto de Granson or Sir Guichard, he replied "que il s'enclinet plus à monseigneur Guichart d'Angle que à monsieur Othe."<sup>46</sup> On the basis of these facts, it will be seen that Sir Guichard had every reason to represent the murder of the father of the new Duchess of Lancaster in sympathetic terms.

It remains to be noted that Sir Guichard was personally associated with Don Pedro. According to Froissart,<sup>47</sup> it was Sir Guichard who was appointed in 1367 to escort Pedro to Burgos, capital of Old Castille. It is also significant that Sir Guichard witnessed in 1366 the famous conference between Don Pedro and the Black Prince, where he would have heard of Pedro's having been forced to flee for his life to Bordeaux.<sup>48</sup> It is to this very flight, in fact, that Chaucer appears to refer in the statement "Out of thy land thy brother made thee flee."<sup>49</sup> Accordingly, the tragedy of Don Pedro of Spain is best explained and most fully accounted for on the basis that Sir Guichard d'Angle was Chaucer's informant.

It is easier to understand Chaucer's interest in the second "Petro" than the first, for Pierre of Cyprus had visited England on at least two occasions. In fact, it is possible that Chaucer in 1358, while retaining a

<sup>45</sup> The facts made use of in the foregoing paragraph are drawn from G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter* (London, 1841), pp. 184-186.

<sup>46</sup> *Chroniques de J. Froissart*, ed. Luce, VIII, 166.

<sup>47</sup> The French chronicler (VII, 50) recounts the story as follows: "Tantost apriès messe et boire, li rois dan Piètres monta à cheval, et li contes Sanses ses frères et li mestres de Calatrave et tout cil qui si homme estoient devenu, et li doi mareschal messires Guigars d'Angle et messire Estievenes de Cousentonne et bien cinq cens hommes d'armes, et se partirent, de l'ost et dou prince et chevaucierent viers Burghes."

<sup>48</sup> Beltz, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-186. Don Pedro had repaired to Bordeaux to enlist the services of the Black Prince. He came, however, with promises rather than with gold. But despite this, and the hesitancy among the Gascons in the Prince's council, Don Pedro prevailed upon the Black Prince to undertake the campaign. At length, in February, 1367, the English Prince, whose coffers were now replenished with gold from Navarre and whose forces had been augmented by divisions under John of Gaunt, crossed the Pyrenees. T. Morgan, *Jour. British Arch. Ass.*, XLVII (1891), 178-182; A. E. Prince, *English Hist. Rev.*, XLVI (1931), 353-371; and Walter of Peterborough's poem, "Prince Edward's Expedition into Spain . . .," *Political Poems and Songs* (Rolls series, 1859), I, 97-122. <sup>49</sup> B<sup>2</sup>3568.

position in the household of Prince Lionel, may have seen Pierre's father, Hughes IV, who attended the banquet given by King Edward.<sup>50</sup> Chaucer, however, had the opportunity of hearing from his friends of Pierre's own activities. For the King of Cyprus was present at the tournament which celebrated the birth of the first son of the Black Prince, where he would have seen or met Guichard d'Angle, who participated in this festival.<sup>51</sup> Sir Guichard was also present in 1364 at the meeting of Edward III and Pierre at Bordeaux.<sup>52</sup> The year before (i.e., 1363) the King of Cyprus had made a celebrated visit to England in the interest of organizing a new crusade,<sup>53</sup> and prominent among the company sent to welcome the King was Chaucer's friend, Sir Richard Stury. It was Sir Richard, indeed, who assisted in conducting Pierre through the city of London and to his lodging.<sup>54</sup>

In taking up the tragedy of Pierre of Cyprus, however, the case is considerably simplified, because for this story we have a literary source. The striking fact about Chaucer's stanza on Pierre is that it is historically inaccurate in every detail.<sup>55</sup> It is significant to note, accordingly, that Machaut's *La Prise d'Alexandrie*, a poetic biography of Pierre, is also unhistorical.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, Machaut's poem, though longer than Chaucer's, contains the same mistakes in statement.

Both Machaut and Chaucer, for example, praise the valor of the King and describe him as little short of a martyr. In the record of history, however, Pierre appears in a different light. His injustice in dealing with his subjects aroused public indignation,<sup>57</sup> and the cruelty of his treat-

<sup>50</sup> R. Morris, *Chaucer: Prologue, Knights Tale, &c.* (Clarendon Press Series, 1903), p. vii, note C.

<sup>51</sup> N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (Paris, 1896), p. 184.

<sup>52</sup> Beltz, *Mem. of the Order of the Garter*, p. 184.

<sup>53</sup> J. L. Lowes, *PMLA*, xix (1904), 594, notes 4-6.

<sup>54</sup> N. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 179. Sir Richard's colleague was Gautier de Mauny, whose name is not to be confused with that of the French family. Gautier's last name is variously spelled; he is referred to in a royal letter as "nostre cher et foial Wauter de Manny" (B. Wilkinson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLII [1927], 250).

<sup>55</sup> This was first noted, so far as I know, by Professor Lowes. "Chaucer's statement of the case in the *Monk's Tale* is curiously out of variance with what seem to be the facts" (*PMLA*, xix [1904], 597 f., note 2).

<sup>56</sup> My attention was first called to this in reading L. de Mas-Latrie's "Guillaume de Machaut et *La Prise d'Alexandrie*," *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xxxvii (1876), 445-463. Machaut received the story from Gautiers de Conflans, a knight of Champagne. "Vesci sa parole & son dit, // Si comme Gautiers le me dit" (*La Prise d'Alexandrie* [ed. Mas-Latrie, Geneva, 1877], vv. 8285-86).

<sup>57</sup> In one instance, without the sanction of high court, Pierre assumed the right to pass judgment against a knight, and in another he exerted private authority in condemning a poor vassal to prison and exile. See L. de Mas-Latrie, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* xxxvii (1876), 445-465.

ment of Marie de Giblet led directly to his assassination.<sup>58</sup> Chaucer, on the other hand, says Pierre was slain "for no thing but for thy chivalrye" by "thyn owene liges."<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Machaut, after extolling the virtues of his royal patron, states: "Mais ceus qui ces ouevres faisoient // Tous ces hommes liges estoient."<sup>60</sup> Machaut then goes on with the emphatic statement: "Et en ce despit // Lors en son lit fus [?sus] li coury . . ."<sup>61</sup> with which we may compare Chaucer's description: "They in thy bedde han slayn thee."<sup>62</sup> But here history again reports that when Pierre was murdered he was not only standing "upright and outside his bed" but "in the adjoining apartment."<sup>63</sup> Finally, both poets agree in giving an

<sup>58</sup> Machaut mentions in *La Prise d'Alexandrie* (ed. Mas-Latrie, pp. 268-269) Jacques d'Ibelin, Sire d'Arzur, Jean de Gaurelles, and Henry de Giblet as the murderers. The name of Pierre de Mimars is added in *Chronographia Regum Francorum* (ed. R. Moranville, Paris, 1893), II, 304—Henry de Giblet, Marie's father, seems to have been drawn into the conspiracy as a result of King Pierre's animosity toward his family; the dissension arose over the following ridiculous matter: "Le 8 janvier 1369, Henry de Giblet chassait avec deux beaux lévriers turcomans qu'il avait donnés à son fils Jacques, quand le jeune comte de Tripoli, fils du roi Pierre, voyant passer ces chiens en lut envie et les fit demander au fils du vicomte, qui les lui refusa en accompagnant son refus de paroles blessantes pour le prince et la famille royale. Le roi, informé de cet événement, fit demander les chiens à Henry de Giblet, qui, prenant le parti de son fils, ne voulut pas les lui remettre. Le roi fit prendre les lévriers, et il en résulta un incident à la suite duquel le roi enlevait à Henry de Giblet la charge de vicomte de Nicrosie et l'envoyait à Baphe, pendant qu'il faisait mettre aux fers Jacques de Giblet, son fils, et l'obligeait à travailler aux fossés de la tour Marguerite. Marie de Giblet, fille d'Henry et sœur de Jacques, alors veuve de Jean de Verny, fut obligée de se réfugier au monastère de Notre-Dame de Tortose, pour échapper au roi qui voulait la remarier à un tailleur, serf de Raymond de Rabin, nommé Caras; sans égard pour l'asile, le roi l'en fit arracher et mettre à la torture." See E. Rey, "Les seigneurs de Giblet," *Revue de L'Orient Latin*, III (1895), 420. In attempting to force Marie, a lady of the nobility, to marry a serf, Pierre was obviously opposing the feudal code. Compare the story by Saxo Grammaticus (*The Danish History* . . ., trans. Oliver Elton [1905], II, 374-380) of Helga's (Ingeld's sister) attachment to a low-born goldsmith and of the wrathful vengeance of Starcad. <sup>59</sup> B<sup>2</sup>3584-85. <sup>60</sup> VV. 8756-57.

<sup>61</sup> The meaning of the passage is clear from the following longer quotation concerning the assassination of Pierre:

Devant son lit sont arresté  
De mal faire tuit apresté.  
Li sires d'Absur la courrine,  
Qui de soie estoit riche & fine,  
Tira, pour le roy mieux veoir,  
Et pour son cop mieux asseoir.  
Et si tost comli roys le vit,  
De son lit gisant li dist:  
"Estes vous la, sires d'Absur,

Faus garson, traître, parjur.  
Qui vous fait entrer en ma chambre?"  
Et li respondi sans attendre:  
"Je ne sui mauvais ne traïtes,  
Mais tel estes vous, com vous dites;  
Dont vous morrez, sans nul respit,  
De mes mains." Et en ce despit  
Lors en son lit fus [?sus] li coury  
Et ij. cos ou iij. le fery . . . vv. 8686-703.

<sup>62</sup> B<sup>2</sup>3586.

<sup>63</sup> As translated from L. de Mas-Latrie, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, XXXVII (1876), 461-462.

inaccurate statement as to the time of the assassination. Pierre was in reality murdered at midnight, January 17–18, 1369.<sup>64</sup> But Machaut gives the time as "à l'aube crevant"<sup>65</sup> and Chaucer as "by the morwe"<sup>66</sup> (i.e., early in the morning).

In the light of these facts, we may readily accept *La Prise d'Alexandrie* as the source of the tragedy of Peter of Cyprus. It was perfectly natural, of course, for Chaucer to turn to Machaut. For Chaucer, as has long been known, made use of several poems of Machaut in writing certain passages of the *Book of the Duchess*.<sup>67</sup> Professor Lowes<sup>68</sup> has shown, moreover, that Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite* influenced Chaucer in the "Prologue" of the *Legend of Good Women*. This new evidence provides, therefore, an addition to the influence of Machaut on Chaucer.

In this connection, we may return to the chronology of the "Monkes Tale." We have already noted 1369, the year both "Petros" died, as the earliest date for the poem. Moreover, *La Prise d'Alexandrie* is dated by French chronologists as about 1369.<sup>69</sup> The indebtedness of the stanzas on Ugolino to Dante<sup>70</sup> suggests as a convenient date 1374, the period of Chaucer's introduction to Italian literature. Also, since Sir Guichard was Chaucer's informant, the story of Pedro of Spain would antedate 1380, the year Sir Guichard died.<sup>71</sup> This chronology, furthermore, favors the suggestion made by Professor Kittredge: "... we may feel pretty safe in inferring for the tribute to Constance's father, Pedro of Castile, the date of 1373 or 1374. The royal title which John of Gaunt had recently assumed, by right of his wife, made such a tribute especially timely."<sup>72</sup> In the light of this evidence, the composition of the "Monkes Tale" would appear to belong to the neighborhood of 1374 or 1375; that is, at a date shortly following Chaucer's first Italian journey.

HALDEEN BRADY

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<sup>64</sup> N. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 390, n. 5.

<sup>65</sup> V. 8636.

<sup>66</sup> B<sup>2</sup> 3586.

<sup>67</sup> Kittredge, *PMLA*, xx (1905), 1–24.

<sup>68</sup> *PMLA*, xix (1904), 593 ff.

<sup>69</sup> L. de Mas-Latrie, editor of *La Prise d'Alexandrie* (Geneva, 1877), p. viii; and V. Chichmaref, *G. de Machaut, Poésies Lyriques* (Paris, 1909), I, p. lxvii.

<sup>70</sup> Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, vi, 241. Tatlock (*Dev. and Chron. of Chaucer's Works*, pp. 164–165 and notes) points out that Chaucer "quotes Dante also in the account of Nero; and [that] the Italian influence is also plain in the form of the names which he gives to Zenobia's sons."

<sup>71</sup> *Three Chaucer Studies* (Oxford, 1932), pt. II, p. 36.

<sup>72</sup> *The Date of Chaucer's Troilus and Other Chaucer Matters* (Chaucer Society, 1990), p. 46.

## VII

### SATIRE IN *SIR THOPAS*

THE Rime of Sir Thopas," wrote Tyrwhitt, "was clearly intended to ridicule the 'palpable gross' fictions of the common Rimers of that age, and still more, perhaps, the meanness of their language and versification." This view, which Skeat found "judicious and correct," has until recent years met with little question. In 1922, however, Miss Lilian Winstanley, while admitting the piece to be a burlesque of the metrical romances, argued that it was also "intended as a satire against Philip van Artevelde"; and Professor J. M. Manly later set forth at considerable length the view that "the object of satire was the ridiculous pretentiousness" of the Flemings, that "Chaucer's primary object in writing was not so much to burlesque the minstrel romances as to produce a satire of the countrymen of Sir Thopas, and that his contemporaries enjoyed its subject matter even more than its form." This general line of argument has been accepted by Professor F. N. Robinson, who, in his admirable edition of Chaucer, observes that "two recent studies of *Sir Thopas* have made it seem very probable that Chaucer had another purpose, perhaps his primary one, namely, to poke fun at the Flemish knighthood." Since this interpretation of Chaucer's gay little piece has thus received an authoritative blessing, in a standard edition, it may well be examined in some detail, in order to determine how far it is really valid.<sup>1</sup>

It will be remembered that Philip was the son of James van Artevelde, under whose guidance the great Flemish cities and towns, where much of the wool grown in England was made into cloth, attained great prosperity, especially Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres. James established friendly relations with Edward III; he was killed in an insurrection in Ghent in 1345. Many years later, in 1381, according to Froissart, Philip van Arte-

<sup>1</sup> For the quotation from Tyrwhitt, and Skeat's comments, see the latter's edition of the Works (Oxford, 1894), III, 423. Miss Winstanley's views will be found in her edition of the *Prioress's Tale* and the *Tale of Sir Thopas* (Cambridge, Eng., 1922), pp. lxxv ff; Professor Manly's in "Sir Thopas, a Satire," in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* (Oxford, 1928), XIII, 52-73, and in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (New York, 1928), pp. 628 ff. References to Manly below are to his essay, unless otherwise noted. The remarks quoted above will be found on p. 60 of the essay, and on p. 629 of the edition. Professor F. P. Magoun, Jr., *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 833, notes that in one of the Lowell lectures in 1924 Professor Manly had "adduced interesting evidence as to political satire latent in the poem." For Professor Robinson's comments, see *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, etc., 1933), pp. 842 ff. Details of arguments by Miss Winstanley and by Manly are incorporated in his notes. Quotations from Chaucer below, except as otherwise noted, follow Robinson's text.



velde was chosen leader of the burghers in their rebellion against the Count of Flanders.<sup>2</sup> He sent an embassy to Richard II in the hope of advancing the cause of the cities, and a message to the King of France to beg his mediation. Neither accomplished anything. The French were for various reasons out of sympathy with the Flemings, and the English took offense at insistence on payment of an old debt. In November, 1382, Philip's citizen army was defeated at Roosebeke, near Courtrai, by a brilliant French force under the young king, Charles VI, supporting the troops of the Count of Flanders, and Philip himself perished on the battlefield.

The first objection to Miss Winstanley's theory is that there is no reference to Philip van Artevelde, open or concealed, in Chaucer's poem. How is a reader to know that Philip is being satirized? If he does not know this, the whole point of the piece, as Miss Winstanley conceives it, is lost. The elder Artevelde was not lord of Flanders, but leader of the burghers. We should expect that Chaucer would give us some hint—something like the "goode faire White she het" in the *Book of the Duchess*, or "the feeld of snow, with th' egle of blak therinne," identifying Bertrand du Guesclin in the Monk's tragedy of Pedro of Spain. Again, nothing in the poem is more definite, if Sir Thopas stands for a real person, than the statement that he was born in Poperinghe.

Yborn he was in fer contree,  
In Flaundres, al biyonde the see,  
At Poperyng, in the place.  
His fader was a man ful free,  
And lord he was of that contree,  
As it was Goddes grace.

But Philip van Artevelde was not born in Poperinghe. That the town was one of those which did him homage, as Miss Winstanley urges, or that James his father—who was a burgher of Ghent—had "devoted himself in a quite special way to the interests of Poperinghe," seems quite beside the point. Poperinghe was one of the most energetic of the smaller towns in Flanders, and it naturally gave the burgher cause support. The reason why Chaucer selected it as the birthplace of his hero will be considered presently.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> "L'élection de Philippe d'Artevelde comme *rewaert* est de beaucoup postérieure à l'époque indiquée par Froissart. Il est vrai qu'au mois de juin 1381, il reçut le commandement d'une des cinq armées qui sortirent de Gand, et au mois d'octobre il était le premier des commissionnaires chargés d'administrer les biens des bannis mis en séquestre. Cependant il ne devint *rewaert*, d'après la plupart des chroniques flamandes, que le 24 janvier 1382." Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*: Chroniques (Bruxelles, 1869), ix, 560.

<sup>3</sup> Manly argues (p. 65) that there is "a very humorous twist" here, because the lord of Poperinghe was the Abbot of St. Bertin. But Chaucer was not referring to the lord of Popper-

Furthermore, Miss Winstanley's theory forces us to conclude that Chaucer inserted into the *Canterbury Tales* satire of a man long since dead, and that, too, into one of the gayest of his scenes. Nobody knows just when *Sir Thopas* was written; "the tale contains no definite indication of date,"<sup>4</sup> but it certainly cannot have been introduced into the narrative of the pilgrimage before 1387, and probably was put in much later. Philip must, then, have been dead at least four years, and in all probability more. It is of course possible to assume that the piece was an old one refurbished for the Canterbury collection—I shall have something to say about this presently—but if it was a satire on Philip van Artevelde this does not seem probable.

Miss Winstanley leans heavily upon the testimony of Froissart in the *Chronicles*<sup>5</sup> to prove that Chaucer was attacking Philip; she thinks that "Chaucer had exactly the same reasons for satirizing van Artevelde as Froissart," and points out that John of Gaunt was not in sympathy with the Flemish burghers. Froissart, she says, "does his utmost to ridicule the leaders of the burghers and treats van Artevelde throughout as a comic character and an absurd pretender." I do not think that anyone who reads Froissart dispassionately will agree. His sympathies were indeed with the French, and he does not always represent Philip in a favorable light. According to the *Chronicles*, Philip was advised, when he assumed the leadership of the Flemings, to be cruel and haughty, and he acted to some extent on this advice. His vanity, his love of display, and his lack of experience as a soldier, are also mentioned. But he is called "a handsome and agreeable man," and is stated to have been generous, eloquent, able to make himself beloved, and compassionate on occasion. Froissart is of course not always accurate in his depiction of events or in his estimates of character. I shall discuss presently his account of the appeals sent to the French and English courts, and his general attitude towards the French and the English. In any case, he is, I think, very far from treating Philip van Artevelde with the scorn and irony which Miss Winstanley discerns. Moreover, we are not bound to conclude that Chaucer and Froissart saw eye to eye, and reasons will appear for thinking that the English poet may have had the more favorable impression of the Flemings.<sup>6</sup>

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inghe; he did not say "the lord of that citee"; *contree* clearly refers to *Flaundres*, three lines above.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, p. 842.

<sup>5</sup> The translation of Thomas Johnes, which Manly uses for citation, is convenient for reference. I use the ed. New York, 1880. Philip's career is set forth in Chapters LXX to CXXV, pp. 281-322. Many of these chapters deal, of course, with other material. The French text will be found in vols. ix and x of Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition (see footnote above).

<sup>6</sup> It has even been maintained that the chronicler was in sympathy with the Flemings; cf. the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th Ed. (1929), article "Froissart," ix, 863: "In Flanders

Some of Miss Winstanley's parallels between *Sir Thopas* and the career, tastes, and character of Philip, as set forth by Froissart, may now be quoted.

Sir Thopas is attired in an extraordinary fashion. "Now here . . . we have a parallel with Froissart who represents the Flemish burghers as being attired and armed in the most extraordinary variety of manners." (p. lxxii)

"Sir Thopas . . . is fond of toothsome delicacies"; "it does suggest what Froissart says of the delicacies brought to the army of the Flemish burghers." (p. lxxii)

"Chaucer's Sir Thopas is a person who loves pastoral meditations among the birds and flowers; he rejoices to be in the woods, hearing the songs of the throstle and the wood-dove. So Froissart represents Philip van Artevelde as having been accustomed, before he was called to supreme power, to a life of retirement and to have been very fond of meditation in the fields and of gentle and solitary occupations such as fishing." (p. lxxiii)

Chaucer's Sir Thopas keeps royal state at home; Froissart says that Philip had minstrels play for him. Froissart states that Philip had fine horses; "so Chaucer refers mockingly to the noble steed of Sir Thopas." Sir Thopas's men sang of popes and cardinals: "We can see admirably the sting of ascribing love-romances to the 'popes and cardinals' when we remember that Urban VI blessed Philip van Artevelde and considered his cause as a crusade." (p. lxxv. ff.)

"The name of the giant 'Olifaunt' was the name of the great horn of Roland in the *Chanson de Roland*; as such it was symbolic of French chivalry and the army which opposed Philip van Artevelde was almost entirely composed of the French noblesse and their feudal servants for the burghers of the great towns could not be trusted to take any part in the attack." (p. lxxvii)

I believe that this gives a fair idea of Miss Winstanley's general method; her discussion should of course be read in full. I will leave the reader to judge of the validity of these parallels; they appear, not to put it more strongly, to be "general rather than particular."<sup>7</sup> As for the inter-

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Froissart met many knights who had fought at Rosebeque, and could tell him of the troubles which in a few years desolated that country, once so prosperous. He stayed at Ghent, among those ruined merchants and mechanics, for whom, as one of the same class, he felt a sympathy never extended to English or French, perhaps quite as unfortunate."—I think that this is a mistake, the sympathies of Froissart seem to have been with the antagonists of the burghers. Notice especially his comment on the battle of Roosebeke, cited here below. The reason seems to have been his devotion to the aristocracy. Although not of noble birth, he was permeated with the ideals of chivalry, and delighted in gentle manners and in pageantry. But that it can be held that Froissart sympathized with the Flemings surely indicates that he was not ridiculing them or their leader.

<sup>7</sup> Manly, who reviews Miss Winstanley's work briefly, makes this criticism (p. 63) of her parallels in regard to dress, arming, and equipment. In his essay he does not expressly

pretation of "Olifaunt" ("Elephant" is surely a very good name for a giant), I think that Chaucer would look more "elvish" than ever, if he could hear it in Heaven.

Professor Manly's hypothesis is more plausible, and more adroitly set forth. But when the charm of his exposition and the interest and value of his illustrative material are discounted, it appears to rest on the slenderest of foundations.

In the beginning he tries to show the inadequacy of the usual view of Chaucer's intention in writing *Sir Thopas*. His summary of this view, and of dissent from it, does not appear to me correct. I italicize the passage to which I take exception.

The commonly accepted view [of *Sir Thopas*] regards it as a satire on the medieval metrical romances, which were the most popular form of literature current in Chaucer's day. Many scholars have sought to support this view by collecting from the extant romances parallel expressions tending to show that Chaucer had saturated himself with the rhyme-tags and other mannerisms of these romances, *and was attempting by his burlesque imitation of them to bring them into disrepute and put an end to their vogue.*

Who are the "many scholars" who have drawn such a conclusion from these parallels? I do not find it in the work of Bennewitz, or of Kölbing, or of Magoun, or of Miss Strong, who have made very careful studies of the resemblances to *Sir Thopas* in the romances.<sup>8</sup> Manly continues:

To this view there has been opposition on the part of many other scholars, lovers of the medieval romances, who, although recognizing the inanities and banalities of incident and diction which abound in the worst of the romances, nevertheless have so strong a sense of the vigor and beauty of the best of them that they cannot readily believe that Chaucer could have been insensible to their merits or could have wished to heap ridicule upon what was after all the most lively and vigorous form of English literature in his own day, and one which at its best must have made so strong an appeal to his own tastes and sympathies. . . . To me the romances seem to have supplied, not the object, but the form and medium, of the satire.<sup>9</sup>

I do not know of such opposition to a view which I cannot find has ever been widely believed. We are not told who the "many other scholars" are. In any case, one may obviously hold—as I think antecedently

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reject her conclusion—"whether Philip van Artevelde was the specific object of the satire or not" (p. 65)—but in his edition (p. 629 f.) he says "this personal identification seems to me unlikely."

<sup>8</sup> C. J. Bennewitz, *Chaucer's Sir Thopas*, dissertation (Halle, 1879); E. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, xi (1888), 495-511; F. P. Magoun Jr., *PMLA*, xlii (1927), 833-844; Caroline Strong, *MLN*, xxiii, 73 ff. and 102 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 57-59.

probable—that Chaucer was not satirizing the romances as a whole, but the poorer and more absurd of those he knew. Was Thackeray attacking all novels because he parodied a degenerate type in *Catherine*, or Fielding because he made fun of *Pamela* in *Joseph Andrews*? We may accept *Sir Thopas* as designed wholly to ridicule one phase of romance writing without committing ourselves to the belief that Chaucer was trying to drive the romances out of business, or that he was insensible to the merits of the good ones.

What, now, is the definite evidence that the piece was intended as a satire on the Flemings? This, it seems to me, reduces itself to one point: Sir Thopas was born in Flanders. It is noticeable that nowhere else in the poem is anything *specifically Flemish* mentioned, except the knight's hose, which came from Bruges. This is natural in a description of sartorial perfections, just as in the preceding line his shoes are said to have come from Spain, renowned for its leather, as Bruges was for its woven fabrics. There are bourgeois elements in the description, which we shall consider in a moment, but I cannot see that these are any more Flemish than, for example, French or English. The little joke at the end, that Sir Thopas drank water afiel, specifically "water of the well", certainly does not suggest that the Flemings are being satirized. As Manly has himself observed in another connection, "the Low Countries, including Flanders, were notorious for drunkenness."<sup>10</sup> It may be, of course, that Sir Thopas's birth in Poperinghe is a gibe at the Flemings, though this is not a necessary conclusion. Discussion of Chaucer's humor is hazardous, but it has always seemed to me that the joke here is that the reader is led to expect that the knight came from a far-off land of romantic character—"Yborn he was in fer contree"—which turns out to be no further "beyond the sea" than Poperinghe, just one of the commercial towns in Flanders. And how prosaic a spot! It is as if a French romancer writing in France were to make the birthplace of his hero Liverpool or Leeds. Possibly the comic sound of the name Poperinghe to English ears, which Mercutio could have told us about, is partly responsible for this "birth-place." But even if my suggestion is wrong, and Chaucer did intend a hit at the Flemings by making his hero one of their countrymen, is it not dangerous to make the whole interpretation of the piece turn on this? Is the *Pardoner's Tale* a satire on the Flemish because the "ryotoures three" live in that country? May not the birthplace of Sir Thopas be as much a detail as the setting of the opening scene of the Pardoner's narrative?<sup>11</sup> Had this little parody been intended primarily

<sup>10</sup> Edition, p. 617.

<sup>11</sup> Miss Dorothy M. Norris, "Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale and Flanders," *PMLA*, XLVIII, 636-641, suggests that the poet meant to warn his king and his country against cupidity.

as a satire on the men of Flanders, should we not expect some further direct evidence?

Professor Manly believes that Chaucer's contemporaries were accustomed "to poke fun, mingled with not a little resentment, at the efforts of the Flemish *bourgeoisie* to ape the manners of the English and French aristocracy"; and he goes to great pains to show that "throughout the narrative the satire is distinctly centred upon the bourgeois outlook of Sir Thopas and his ignorance of the manners, customs, and equipment of the aristocracy."<sup>12</sup> The latter statement seems an exaggeration. A part of the ridicule of Sir Thopas lies in giving him bourgeois details of costume and countrified tastes, such as swearing on ale and bread and wrestling for a ram as a prize. But this is surely only a minor part of Chaucer's fun, which seems rather directed at the absurdities of the way in which rhyming mother-wits set forth knight-errantry. To quote Manly's own words, written in another connection, "Every ridiculous feature of the tenth-rate romance is exploited with glee—its exaggerations, its love of insignificant detail, its prolixity, its capacity for consuming hours in 'passing a given point'."<sup>13</sup> The reasons for the bourgeois elements in the description are not far to seek. Cervantes has shown how effectively knighthood can be rendered ridiculous by the intrusion of the homely detail of low life. Moreover, the English romances such as Chaucer is generally supposed to be caricaturing were intended primarily for the simpler middle-class folk who could read no French, or not read at all. In these pieces courtly elegancies are often neglected. Probably Chaucer felt this, and deliberately made his carpet knight plebeian.

It is further urged that "such a poem would have been highly appropriate, during the visit of the Flemish embassy [in 1383]<sup>14</sup> . . . or immediately after it. Such a satire would certainly then have had a point and an appeal which it could hardly have had at any time later."<sup>15</sup> This raises two difficulties: first, is it likely that Chaucer looked upon the Flemings at the time of this embassy as fit objects for satire; and second, is it likely that *Sir Thopas* was composed as early as 1383-84?

I hesitate to differ from Professor Manly, whose opinion must carry great weight, in regard to Chaucer's attitude towards social and political conditions. But is it a necessary conclusion that the poet would have been disposed to ridicule van Artevelde's party, which sent the embassy

As no one seems to have perceived this before, it is doubtful if Richard would have been greatly moved. <sup>12</sup> Pp. 59, 71. <sup>13</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, viii (1910), 144.

<sup>14</sup> "The Issue Roll of the Exchequer for 7 Richard II indicates that the men of Ghent remained in England from 6 August to 30 December 1383, and received payment from the Exchequer at the rate of a noble a day for the seven." Manly. *Essay*, p. 62. <sup>15</sup> P. 73.

to Richard's court? The relations between England and Flanders in the fourteenth century were complicated, and some circumstances support Manly's point of view. John of Gaunt, who wanted men and money to enforce his claim to the throne of Castile, was opposed to the Flemish cause. Chaucer's sympathies, like those of Froissart, were of course to some extent with the aristocracy, as was natural for a man who had spent his life at court. He may well have felt that the revolt of the Flemish towns was somewhat like the Peasants' Revolt in England in 1381. Moreover, the Flemish weavers settled in England had made themselves objects of special hatred. On the other hand, I do not think that Chaucer's attitude was exactly like that of Froissart, who says of the defeat of the Flemings in the battle of Roosebeke, in a passage which would afford Professor Manly and Miss Winstanley effective ammunition:

This battle, from the beginning to the defeat, did not last more than half an hour. The event was very honorable to all Christendom, as well as to the nobility and gentry; for had those low-bred peasants succeeded, there would have been unheard of cruelties practiced, to the destruction of all gentlemen, by the common people, who had everywhere risen in rebellion.<sup>16</sup>

After a detailed investigation, Professor Patch has urged, and I think with reason, that Chaucer extended his kindly view of human nature to the lower classes, and that "his influence inevitably would tend to a broader social sympathy."<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, it must be remembered that England was at war with France, and the the French king led the forces against the Flemish burghers in 1382. Froissart expressly says that the English were jealous of the French.

You must know, that the king of England, his uncles, and the nobility, were much vexed at the good success and great honor which the king of France and his nobles had gained at the battle of Rosebecque. When the English knights conversed together on the subject, they said: "Ha, by holy Mary! how proud will the French be now, for the heap of peasants they have slain. I wish to God, Philip von Artaveld had had two thousand of our lances and six thousand archers: not one Frenchman would have escaped death or imprisonment."<sup>18</sup>

There had long been friendly relations between Edward III and the Flemish townsmen. Philip van Artevelde was a godson of Queen Philippa, and John of Gaunt of James van Artevelde. Froissart tells us, in-

<sup>16</sup> "Cette desconfiture fu très-honnerable et prouffitabile pour toute crestieneté et pour toute noblèche et gentillèche; car, se li villain fussent là venu a leur entente, onques si grans cruautés, ne oribletès n'avinrent au monde, que il fust avenu par les comunautés qui se fussent partout revelées et destruit gentillèche." Kervyn de Lettenhove, x, 173; Johnes, p. 322, Chap. cxxv.

<sup>17</sup> Howard R. Patch, "Chaucer and the Common People," *JEGP*, xxix (1930), 376-384.

<sup>18</sup> Johnes, p. 326, Chap. cxxx.

deed, that the English lords laughed when the embassy tactlessly pressed the payment of an old debt (a point which both Miss Winstanley and Professor Manly emphasize), but what the lords laughed at was clearly not absurdities of Flemish dress and manners, but the absurdity of the supposition that such a debt could receive serious consideration, at a time when the English were extremely short of funds. So when Philip's emissary proposed mediation between the Flemings and the Count of Flanders, the French are said to have laughed—because the interests and sympathies of the French and of the Count were closely identified. Froissart says that if the embassy to Richard II "had been silent, respecting these crowns [the money owed them], and had only requested assistance from the king of England, he would have gone in person to Flanders," or have sent thither a powerful force.<sup>19</sup> The Flemish envoys were courteously treated by the English; at Calais the governor "received them very politely; when he understood they wanted to go to England, he provided them with ships and passage-boats."<sup>20</sup> The Londoners were cordial to the visitors. "They were received with much kindness, and the English commonalty even manifested great sympathy for those of their order in Flanders who stood in such peril of their lives and liberties."<sup>21</sup> The so-called "crusade" of the Bishop of Norwich was, as Miss Norris notes, "really an expedition to support the popular party of Flanders against its Count and the King of France."<sup>22</sup> Despite commercial jealousies, intimate relations had existed between England and Flanders for fifty years. Many Flemings had come to England, and the English were thoroughly familiar with them. They knew the Flemish vices—love of dress and drink, dissolute morals and rough manners. They resented their competition in industry. But is it likely that the Flemings, represented by an embassy of important citizens, headed by the Bishop-elect of Ghent, would have seemed so ridiculous that Chaucer was moved to create Sir Thopas? Perhaps so; but it does not seem at all certain.

Professor Manly believes that there is "no sufficient reason why such a poem should have been written expressly for the *Canterbury Tales*, whether Chaucer's object was to satirize the romances or the Flemings."<sup>23</sup> Here, of course, he runs counter to the generally received opinion. As Robinson says, "It is usually held to have been written during the *Canterbury* period, and even to have been planned for the dramatic situation in which it is so effectively introduced."<sup>24</sup> Chaucer apparently wrote

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310, Chap. cvi.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309; Chap. cv.

<sup>21</sup> James Hutton, *James and Philip van Arteveld* (London, 1882), p. 271.

<sup>22</sup> P. 638.

<sup>23</sup> P. 73.

<sup>24</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 842.



"expressly" for the *Tales* what happened to interest him at the moment. Thus the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* seems to reflect a sudden resolve to expose alchemy, although this involved the introduction of two new characters, and many others had had no opportunity to tell a story. *Sir Thopas* affords a contrast to the varied literary types in the *Tales*, and being an extravaganza, could not place Chaucer in competition with the other pilgrims in story-telling. It has dramatic importance, too; the Host has rallied Chaucer on his full waist-line and habitual<sup>25</sup> abstraction, and in return Chaucer gives him, the great *arbiter elegantiarum* of narrative, not the "deyntee thyng" which he expects, but a piece of "drasty rymyng" which so irritates him that he stops it short. After it is all over, the Host has nothing to say about the Flemings; that is not the point. But he does object to "rym dogerel." Doggerel romances have called forth doggerel satire. Then Chaucer proceeds, under cover of a "moral tale vertuuous," to which no objection can be taken, to irritate the Host afresh by singing the praises of a noble and helpful wife, quite unlike the "goode lief" who makes his Southwark home life miserable. How straight Chaucer's shaft went to the mark is amusingly shown in Harry Bailly's long and pathetic outburst, after the *Tale of Melibeus* is over.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> I am not convinced by Dr Thomas A. Knott's contention (see "A Bit of Chaucer Mythology," *Mod. Phil.*, viii, 135-139) that Chaucer's manner and appearance as described by the Host in his raillery in the *Prologue to Sir Thopas* were not habitual, but only the temporary effect of the pathetic story told by the Prioress. The Host says "I always see you looking at the ground"—"For evere upon the ground I se thee stare." But "evere" does not mean "always" to Dr. Knott; it means "steadily, fixedly *at this moment*," [italics mine]—the very opposite of the usual significance of the word. "He smeth elvyssh by his contenance," continues Harry Bailly. Dr. Knott thinks that as a result of the sad tale of the little schoolboy, Chaucer began to look elvish, which he takes to mean "the look of 'other-worldliness' caused by the mingling of pity and sympathy and strong religious feeling." Perhaps these emotions would make a man look like an elf, but it seems open to doubt. The company are sobered by the Prioress's narrative, but what the Host says of Chaucer seems to refer to his wonted habit, like the jest about his girth. This, at least, can hardly have been increased by his emotion. There really seems to be no difficulty about the passage. It is preposterous to suppose that the poet, a courtier and man of affairs, "was of a modest and retiring disposition which would not permit him to mingle with his companions on terms of good fellowship," which Dr. Knott thinks an inference generally drawn from the lines, even if we were not told the contrary in the *Prologue* (31-32). Like the Clerk of Oxford and other reflective persons, Chaucer falls easily into an abstracted mood, contrasting with the merry badinage of the journey. It is from one of these fits of abstraction that Harry Bailly rouses him, just as he rouses the Clerk:

It is no tyme for to studien heere.  
Telle us som myrie tale, by youre fey!

<sup>26</sup> See an article of mine in *Mod. Phil.*, xi (1913), 247-258. Robinson reads "Goodelief" in B 3084.

Professor Manly suggests that *Sir Thopas* was composed "during the visit of the Flemish embassy . . . or immediately after it," that is, in 1383 or 1384, and that "the audience for which the *Canterbury Tales* were put together may perhaps have welcomed with renewed amusement and delight a poem which had aroused their mirth when the object of its satire was still a fresh and vivid interest."<sup>27</sup> But they would very likely have been bored by it. Nothing is staler than satire when it is out of date, and before it is old enough to assume historic interest. At least four years, and probably more, must have elapsed since the visit of the Flemish embassy. Chaucer could hardly have reached this point in the *Tales* before 1387, at the earliest, the year in which, as Manly says, it is commonly supposed that "he definitely began to work out his plan for the *Canterbury Tales* as a group,"<sup>28</sup> and it seems likely that he inserted *Sir Thopas* into the pilgrimage much later than this. Some kinds of dishes will bear warming over; the Canterbury collection provides examples. But *Sir Thopas* is of a different sort. There are certainly strong reasons for doubting that such an airy bit of *pâtisserie* has been, like one of the Cook's Jack of Dover pies, "twies hoot."

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<sup>27</sup> Essay, p. 73.

<sup>28</sup> Edition, p. 28.

## VIII

### THE SOURCE OF CHAUCER'S *MELIBEUS*

THE source of Chaucer's *Tale of Melibeus* is well established. This long medieval tractate on prudence is a translation—and a very close translation—of a French treatise which Chaucer read and admired so much that he put it into English dress and placed it among his *Canterbury Tales*. The French treatise was, in turn, an adaptation of a Latin work by Albertano of Brescia: namely, *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*.<sup>1</sup> Chaucer's tale, however, was uninfluenced by the Latin: he was content simply to translate the French adaptation which he had under his eyes.<sup>2</sup>

The only easily accessible text of the French source is to be found in that late fourteenth-century anthology of advice to a young wife entitled *Le Ménagier de Paris*.<sup>3</sup> Scholars dealing with problems involving Chaucer's handling of his source material in the *Melibeus* have been wont to have recourse to this text in *Le Ménagier*.<sup>4</sup> It is my purpose in this paper to demonstrate that *Le Ménagier* gives an unsatisfactory text of the source of Chaucer's tale. My evidence is drawn principally from MS. fr. 1165 at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.<sup>5</sup> This manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Sundby, Thor (ed.), *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*, Chaucer Society (1873).

<sup>2</sup> Koeppel, Emil, "Chaucer und Albertanus Brixiensis," *Archiv*, LXXXVI, 29–46. Below I refute Miss Landrum's argument opposed to Koeppel. My study of the French manuscripts also renders me unable to subscribe to Professor Tatlock's belief that Chaucer knew the Latin version when he wrote the prologue to the *Melibeus*. (Tatlock, J. S. P., *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Society [1907], p. 190.) Undoubtedly he knew another version (perhaps more than one) which was different from the one which he was using; but, as Professor Tatlock admits, at least one of Chaucer's statements about this other version does not fit the Latin tale. There were, besides the version employed by Chaucer for the *Melibeus*, at least three other Old French translations of Albertano's *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*: may not Chaucer have been referring to one of them? Conceivably, too, his reference may have been to one or more other manuscripts of the very version which he was employing, since the manuscripts differ among themselves in respect to completeness and accuracy.

<sup>3</sup> Pichon, Jérôme (ed.), *Le Ménagier de Paris* (Paris, 1846), I, 186–235.

<sup>4</sup> Professor A. S. Cook argues for Chaucer's knowledge and use of *Le Ménagier* in his article "Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale* and a French Version of His Original," *The Romanic Review*, VIII, 210–226. In another place ("Chaucer's Source MSS. for the *Clerkes Tale*," *PMLA*, XLVII, 431–452) I have demonstrated that Chaucer did not use *Le Ménagier* for the story of Griselda and her husband; in the present article I shall demonstrate that he did not use *Le Ménagier* for the story of Melibeus and his wife. It seems doubtful, therefore, whether Chaucer knew *Le Ménagier* at all; certainly he did not employ it as source material.

<sup>5</sup> In all, I have located twenty-six manuscripts containing the text of the Old French *Melibée* which was Chaucer's source. (This does not include the three manuscripts of *Le Ménagier*.) The list follows: Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), MSS. fr. 578, 580, 813, 1090, 1165, 1468, 1540, 1746, 1972, 2240, n. a. 10554, 15015, 17272, 19123, 20042, 25547; Biblio-

I have compared throughout and in detail with both *Le Ménagier* and the *Melibeus*. In passage after passage MS. 1165 differs from *Le Ménagier*. How then, we are impelled to ask, does Chaucer's translation compare with these two different texts of his French original? In brief, which reading did Chaucer follow? The answer is significant. In over 150 passages he follows MS. 1165 rather than *Le Ménagier*. Hence, *Le Ménagier* cannot be accepted as accurately reproducing the source manuscript which Chaucer had before him.

Below I present a selection of fifteen passages representative of the 150. This evidence, fragmentary as it is, suffices. In each group of parallels, I cite (1) the original Latin upon which the French is based, (2) the French reading in *Le Ménagier*, (3) the French reading in MS. 1165, and (4) Chaucer's rendering, which will be found in every instance to follow MS. 1165 rather than *Le Ménagier*.

1. *Albertano*, 106, 8-12:<sup>6</sup> Et *Seneca* in *Epistolis* dixit: "Concordia parvae res crescunt: discordia maximae dilabuntur." Et *Tullius* dixit: "Mea quidem sententia paci, quae nihil sit habitura insidiarum, semper est consulendum."  
*Ménagier*, 227: Car *Sénèque* dit en ses *escrips* que par concorde les richesses petites deviennent grandes, et par discorde les grandes deviennent petites et vont à déclin et se fondent tousjours; et vous savez que un des grans biens de ce monde ce est paix.  
*MS. 1165*: Car *saint Jacques*<sup>7</sup> dit en ses *epistres* que par concorde les petites richesses devienient grans et par discorde les grans richesses vont decliner et se fondent touziours. Et vous savez que un des grans et des souverains biens de cest monde est paix.  
*Chaucer*, 2866-8: For *seint Jame* seith in hise *epistles*: that "by concord and pees the smale richesses wexen grete, and by debaat and discord the grete richesses fallen doun." And ye knowen wel that oon of the gretteste and most sovereyn thing, that is in this world, is unitee and pees.

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thèque de l'Arsenal (Paris), MSS. 2691 and 3356; Bibliothèque de Brussel, MSS. 9237, 9552, and 10404; British Museum, MSS. Reg. 19 C VII and Reg. 19 C XI; Bibliothèque de Beauvais, MS. 9 (2807); Bibliothèque de Lille, MS. 392; Bibliothèque de Besançon, MS. 587. With the exception of the last three, I have seen all these manuscripts. The list, of course, does not include manuscripts of other Old French translations of *Albertano's* tale of *Melibeus*. I am aware of three other translations—one at the Bibliothèque Nationale in MS. fr. 1142, another at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in MS. 2880, and a third (in verse) at the Bodleian in MS. 5264 (Marshall 29).

<sup>6</sup> *Albertano* references are to page and line in Sundby, *op. cit.*; *Ménagier* references are to page in Pichon, *op. cit.*, 1; *Chaucer* references are to line in the *Melibeus* (Skeat's one-volume Oxford text is employed for all references throughout the paper). In printing passages from the MSS. I have accented tonic *e* (*ê*) wherever it might be mistaken for *e* muet.

<sup>7</sup> Skeat conjectured that Chaucer's reading was due to such an error in the French manuscript (Skeat, W. W., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, v, 222); here we have corroboration of Skeat's surmise.

2. *Albertano*, 99, 10–11: *Ab inimicis auxilium postulare.*  
*Ménagier*, 221: *Mendier l'aumosne de son ennemy.*  
*MS. 1165*: *Mengier l'aumosne de son ennemy.*  
*Chaucer*, 2757: *To eten the almesse of his enemy.*
3. *Albertano*, 115, 4–6. *Ait enim Salomon: "Audite populi et omnes gentes et rectores ecclesiae."*  
*Ménagier*, 230: *Car Salemon dit: oiez-moy, dit-il, tous peuples et toutes gens et gouverneurs de l'Eglise.*  
*MS. 1165*: *Car Salemon dit, croy moy, dist il, peuple et toutes gens et gouverneurs d'eglise.*  
*Chaucer*, 2944: *For Salomon seith: "leveth me, and yeveth credence to that I shal seyn; I seye," quod he, "ye peple, folk, and governours of holy chirche . . ."*
4. *Albertano*, 65, 17–19: *Septimo demum errasti quia, facta partita, non es secutus voluntatem et sensum sapientium et amicorum.*  
*Ménagier*, 205: *Après tu as erré car tu n'as pas suivy la volenté de tes loyaux amis sages et anciens.*  
*MS. 1165*: *Après tu as erré car tu as faite division entre ceulx de ton conseil, tu n'as pas sceu la volenté de tes loyaux amis sages et anciens.*  
*Chaucer*, 2445–6: *Ye han erred also, for ye han maked no divisoun bitwixe your conseilours; this is to seyn, bitwixen your trewe freendes and your feyned conseilours; ne ye han nat knowe the wil of your trewe freendes olde and wyse.*
5. *Albertano*: *Not in Liber Consolationis et Consilii.*  
*Ménagier*, 223: *Fay tousjours aucunes bonnes euvres pour ce que l'ennemi ne te treuve oiseux, car l'ennemi ne trait pas légèrement en son euvre celluy qui est occupé en bonnes euvres*  
*MS. 1165*: *Fay, dist il, touzours aucunes bonnes oeuvres pour ce que ly anemis te treuve occupé car ly ennemis ne prent pas legierement en son oeuvre ceulx qu'il treuve occupez en bonnes oeuvres.*  
*Chaucer*, 2785–6: *"Doth somme gode dedes, that the devel which is our enemy ne finde yow nat unoccupied. For the devel ne taketh nat lightly un-to his werkinge swiche as he findeth occupied in gode werkes."*
6. *Albertano*: *Not in Liber Consolationis et Consilii.*  
*Ménagier*, 224: *Et le philosophe dit que mieulx valut estre preudome et petit avoir que estre mauvais et avoir grans richesses.*  
*MS. 1165*: *Et ly prophete dit que miex vault proudomme estre et un petit avoir que estre mauvais tenus et grans richesses avoir.*  
*Chaucer*, 2820–1: *And the prophete seith: that "bette it is to been a good man and have litel good and tresour, than to been holden a shrew and have grete richesses."*
7. *Albertano*: *Not in Liber Consolationis et Consilii.*  
*Ménagier*, 228. *Les troublés ne sont pas bien cler-voyans.*  
*MS. 1165*: *Oeil troublé n'est pas bien cler voyant.*  
*Chaucer*, 2891: *"Troubled eyen han no cleer sighte."*
8. *Albertano*: *Not in Liber Consolationis et Consilii.*

*Ménagier*, 202: Bieneureux est l'homme qui n'a point esté es consaulx des mauvais.

*MS. 1165*: Eux est ly homs qui n'a suyvi le conseil des mauvais.

*Chaucer*, 2387: "Blisful is that man that hath nat folwed the conseil of shrewes."

9. *Albertano*, 2, 6-7: Prudentiam nomine.

*Ménagier*, 186: Une femme nommée Prudence.

*MS. 1165*: Une femme appelée Prudence.

*Chaucer*, 2157: His wyf that called was Prudence.

10. *Albertano*, 83, 14: Credo itaque, quod Deus . . .

*Ménagier*, 213: Je tien que Dieu . . .

*MS. 1165*: Je tien et le croy que dieu . . .

*Chaucer*, 2598-9: I holde and bileve that god . . .

11. *Albertano*, 94, 16-95, 1: "[Doctrina viri] per patientiam [ejus cognoscitur], et gloria ejus est iniqua praetergredi"; et iterum: "Qui patiens est, multa gubernatur prudentia."

*Ménagier*, 218: . . . par patience, et nostre Seigneur dit que patience vaint; et encores dit que en nostre patience nous possiderons nos âmes. Et autre part dit Salemon que cellui est patient qui se gouverne par grant prudence.

*MS. 1165*: . . . par patience, et autre part dit que cilz qui est paciens se gouverne par grant prudence.

*Chaucer*, 2702-3: . . . by patience." And in another place he seith: that "he that is pacient governeth him by greet prudence."

12. *Albertano*, 95, 25-6: Talem patientiam, quae ad perfectionem pertineat, habere minime valeo.

*Ménagier*, 219: Patience est une grant vertu.

*MS. 1165*: Pacience est une grans vertuz et vertu de perfection.

*Chaucer*, 2708: Pacience is a greet vertu of perfeccioun.

13. *Albertano*, 3, 23-4, 1: Temperatus fletus a tristi vel inter tristes non est prohibitus.

*Ménagier*, 187-8: Certes, dist Prudence, pleurs ne sont mie deffendus à celluy qui est triste.

*MS. 1165*: Certez, dist Prudence, plour atrempez n'est pas defendu a ycelluy qui est triste.

*Chaucer*, 2178: Prudence answerde, "Certes, wel I woot, attempree weping is no-thing defended to him that sorweful is."

14. *Albertano*, 2, 19-22:

Quis matrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere nati

Flere vetat? non hoc illa monenda loco est.

Cum dederit lacrimas animumque impleverit aegrum,

Ille dolor verbis emoderandus erit.<sup>8</sup>

*Ménagier*, 187: Cellui est fol qui s'efforce d'empeschier la mère de plorer la mort de son enfant, jusques à tant qu'elle se soit bien vidée de larmes.

<sup>8</sup> Since *Albertano* is quoting *Ovid* here (see *Sundby*, *op. cit.*, p. 2), *Chaucer's* turn of phrase may have been influenced directly by the Latin poet; but it seems more probable that here, as in the rest of the *Melibeus*, he was following his French source very closely.

MS. 1165: Cilz est folz qui s'efforce d'empeschier la mere de plourer en la mort de son enfant jusques atant qu'elle soit bien raemplye de larmes.

Chaucer, 2166: "He is a fool that destourbeth the moder to wepen in the deeth of hir child, til she have wept hir fille."

15. Albertano, 8, 14-6: Quatenus *personam tuam* ita custodias, quod neque dolus neque astutiae *desint tibi* ad cavendum.

Ménagier, 190: Aies diligence de garder *ta personne et euvres* en telle manière que *tu soies bien pourveu* d'espies et guettes.

MS. 1165: Aies diligence de garder *ta personne* en telle maniere qu'il ne te faille ne espies ne guaites.

Chaucer, 2215: Do thy diligence in kepinge of *thy propre persone*, in swich a wyse that *thou ne wante noon espye ne wacche*.<sup>9</sup>

These parallels demonstrate the untrustworthiness of *Le Ménagier*.

A few corollaries to this demonstration need to be presented. In the first place, some of the parallels throw a revealing light upon the state of Chaucer's source manuscript. The first four in the illustrative group indicate that Chaucer worked with a corrupt copy which was at some distance from the original manuscript of the translation. The errors are of such a nature as to establish that they did not originate in mistranslations from a Latin, but in French miscopyings from a French translation—occurred, that is to say, through scribal error in the French manuscripts. Copying the mistake in his corrupt manuscript, Chaucer gave

<sup>9</sup> Since these are merely representative illustrative passages, I have thought it wise to indicate briefly all the places in Chaucer's tale for which *Le Ménagier* is untrustworthy. This list, with two exceptions (*Ch* 2498 and 2557, for which MS. B. N. fr. 20042 was consulted), is based wholly upon closer readings in MS. 1165, and will probably be augmented by examination of other manuscripts. *Le Ménagier*, then, does not give accurately the reading of Chaucer's source manuscript in the following places: *Mén* 186, *Ch* 2157, 2159; *Mén* 187, *Ch* 2163, 2165-6, 2169, 2172-3, 2175, 2178; *Mén* 188, *Ch* 2184, 2189; *Mén* 189, *Ch* 2190, 2194-5, 2202; *Mén* 190, *Ch* 2208, 2215, 2218, 2222; *Mén* 191, *Ch* 2227; *Mén* 192, *Ch* 2234-6, 2240-1, 2244-6; *Mén* 193, *Ch* 2251, 2254; *Mén* 194, *Ch* 2258, 2264; *Mén* 195, *Ch* 2274, 2281; *Mén* 196, *Ch* 2284, 2289-90, 2293, 2296; *Mén* 197, *Ch* 2308, 2310-21; *Mén* 198, *Ch* 2327, 2329; *Mén* 200, *Ch* 2360-1, 2367; *Mén* 201, *Ch* 2377; *Mén* 202, *Ch* 2387-8, 2392; *Mén* 203, *Ch* 2407-11; *Mén* 204, *Ch* 2420-2, 2424; *Mén* 205, *Ch* 2432, 2435, 2444-5; *Mén* 206, *Ch* 2453, 2455, 2459, *Mén* 207, *Ch* 2475, 2478, 2483, 2491, 2494, 2498; *Mén* 208, *Ch* 2507, 2510-2; *Mén* 209, *Ch* 2519; *Mén* 211, *Ch* 2557; *Mén* 212, *Ch* 2586, 2590; *Mén* 213, *Ch* 2594-6, 2598-9, 2601, 2608-9, 2611-3; *Mén* 214, *Ch* 2619, 2626, *Mén* 215, *Ch* 2631-2, 2636, 2638-9, 2644; *Mén* 216, *Ch* 2647-8, 2652, 2654, 2659-60, 2662; *Mén* 217, *Ch* 2665, 2669, 2674-5, 2684; *Mén* 218, *Ch* 2687, 2692, 2695, 2699, 2702-3; *Mén* 219, *Ch* 2708, 2711-3, 2718, 2720-1; *Mén* 220, *Ch* 2725, 2730, 2732, 2736; *Mén* 221, *Ch* 2739, 2741, 2743, 2746-9, 2754, 2757-8; *Mén* 222, *Ch* 2763, 2775-6; *Mén* 223, *Ch* 2785-6, 2792-3, 2795; *Mén* 224, *Ch* 2804, 2820-1, 2824-5; *Mén* 225, *Ch* 2832, 2839-41, 2843; *Mén* 226, *Ch* 2847, 2849, 2851-2, 2854-5, 2863; *Mén* 227, *Ch* 2866-9, 2878-81; *Mén* 228, *Ch* 2887-8, 2891, 2894-5, 2902, 2904, 2907-8; *Mén* 229, *Ch* 2909-11, 2914; *Mén* 230, *Ch* 2944, 2950; *Mén* 231, *Ch* 2959-61, 2970, 2974; *Mén* 232, *Ch* 2985, 2991, 2993, 2997, 2999, 3001; *Mén* 233, *Ch* 3005, 3017-8, 3025-6; *Mén* 234, *Ch* 3031-2, 3050; *Mén* 235, *Ch* 3059, 3067.

St. James the credit for something that Seneca wrote ("Sénèque"—"saint Jacques"); and verbs which started out in the Latin as "to beg," "to hear," and "to follow," although they were safely carried over from the Latin to the French by the translator, were erroneously metamorphosed by French scribes into "to eat" ("mendier"—"mengier"), "to believe" ("oiez"—"croy"), and "to know" ("suivy"—"sceu")—errors which Chaucer, blindly following his source and lacking a copy of the Latin, perpetuated in his own version.

The striking nature of some of these differences between *Le Ménagier* and the source manuscript which Chaucer used leads to the necessity of re-examining all arguments advanced by scholars who have relied upon *Le Ménagier*. With only *Le Ménagier* to rely upon, one might easily become convinced that Chaucer probably had access to the Latin as well as to a French version of his tale. If, in the illustrative list of fifteen parallels cited above, one were to disregard the readings in MS. 1165 and confine one's attention to Chaucer, *Le Ménagier*, and Albertano, one would find a number of passages in which Chaucer differs from *Le Ménagier* and seems to have gone to Albertano for his reading: the last four parallels, in fact, are of this type. The presence in MS. 1165 of the passages as Chaucer has them, however, demonstrates that Chaucer's French manuscript contained the readings in question. And so, I am convinced, it will be found with all instances of apparent reliance upon the Latin.

This is certainly so in two readings which Miss Grace W. Landrum has cited to prove that Chaucer made use of the Latin.<sup>10</sup> They are as follows, with the addition of the corresponding readings from MS. 1165:

1. *Albertano*, 10, 28-30: Ait enim Jhesus Sirac: "Musica in luctu importuna oratio."

*Ménagier*, 192: Not in *Le Ménagier*.

*MS. 1165*: Et Ihesu Syrac dit que musique em plour est ennuyeuse narracion.

*Chaucer*, 2235: For Jesus Syrac seith: that "musik in wepinge is anoyous thing."

2. *Albertano*, 10, 24-6: Dictumque fuit illi: "Ubi non est auditus, non effundas sermonem, et importune noli extolli in sapientia tua."

*Ménagier*, 192: Not in *Le Ménagier*.

*MS. 1165*: Car Salemon dit la ou tu n'auras audience ne t'efforce point de parler.

*Chaucer*, 2237: For *Salomon* seith: "ther-as thou ne mayst have noon audience, enforce thee nat to speke."

In each of these parallels a quotation occurs in Chaucer which is altogether lacking in *Le Ménagier* but which does appear in the Latin of Albertano. But the corresponding passages in MS. 1165 demonstrate

<sup>10</sup> Landrum, Grace W., "Chaucer's Use of the Vulgate," *PMLA*, xxxix, 75-100.



at once not only that the expressions were in the French version but also that Chaucer's rendition is much closer to the French than to the Latin.

The new light cast by the hitherto unexamined French manuscripts helps us toward the truth concerning still another theory. Professor J. Leslie Hotson has advanced the argument that "the *Melibeus* is a political tract, designed to dissuade John of Gaunt from launching on the invasion of Castile in 1386."<sup>11</sup> He points out certain parallels between the fictitious characters and events of the story and the actual characters and events of the historical period, and concludes that there are three or four passages in which Chaucer altered his source in order to fit his materials more closely to the particular demands of political propaganda. Two of these passages I cite here, with controverting evidence drawn from MS. fr. 20042 of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1. *Albertano*, 69, 23-4: Custodias te ab omnibus extraneis et *ignotis*.

*Ménagier*, 207: Après, tu te dois garder de toutes gens estranges et *mescongneus*.

*MS. 20042*: Apres tu te dois garder de toutes gens estranges et *menchongniers*.  
*Chaucer*, 2498: Thanne shul ye kepe yow fro alle straunge folk, and fro *lyeres*.

2. *Albertano*, 77, 24-5: Non enim habes *filios masculos*.

*Ménagier*, 211: Tu es tout seul et n'as nul *enfant masle*; tu n'as fors une seule fille tant seulement.

*MS. 20042*: Tu es tout seul et ne as nul enfans fors fille tant seulement.

*Chaucer*, 2557: For certes, ye ne han no child but a doghter.

In the former of these two parallels, it will be observed that the "unknown people" mentioned in *Albertano* and *Le Ménagier* are transformed in Chaucer's version into "liars." Where did Chaucer get his "lyeres?" Professor Hotson believes that it is a deliberate change by Chaucer, made to enforce a very pointed warning to John of Gaunt against certain scheming ambassadors from Portugal, "members of the international Ananias club,"<sup>12</sup>—diplomatic "lyeres." This argument, however, collapses at once when we examine the reading in MS. 20042. Chaucer did not alter his source; he was simply working with a manuscript which contained an erroneous reading, and he copied the error.

In regard to the second parallel, Professor Hotson points out that, although both *Le Ménagier* and *Albertano* make direct reference to the lack of a son or male heir, Chaucer suppresses any such direct reference. The explanation advanced for this alteration on Chaucer's part is that "any person of tact, addressing the Duke of Lancaster, would not care to remind him of John, his only son by Constance of Castile, who had died in infancy; leaving his father with but one daughter Catherine, to carry on his claim to the throne of Castile."<sup>13</sup> The reading in MS. 20042,

<sup>11</sup> Hotson, J. Leslie, "The Tale of *Melibeus* and John of Gaunt," *Studies in Philology*, xviii, 430.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 447.

however, proves once more that Chaucer was merely following his source; hence, the proposed explanation of the minor change must be rejected.

It is no matter for wonder that these theories, based as they are upon *Le Ménagier* as Chaucer's source, have proved to be false. Since (as I hope I have demonstrated) numerous passages in *Le Ménagier* vary from the corresponding passages in Chaucer's source manuscript, any scholar who relies upon the text of *Le Ménagier* will be led to believe erroneously that Chaucer altered or added or omitted numerous passages.<sup>14</sup>

If *Le Ménagier* does not afford a reliable text of Chaucer's source, where are we to find one? Although I have listed above numerous passages in MS. 1165 which are closer to Chaucer than the corresponding passages in *Le Ménagier*, I make no claim that MS. 1165 gives a satisfactory text. It does not. It, too, has many deficiencies. For when MS. 1165 and *Le Ménagier* give readings which differ from each other, Chaucer's translation frequently follows the latter. In all, I have found about three hundred passages in which the two texts give divergent readings. In slightly over half of these, Chaucer follows the reading in MS. 1165; in slightly under half, he follows *Le Ménagier*. In other words, neither MS. 1165 nor *Le Ménagier* separately affords a satisfactory text of Chaucer's source manuscript. Together, however, they come close to supplying such a text. Whatever deficiencies may remain can undoubtedly be supplied by one or more of the remaining twenty-five manuscripts. For each MS, to quote Chaucer's own prologue to the tale,

Ne saith nat al thing as his felaw doth, . . .

For somme of hem seyn more, and somme lesse.<sup>15</sup>

What we now need is a careful examination of these manuscripts of the French *Mélibée*, and a careful comparison of them with Chaucer's text. From such an examination and comparison will result a text of Chaucer's source that is complete, accurate, and reliable. Pending the completion of a work of this nature, it would seem wise not to rely unreservedly upon *Le Ménagier* for the text of Chaucer's source of the *Tale of Melibeus*.

J. BURKE SEVERS

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 447-448.

<sup>14</sup> A notable exception to this statement is the theory advanced by Professor Tatlock concerning line 2389 of the *Melibeus* (Tatlock, *op cit.*, 192). Consulting *Le Ménagier* at this point, Professor Tatlock found a passage which was lacking in Chaucer's version—a passage deploring the sorry state of a nation burdened with a boy-sovereign. Interpreting this omission as deliberate on Chaucer's part, he deduced therefrom a date for the tale—i.e., after the death of the Black Prince, when the youth of his successor, Richard, rendered politic the omission of the passage. My investigations confirm Professor Tatlock's theory: no manuscript of the twenty-three which I examined omitted the passage, although some of them shortened it somewhat.

<sup>15</sup> Prologue to *Melibeus*, ll. 2135, 2139.

## IX

### THE CANTERBURY TALES IN 1400

PROFESSOR F. N. ROBINSON'S *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* is remarkable for many things; most of all, perhaps, for the best text we have, but hardly less for the extraordinarily comprehensive survey in his commentary of the mass of earlier scholarship. He gives a clean picture of the views held by most scholars today. Some relate to the arrangement and possible revision of the *Canterbury Tales*. These subjects obviously depend closely on the history of the work shortly before and after Chaucer's death, but as to this no one has in print systematically considered and appraised all the possibilities or expressed any clean-cut view. Chaucer students will suspend judgment on various matters pending the publication of results by Professors Manly and Rickert and their collaborators at the University of Chicago—especially on many readings and on most of the history and relations of the MSS.; but so far Mr. Manly's results<sup>1</sup> have been expressed incidentally and often doubtfully. The subject has been touched on with penetration by the much-regretted Aage Brusendorff in his erratic but brilliant and independent *Chaucer Tradition*.<sup>2</sup> The chief other comparatively recent writers are Professors J. Koch and W. W. Skeat, and Miss E. P. Hammond.<sup>3</sup> Their remarks on the subject are superficial or incidental—in fact so purely directed to this or that detail on the outside, and so without expression of a clear and complete view as to what physical history of the *Tales* lies underneath the existing MSS., that in spite of their learning and ingenuity one is sometimes inclined to murmur

<sup>1</sup> Especially in *Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer* (New York, 1928), hereafter cited as "Manly."—Some statement seems fitting as to the relation of the present study to him and his work. I sent the MS. to him to ascertain if it would be in any way or for any reason impolitic to print. He replied, of course in a kind and liberal spirit, that it would not be. Though in order not to confuse responsibility little or none of the information afforded by him and his co-workers has been embodied here, certain matters or expressions which he criticized have been modified or omitted, and he has saved me from more than one error; certain other opinions have been reinforced with further evidence. My desire has been to confine myself to broader conclusions unlikely to be invalidated by more exhaustive manuscript-detail, and to matters admitting legitimate difference of opinion. In all cases I am grateful to him.

<sup>2</sup> London and Copenhagen, 1925; cited hereafter as "Brusendorff."

<sup>3</sup> The works cited under these names are respectively *Eight Manuscripts of Chaucer's Cant. T.* (Ch. Soc., 1913), *Evolution of the Cant. T.* (Ch. Soc., 1907); *Chaucer: a Bibliogr. Manual* (New York, 1908). Other works cited hereafter merely under the authors' names are Robinson's edition already mentioned (Boston and New York, 1933), and Sir W. McCormick's *The Manuscripts of Chaucer's Cant. T.* (Oxford, 1933). For the MSS. the abbreviations of Manly, McCormick, and Robinson are used.

of a sursanure  
In surgerye is perilous the cure.

The present study will assume the reader's general knowledge of the extraordinary variation in the eighty-five (or so) known complete or defective MSS. as to three matters—arrangement, omission of undoubtedly genuine passages, insertion of undoubtedly spurious passages. It is hard to think of any work ever written, important or unimportant, which was intended as a unit and in which there is anything like so chaotic a condition in the early authorities. This chaotic condition is the conspicuous feature of the MSS. to one familiar with them; it could hardly be worse. Detailed accounts of the differences among MSS., and suggestions as to their evolution, will be avoided here so far as possible, in deference to Mr. Manly and his collaborators; they are here put under his correction, "for I am not textueel" as he is. My justification for writing is that years ago I extensively examined over two-thirds of the more complete MSS., and came to certain conclusions, which were reserved only for lack of all the evidence, and are here extensively revised. The chief subjects to discuss are: first, the probabilities as to Chaucer's method of work, possible revision, publication by him, the condition of the MS. at his death; second, what happened afterwards, and the influence of the professional scribe and bookseller; and third, Chaucer's intentions as to arrangement in relation to the actual arrangements. Even though strictly limiting one's attempts in this intricate region, one would be unpardonable in presenting conclusions without genuine modesty.

We do not know in what physical form Chaucer worked on the *Tales*, but can surmise with probability. He would write in a cursive but legible hand on loose sheets of vellum or paper. Assuredly he did not write in an already bound volume. The medieval pictures we often see of scribes at work on one were designed for picturesqueness; art then was symbolical rather than realistic. To produce in an already unified volume the original draft of a work which embodied several earlier-finished parts, which could hardly be and certainly was not written in a settled and evenly progressive order, and which would be foreseen as requiring many undefinable gaps, would be both wasteful of time and expensive vellum or paper, and highly inconvenient. Above all, had Chaucer left the *Tales* in a bound volume or two, it is hardly credible that we should find in the MSS. the chaos we are suffering from. Whether the sheets were entirely separate, or in fascicules or quires as Miss Hammond (p. 159) and Brusendorff (pp. 58, 126) thought, I see no

reliable evidence. Nor how far there was in October, 1400, perfect physical unification of each group by juxtaposition, tying, or sewing, or whether the order of the parts of it was indicated by a notation on them or on a memorandum, or whether the unity and correct arrangement within the groups is merely due to the scribes' or "editors' "4 wits, which they were certainly not beyond.

There must have been some revision by Chaucer in the original MS.; it stands to reason; and there is some evidence, though not a great deal. Of alternatives for single words or phrases which look genuine there are few or none.<sup>5</sup> Of alternative entire lines a very few may be genuine, but most were patently supplied by scribes to replace accidental losses in earlier copies. One or two instances of alternative couplets also may be genuine. And there are almost certainly a few short passages later added by Chaucer;<sup>6</sup> though not impossibly the appearance of a passage in but few MSS. might in one or two instances be due to damage to the original (as at top or bottom of a sheet) soon after copying had begun. Such revisions may have been written ambiguously, alternatives imperfectly erased or expuncted or without clear indication as to which the author preferred; added passages written on loose sheets (easily overlooked), or in the margin without clear indication of their proper place of insertion, and easily overlooked, or omitted lazily by scribes, who were far from having the modern scholar's logical mind and thirst for accuracy. These matters need not be discussed further here; enough to say that there is no reason to deny some afterthoughts or to see many of them.

On the other hand, there are far more evidences of lack of revision—conspicuous incompletenesses, contradictions, irrationalities. Some of these are notorious and strike the attentive reader between the eyes; as to others there might be debate, especially since there is a question how

<sup>4</sup> By the word "editor" (which will recur) I mean someone who took more responsibility for solving problems and getting things into shape than would be expected of an ordinary copyist.

<sup>5</sup> Of the nine alternatives in *MchT* 1305-6 none is genuine; Chaucer probably wrote the first six words, hoping vainly to finish the lines later, as Virgil so often did in the *Aeneid*, and the scribes mended according to their lights, as they so often did. A modern editor I believe should omit all except these six words (as MSS. Hg and Hk, only, do—suggestively as to the history of the text) After most alterations Chaucer would cancel.

<sup>6</sup> One which has been doubted (as by Manly, p. 512) is the *graunt*—*haunt* couplet about the Friar in the *Prolog*, 252 a b, in several MSS. In favor of its authenticity I would point out that it is not only in one of the very oldest MSS., the Hengwrt, but that this contains no spurious lines, to say nothing of couplets, whatever; on the contrary it often carefully leaves blanks for lines obviously missing. I do not believe any discoverable MS.-genealogy will prove otherwise likely additions to be spurious; everyone knows there was a vast amount of contamination, both constant and sporadic.

much prosaic realism and unimportant consistency Chaucer demanded of himself. Much of this he often gives us, sometimes subtly; but unless it is clearly there, the modern scholar should beware of indulging his microscopic eye. Poetic not literal truth is the business of the poet medieval or modern, as to which Mr. Robinson has some good words (p. 2). But for all that there is a lack of finish at many points which we cannot doubt Chaucer would have corrected if he could.<sup>7</sup>

There is one more matter relating to the condition of the MS. as Chaucer worked on it—the extra-textual features. One may well believe that none of the mere titles, headings, and endings of the parts are due to him;<sup>8</sup> the scribes even of closely allied MSS. wantonly vary the wording and even the language (English, Latin, French) far more than would be likely had they found them in the original, for there is certainly no reason to believe that the latter was used but once and never consulted again, or to doubt that the conditions in it were well known to some better-informed “editors.” If as is possible Chaucer left certain informal identifying labels which guided the scribes, we can hardly see what they were. On the other hand, I agree with Brusendorff<sup>9</sup> that the marginal Latin extracts from sources are mostly Chaucer’s own *margin-alia* (omitted by some scribes for want of space or interest); though not in the view that they are due to an assumption of dignity and learning—rather to the genuine medieval love of precedent and authority, especially in Latin, sincerely shared by Chaucer. Here is a case where the lights and shades of our own portrait of Chaucer are affected, and a racy savor of the traits and tastes of early readers and scribes conveyed, by the MSS. “Our learned poet Chaucer’s” disinterested art at times is momentarily occulted for the modern by Chaucer’s interest in learning for its own sake, as in the predestination discourse in the *Troilus*, Dorigen’s soliloquy on suicidal heroines in the *Franklin’s Tale*, and many a shorter passage. Chaucer’s taste was not just that of 1934. His

<sup>7</sup> Lists of cases, not complete and perhaps not without debatable matters, are given by Brusendorff (pp. 116–20); the writer’s *Harl. MS. 7334*, pp. 24–25; and elsewhere. Here I should *not* include six cases where the word *write* is used of these orally-delivered tales (*KnT* 1201, *Mel* 2154, *MkT* 3843, *MchT* 1739, *FkIT* 1549, *SNT* 78), which are far too numerous to be “oversights”; Chaucer for the moment thought of himself as the literary man, not as the imaginary reporter, and in all cases but one found the word convenient for a rime. This matter is good to remember when one is tempted to force the realism.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Skeat’s *Eight-Text Edition*, pp. 2–5; he seems to believe the same. So also Brusendorff (p. 131), who further makes the legitimate, startling, and unacceptable suggestion that Chaucer may not have meant the *Sec. Nun’s Tale* for that lady after all.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 82, 127. Mr. Manly so far is undecided (pp. 574–575). These extracts are collected, from the Ch. Soc. prints of MSS., in Skeat’s *Eight-Text Ed.*, pp. 9–18. It is noteworthy that they are much commoner in two of the oldest MSS. (El, Hg).

same careful side is probably illustrated by another extra-textual feature, the Latin glosses over difficult words ("i. impetus" over "vezc," *KnT* 1985; "i. ceriose" over "ceriously," *MLT*, 185, and many more); and over homonym rimes ("hic," "audire," over "here," "here," *ChPr* 4339-40, *PhysT* 173-174, etc.), and perhaps even some of the "nota bene" pointers and "Auctor" labels.<sup>10</sup> Since these glosses are found, so far as known, in few MSS. and those only the oldest, they go back very close to Chaucer, and, quite numerous, were assuredly inserted by some person informed, careful, and solicitous. Were there any evidence of a very careful literary executor, they might be ascribed to him, as a warning to scribes against officious correction; but one may differ with Brusendorff (p. 129) in thinking most of them probably Chaucer's own warnings. A poet who shows so much solicitude, with his cautions against "Diane," "Samuel," actually put in the verse, might well warn scribes against other officious emendation. What is most interesting is the suggestion in all this that the extant MSS. are largely derived not from a "fair copy" but directly from Chaucer's original MS.,<sup>11</sup> as is *a priori* most likely; or just possibly from a "fair copy" on which he had made such notations, meaning it to serve as the exemplar for copyists.

All this lack of revision and this informal noting have a bearing on the next question, as to any circulation of the *Tales* before Chaucer's death. For any publication, most of the probability and evidence seem negative—publication meaning<sup>12</sup> such a "release" that the author no longer had control, that new copies were made, and that he could not prevent unlimited reproduction from them. That the work as a whole was not so published seems certain. The imperfections and incompleteness just mentioned would naturally make a writer unwilling to launch and to allow multiplication of copies of a work in such a state—a work which as long as life and health held he would expect to continue and perfect. We know that Chaucer was a sanguine sort of man; it is scarcely likely that he ever knew he was to die in October or so of 1400, and if he ever did come to realize that he was doomed, he would probably either have still hoped for time to improve the work or else would have

<sup>10</sup> All these and other remarks also are collected by Skeat (pp. 5-9), who thinks some may be due to Chaucer; assuredly not all. These glosses in the Ellesmere MS. are certainly in the same hand as the text, which probably shows that they were copied from its parent. They are commoner by far in El and Hg than in other published MSS.

<sup>11</sup> So Manly, *Stud. in Philol.*, xxviii, 616.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. R. K. Root, *PMLA*, xxviii, 419-420, etc.; Brusendorff, p. 55. Much of Mr. Root's serviceable article, chiefly on Latin works in Italy, may be applied to vernacular works in England.

been in no condition to think about it. Chaucer especially was unlikely to publish, frequently betraying, as we have seen, solicitude for the purity of his text and his literary reputation.<sup>13</sup> To a finished poet before the days of printing the prospects must have been gloomy indeed; Dante and Chaucer both took precautions against them, but no poet with such even amusing candor as Chaucer. That he himself ever published the work as a whole in any form is so unlikely that one may well be surprised to find some scholars half-considering it.<sup>14</sup> Publication at what stage? Why at the particular stage where the work chanced to be cut off by his death? To any publication in large parts, or in "groups," much of the same considerations applies; few or none of these are not in need of some revision; no "group" except the first is self-explanatory. I know of no evidence in the MSS. favoring the idea, and cannot for a moment believe that the confusion there is due to any such reason. This idea too it is surprising to find favored or implied by one or two earlier writers.<sup>15</sup> Against publication by Chaucer of single tales or long prologs there is less probability, but no positive proof of it is known. I know of none in fragmentary MSS., or MSS. of single tales, to show that they are not derived after Chaucer's death from fuller MSS. for the benefit of persons who desired merely a part;<sup>16</sup> copies of a mere part of the *Tales* may have been purchasable or rentable; this was common with pieces, *peciae*, of long Latin works.<sup>17</sup> In deference to Professor Manly's studies I pursue no farther the subject of indications in the *Canterbury Tales* themselves that this or that single poem may have been published separately.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See *Troilus*, v, 1793-98 (also Brusendorff, p. 59), *ibid.*, III, 726, compared with *KnT* 2062-64; *PardT* 584-585 (intended perhaps for Chaucer's scribe as well as the Pardoner's congregation). I have put in the same category the Latin glosses in the earliest MSS. over homonyms and hard words.

<sup>14</sup> Skeat, *Evol. C. T.*, pp. 12, 19, 27; *Eight-Text Edit. of C. T.* (Ch. Soc., 1909), pp. v, 50; Miss Hammond, pp. 243-244, 250, 262 (she suggests a pirated edition). Professor Carleton Brown, *PMLA*, XLVIII, 1041-42, believes in more than one genuine arrangement and draft; why, unless the earlier was uncorrectable because published? It is a trifle difficult at times to see just what the conception of the history really is.

<sup>15</sup> Miss Hammond, pp. 243-244, and in *Mod. Philol.*, III, 162 (she seems to overstate in saying that the supposed fact "has long been recognized"); Carleton Brown, *PMLA*, XXXVI, 28-29. The view was well opposed by Koch (p. 420; *Anglia Beibl.*, XXII, 282).

<sup>16</sup> Miss Hammond (p. 260) seems to agree. But there is interest for another reason in observing which the single tales thus selected are (list in McCormick, pp. 535 ff.); one of the commonest is *Melibeus*. Of course some MSS may be mere débris.

<sup>17</sup> G. H. Putnam, *Books and their Makers during the M. A.* (New York, 1896), I, 233, 238, 256, 258-259, 267. Conceivably some of the incomplete MSS., without headlinks for example, (when not mere débris) might be derived from such *peciae*.

<sup>18</sup> I would not say that never can there have been two copies even of a shorter prolog,



Two matters outside the *Tales* may seem to suggest partial publication by Chaucer—the fact that two parts of the *Tales* were probably known before his death. The poet himself cautions his marrying friend Bukton (*Envoy a Bukton*, l. 29), "The Wyf of Bathe I pray yow that ye rede." He may have given him a copy (of her prolog presumably), perhaps sent it with this envoi; but in this envoi Chaucer was not giving military orders—he may have meant "come and look at my copy," or merely "remember what she says." The other part is the *Knight's Tale*, from which the lines (1785–86)

The god of love, a, *benedicite!*  
How myghty and how greet a lord is he!

are quoted as its opening by *The Book of Cupid* (or *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*); a charming poem (modernized in 1801 by Wordsworth) abounding in reminiscences from Chaucer, which G. L. Kittredge, followed by other scholars, is cautiously inclined to believe by Sir John Clanvowe, who died before March 4, 1392.<sup>19</sup> But these lines by no means prove that Clanvowe possessed a copy of the *Knight's Tale* in any form; he might have learned them through one of the methods of divulgation on Chaucer's part which one must think highly probable.

These methods are lending and reading aloud. There is naturally no way of proving, but also no reason to doubt, that now and then Chaucer would show or lend a part of the poem to a trustworthy friend. Chaucer reading aloud is a familiar idea, and with the king's court as audience forms a picture which has stimulated more than one artist, medieval and modern. Abundant evidence for this natural practice has been collected from the works of other medieval writers and especially from Chaucer's.<sup>20</sup> These, and general hearsay, seem the most probable, if not the only probable, methods by which a knowledge of the *Tales* would be spread before Chaucer's death.

The probabilities are, then, that at his death the *Tales* were mostly in no "fair copy" but in his own informal draft, on separate sheets (or possibly quires), certainly not all physically and inseparably unified.<sup>21</sup>

for whatever reason produced; one must remember the long and short forms of the Mk-NP link (Mrs. Heseltine, in McCormick, pp. xxix f.), and MS. variations as to extra passages in *WBP*, *MkNP* link, and *CIT*. But all these might have been on extra sheets sometimes overlooked. Such a thing as *Mk NP* link is specially unlikely to have been published separately.

<sup>19</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, I, 13–18, see Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 347, lviii.

<sup>20</sup> By Dr. Ruth Crosby, Radcliffe College dissertation (unpublished), 1928. Some of the wording in the *Tales* which seems unfitting on the pilgrimage is, as I have said, due to the fact that Chaucer was thinking of his visible auditors and his readers.

<sup>21</sup> It is best to keep till later the question whether he left any indication as to the order of the "groups." Brusendorff (p. 72) once implies some significant arrangement of parts by Chaucer. His point is far from convincing.

As to what would happen after Chaucer's death there is an illustration in the biography of the only medieval poet comparable to him in greatness—an anecdote toward the end of Boccaccio's *Vita* (or *Trattatello in Laude*) di Dante,<sup>22</sup> telling how at Dante's death the last thirteen cantos of the *Commedia* had never been seen and could not be found, and how his sons and admirers hunted earnestly for months among his papers and elsewhere, and were in despair at not finding them. The account of their discovery through a dream, moulding away in a secret closet, is irrelevant, and also considered apocryphal like much of the *Vita* (though not every picturesque story is false); but even if the whole story of the thirteen missing cantos is false, the deep interest implied is what one would expect. Just so in Chaucer's case, no one can doubt that immediately the MS. of the *Tales* would be sought on his desk or in his chest, and pounced on with intense curiosity and interest. Just what happened then we can never know; it would depend upon his heirs' good sense and good feeling. We cannot deny the possibility that irreparable damage was done, that notes of his intentions, even parts of poems (e.g., *Cook's* and *Squire's Tales*), or whole poems, were lost; parts of the work may have been borrowed by the careless, or have been stolen, or have been destroyed accidentally, or even deliberately. But though there is evidence of carelessness, there is no reason to believe any of this. We do not know whether anyone functioned as what could be called a "literary executor," though the phrase has been used in this connection.<sup>23</sup> All we know is that copies were made very soon, presumably at once, in order to satisfy the avidity of relatives, patrons, and friends. Some of these may even have made copies for themselves and others.

But what was much more influential was the entrance of the professional scribe and bookseller upon the scene, and "commercializing," pretty much in the sense in which a great modern publishing-house, with all its zeal for good literature and its human relations with authors, is commercialized. I mean a vivid and practical consideration of the opinion, the comfort, and the pleasure of the purchaser. This subject almost nobody as yet seems to have considered,<sup>24</sup> but it is of the utmost importance for understanding the history of the MSS. A large part of the changes and adjustments in the MSS. were for the contentment and convenience of readers, and made no doubt with business motives.

<sup>22</sup> *Opere Volgari*, Magheri-Moutier ed. (Florence, 1827-34), xv, 72.

<sup>23</sup> Brusendorff, pp 72, 130; Manly, *Stud. in Philol.*, xxviii, 616. One or two people have trifled with the possibility that the officious, able, sometimes stupid person, a martinet as to versification, who is responsible for the very early MS. Harl. 7334 was no less a person than Chaucer's friend John Gower, who was all those things, and who did not die till 1408. Chaucer edited by Gower! Stranger things have happened.

<sup>24</sup> So far as I know it has been mentioned only in the Chaucer Concordance, p. iv.

Unfortunately little exact and comprehensive information about the book-trade in England in the fifteenth century is available,<sup>25</sup> and most of the information which we have relates to making and dealing in books among the clergy and in the universities, where the language was Latin and the subjects technical. In Chaucer's day the time was long past when almost all book-making was in the hands of "the old monks."<sup>26</sup> With the increase of a middle class, of reading the vernacular, of production of meritorious literature in it, and the desire for literate entertainment, clerical scribes would hardly figure here; it is impossible to imagine that secular reading-matter multiplied much except through secular and commercial routes. That all this would be true there is sufficient evidence. The *stationarius*, *librarius*, *bibliator*, *bibliopola* are mentioned now and then, selling and renting books, surely not wholly even if mostly Latin books. Richard de Bury mentions them (doubtless for their Latin books) early in Chaucer's century in England as well as in other countries, and gave orders to the enterprising ones; a *librarius* is mentioned in as small a place as Lincoln in 1359-60, but London naturally seems to have been the center. Here these men formed a gild in 1403 or 1404; books were sold in the fifteenth century in England as well as elsewhere by grocers, mercers, pedlars, and at fairs—books most of which would doubtless be in English. As early as the thirteenth century, according to Putnam, the earliest named Paris bookseller was one Herneis le Romanceur, so nicknamed, according to the evidence, because he sold vernacular books.<sup>27</sup> It is noteworthy that nearly all the books printed by Caxton were English, which shows the demand for them in the later fifteenth century. Further, the dealers mentioned

<sup>25</sup> W. Wattenbach, *D. Schriftwesen im M. A.* (Leipzig, 1896), especially pp. 554-556, 560-562; Richard de Bury, *Philobiblon*, chap. 8; F. Kapp, *Gesch. d. deutschen Buchhandels* (Leipzig, 1886), especially pp. 20-21; Brusendorff, pp. 54-55 (little on vernacular books in England); G. H. Putnam's desultory and uncritical *Books and their Makers during the M. A.* (New York, 1896) is useful, especially I, 226-274, 302-313. I have not seen most of A. Kirchhoff's work (1853-55). With patience an informing treatise on the subject could be written.

<sup>26</sup> Yet in 1898 H. B. Wheatley suggested that the heads of monastic scriptoria would pay Chaucer "something for a new Canterbury Tale," and competed in publishing the *Tales*; his ideas are completely misguided (*Prices of Bks.*, p. 2).

<sup>27</sup> Kapp, pp. 20-21; Wattenbach, pp. 561-562, Putnam, I, 232, 260, 264, 271, 306 (the reference here seems wrong), 311-313; Ducange, *s. vv.*; E. G. Duff, *A Century of the Engl. Bk. Trade* (London, 1905), pp. xi f, xiv, xvi; G. J. Gray, *Earlier Camb. Stationers* (Oxford, 1904), p. 15; Wheatley, p. 27. There is sometimes mysterious information about prices of books (mostly liturgical), writing materials and copying in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in J. E. Thorold Rogers' *Hist. of Agric. and Prices in Eng.* (Oxford, 1866-1902), vols. I, II, III, IV (155, 599 ff., sale at fairs, and prices, sixteenth century); G. G. Coulton, *Chaucer and his Eng.*, pp. 98-100; Wheatley, pp. 51 ff.; Gray, pp. 18-22.

assuredly did not handle merely second-hand books; there is no reason to doubt that they employed staffs of scribes. Needless to labor these points. No one familiar with the Chaucer MSS. doubts that they were written mostly by professionals. The probability is also that most of them were written for and sold by book-dealers,<sup>28</sup> and that commercial considerations were kept in mind, and will prove to be recognizable.

In one event of about 1484 we find a clear instance of the desire of the maker to please the buyer. It is little the less significant for appearing in the production not of a MS. but of one of the earliest printed books—in the well-known proem to Caxton's second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. Caxton says he has diligently overseen and duly examined this second edition to the end that it may be made according to Chaucer's own making; for he finds many MSS. have abridged the work and left out many things, and also have set in some places certain verses which Chaucer never made. One of these incorrect books, which he had supposed correct, had been brought to him six years before, and used for his first edition, which was sold to many.

Of whome one gentylman cam to me/and said that this book was not accordyng in many places vnto the book that Gefferey chaucer had made/To whom I answerd that I had made it accordynge to my cople/and by me was nothyng added ne mynusshyd.

Thereupon the gentleman, desiring a better edition to be printed, lent him a copy which had been much prized by his own father, and which "was very trewe/ and accordynge unto his owen first book by hym made" (i.e., Chaucer's original copy; here the man was no more uncritical than most). Regretting that "to fore by ygnoraunce I erryd in hurtyng and dyffamyng" Chaucer's book by setting in some things which he had not made and leaving out many which were requisite to be set in it, Caxton used this borrowed better copy for his second edition.<sup>29</sup> It is a fact that the first edition (though not much worse arranged) has more bad readings than the second, omits more genuine passages,

<sup>28</sup> The fact that a MS. has the arms of the owner does not necessarily prove that it was not bought, when written to order, or even ready-made, from a bookseller; cf. Putnam, p. 268. I do not discuss how far this is applicable to the CT MSS.; but see, e.g., MSS. Paris and Petworth in McCormick, and p. 121 below. The numerous signs that the CT, as one might expect, appealed to well-to-do and aristocratic people, as shown by Mr. Manly and Miss Rickert, do not of course show that they were not commonly got from regular booksellers. My conclusions are in accord with those of Professor J. W. Thompson in his book in preparation on medieval libraries (my thanks to him).

<sup>29</sup> "Prohemye" reprinted by E. Flugel, *Neuengl. Lesebuch* (Halle, 1895), I, 6-7. The two editions are analyzed by McCormick (pp. 55-76).—Just so Thynne in 1532 had compared various texts of Chaucer, and laments their depravation (Flugel, p. 305).

and inserts more spurious. What especially offended the gentleman and grieved Caxton was very likely the spurious obscenities, more numerous here than in almost any other edition or MS.<sup>30</sup> But it is perfectly clear that Caxton, and very likely the gentleman, noticed not only additions but also omissions; that we have here a critical and sensitive reader who was familiar with more than one text of the *Tales* and did not hesitate to make his displeasure known; and that the bookseller was probably moved not only by admiring zeal for Chaucer but by a desire to content his customer. No doubt there were many readers as critical and other booksellers as considerate. One more fact looks in the same direction; among various regulations in the book-trade in Paris in the later middle ages, according to Putnam (p. 259), a *stationarius* who gave a member of the university (it is true) an incorrect or incomplete MS. to copy was liable for damages. People were on their guard.

The commercializing of the *Tales*, for better or worse, is perceptible in various matters, explains much, and is well worth enlarging on. For this subject, though as was said I have examined more than two-thirds of the existing fuller MSS., I depend mostly on McCormick's *Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales*, a vast work fascinating and most welcome to the MS.-student (facilitating universal statements). Far the most important of these matters is the gaps and breaks in continuity between tales, which were sure to make an uninformed buyer think he was getting a damaged copy. They had to be dealt with.<sup>31</sup>

One method of dealing with them was calling attention to them. This does not refer to the blank spaces often left, where something was plainly wanting, in the hope of later discovering what belonged there; but to frank statements. If a scribe wrote (like him of the Hengwrt MS.) "Of this Cokes tale maked Chaucer na more," or (like him of Additional 5140) "incipit fabula Phisici sine prologg," he notified the attentive reader that the lack was not the fault of him or his exemplar, but was due to the poet himself. Such notations are found in just five places only—after the *Cook's* and *Squire's Tales*, and before the *Physician's*, *Second Nun's* and (only twice) *Shipman's*.<sup>32</sup> These positions were the

<sup>30</sup> The same in Ne; almost as many in Ha<sup>2</sup> and a few others.

<sup>31</sup> I do not wish to overstate this matter. A modern might go through many MSS., perhaps, or through McCormick's book, without noticing these efforts. But once he notices them, he finds a vast amount of evidence that the scribes were constantly trying to deal with the appearances of incompleteness.

<sup>32</sup> The texts where these five sets of notations exist are, respectively: En<sup>2</sup>, Ha<sup>2</sup>, Hg, Py; Cx<sup>2</sup>, Dd, Nl, Py; Ad<sup>1</sup>, Cn, Dd, Ds<sup>1</sup>, En<sup>1</sup>, En<sup>2</sup>, Ma; Dd, Ds<sup>1</sup>, En<sup>1</sup>, Ha<sup>2</sup>, Ma; Dd, Ds<sup>1</sup>. To quite an extent these lists are identical, showing a set policy. These texts are of all dates, Hg and Dd being among the oldest in existence. The fact that a spurious headlink for *Shipman's* is almost the commonest of all spurious links explains the rarity of its appearance

inevitable ones, for the former two tales are the only incomplete tales not obviously meant to be incomplete, and the latter three the only tales which in the best MSS. start in with no sort of link which carries on the narrative of the pilgrimage. The modern scholar is apt to blackguard the scribes or "editors," often with reason; but they really did use their wits, such as they were. There was doubtless much turning of pages, comparison of opinion and heated discussion.

More adroit methods of dealing with the gaps were to conceal or to fill them. One way was inserting the rubrics, headings, endings, etc., which are found in almost all MSS., probably none (as already said) due to Chaucer. Their absence in a few MSS.,<sup>33</sup> and their extraordinary variety, almost suggest that in some exemplars in the scriptoria they were absent, and were filled in by scribes at their own sweet will. At any rate the scribes gave them considerable thought. The fact that so many are in Latin (though sometimes dubious Latin), and a few in French, secures an air of literary dignity, and would appeal to cultivated readers. Some are clear "blurb," meant to attract; some to facilitate use and to interpret; most give an appearance of continuity, and tend to conceal gaps. The medieval reader was consequently far less conscious than the modern of the torso-character of the *Tales*. The fact is that the modern editor, tactlessly, one might say, calls the utmost attention to it (as if the mutilations of a Victory or a Hermes were purposely blackened) by his "group" headings, his interrupted line-numbering, his commentary; while the early reader, free from irrelevant distraction from his literary pleasure, was hardly conscious of what might have been there but was not. When the scribe of MS. Cardigan writes after the Cook's fragment "Finitur fabula Coci Incipit prologus Legisperiti," the inattentive or dull reader may almost have taken him at his word and no questions asked. It is hard to doubt that this was one reason for producing the headings and endings.

Another way of concealing the gaps was excision of ragged edges, or mending of them. The *Squire's Tale* seems never entirely cut out because unfinished; there is already in it much of interest; in spite of the promises (ll. 661 ff.) of what is to come, one can fancy some readers not being unpleasantly struck with its incompleteness, and total excision would

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"sine prologo." None of the above-mentioned notations indicates, as Brusendorff supposed (p. 120), the scribes' belief that Chaucer had finished the poem. It should be added that the scribe of Ha<sup>5</sup> appears to call attention to the absence of CYP and T though known to exist.

<sup>33</sup> Hk, Ld<sup>2</sup>, Mc; sometimes, but evidently not always, the explanation may be that blanks were left for a rubricator who never arrived,

have been too heroic a remedy. But in fifteen texts we find the *tercia pars*, merely one unfinished sentence, excised.<sup>34</sup> The *Cook's Tale*, on the other hand, is barely started, and by its unfulfilled preparations would show incompleteness at a glance, and to the better sort of reader would not seem important; accordingly five MSS. wholly drop it out with its prolog. Four ridiculously try to round it off with one or other lame and impotent conclusion.<sup>35</sup> What is much more important is the *Gamelyn* expedient. One may well believe that the insertion of *Gamelyn* in something like half the MSS. was due by no means to the fact that it was thought to be by Chaucer, or was found "near the Cook's Tale" (whatever that may mean), but to the fact that this good and little-known story found among Chaucer's papers could be attributed to the Cook (with a feeble link or other means of juncture) and divert attention from his first and imperfect tale. The medievals were not much exercised about questions of authenticity.<sup>36</sup>

What has seemed far more enigmatical, to some at least, is the omission of certain links. The links seemed rather unimportant. We have come, especially since Kittredge's *Chaucer and his Poetry*, to think of the work chiefly as a dramatic whole, but to the fifteenth century it was chiefly a collection of stories. Why not discreetly drop a small part which merely made trouble?<sup>37</sup> The cases which come in such questionable shape as to force discussion are the "Host-Stanza" after the *Clerk's Tale*, the Nun's Priest's endlink, and the Man of Law's endlink (or "Shipman's Prologue"). In a sense these are the most crucial parts of the whole work, its flower in the crannied wall; if we can understand their history, I believe we shall come nearer to understanding the external history of the whole. Omission of links in order to conceal incompleteness is not proposed here as explaining all such omissions. Mr. Manly has illuminated the subject by indicating that they were sometimes on loose sheets, not always found. That this was at times the explanation, especially among the oldest MSS., is recognized in the terminal note on MS. Hg in this article, the Clerk-Merchant link being a marked instance. But the other reason also operated.

<sup>34</sup> Just so some thirteen MSS. omit the whole of the unfinished couplet, *MchT* 1305-6 (two others, Hg, Hk, omitting all but the six genuine words). This passage is one of the most suggestive as to the history of the text and the careful comparison and discussion which must have taken place.

<sup>35</sup> Bo<sup>2</sup> and others. I add that Se has something similar at the end of *SqT*, but wrongly placed.

<sup>36</sup> Just so the Northumberland MS., in foisting in the tale of Beryn, actually in a Latin couplet mentions its author, an ecclesiastic of Canterbury (McC., p. 376).

<sup>37</sup> Miss Hammond (p. 244) made the explicit assumption that scribes never omitted links which were in their originals—a very large assumption indeed. It vitiates a great part of the argument on the history of the *CT* produced by this able pioneer.

The Host-stanza is not troublesome. It has long been recognized as Chaucer's first idea of a link from the stanzaic *Clerk's Tale* to some uncertain poem to follow, and to be continued doubtless into further seven-line stanzas.<sup>38</sup> Its position is just after the Clerk's *envoi*; there is no reason to suppose it ever meant for any other position, and presumably it was written before the Clerk-Merchant link was conceived, but it is perfectly harmonious with this (except in verse-form). Its occurrences are in what seem the later forms of the tale, but it is often lacking from these. Chaucer obviously had not deleted it, though conceivably he had stroked out; no one can say whether he would have removed it had he fully revised the *Tales*. The appropriate procedure for editors seems that usually adopted, to leave it in the text.<sup>39</sup> But most of the scribes omit it, apparently as interrupting and as different in verse from the following passage; in a word, as producing an unfinished appearance.

The "Nun's Priest's Epilogue" has been thought more problematical, in which the Host praises him and his tale in a rowdy style, and calls on "another," unspecified, for a tale. This is found in only ten (early and late) out of the fifty-seven more or less complete MSS,<sup>40</sup> but the fact that it is scarcer than the Man of Law endlink favors the explanation given here as to the omission of both. While editors have inclined to consider it mostly or wholly genuine, opinion has rather strongly favored the idea that Chaucer had rejected it. There seems no reason to doubt its genuineness, it has his distinction of style; and the final couplet, sometimes thought suspicious, seems a vivid illustration of his method of work. Normally in a link the first part deals with what precedes, and very likely was written about the same time as that, but the latter part, usually dealing with what follows, would be written perhaps much later when this had been decided on. Here the "seide unto another"

<sup>38</sup> The only other genuine link in stanzas is that between the stanzaic *PriT* and *Thopas*; the two other tales in seven-line stanzas are followed by couplet-links. There is not the slightest reason to doubt the genuineness of the Host-Stanza. One might hazard a query as to whether Chaucer once thought of another stanzaic tale as following; later he evidently decided to put all links in couplets.

<sup>39</sup> As Manly does fully, Koch and Robinson with brackets. Skeat puts it at the foot of the page, and the Globe editor wholly omits.

<sup>40</sup> McCormick, p. xix. Mostly or all genuine, but probably cancelled (Skeat); all suspicious (Globe); genuine but cancelled (Koch; Robinson also, but suspecting the final couplet); spurious or genuine, but perhaps cancelled (Manly); genuine, except final couplet, and deliberately omitted by scribes (Brusendorff, p. 89). But cf. Tatlock, *MS. Harl. 7334* (Ch. Soc., 1909), pp. 23-24, which says briefly what is said above. It is hard to be sure what idea of the history of the *CT* is implied by the idea that *NPE* is genuine but cancelled.



(l. 4652) seems unnaturally inconclusive from a patching scribe, but natural from Chaucer, who had he proceeded would have made the Host say "Yeman, com neer," or the like. Nor is it easy to see any sound argument for the view that Chaucer rejected it. The presumption is always against the rejection of any entire part of an unfinished work; Chaucer was never inclined in revising to omit (unless for special reasons in the prolog of the *Legend*). Mr. Manly's reason for believing in rejection by Chaucer is that some of the ideas appear also in the eugenic chaff by the Host in the Monk's prolog. It is surprising to think of Chaucer as objecting to repeated ideas or repeated language, which are indeed one of the features of his manner.<sup>41</sup> Why should not Chaucer, who had his own ideas about clerics, have had the same one about the Monk and the Priest; and would anyone expect him to allude to the earlier occurrence in the later? He never does. On the other hand, the omission of this link by scribes is easily explicable. Hooking to nothing which follows, and containing the unfulfilled phrase "seide unto another," it gave readers legitimate ground for suspecting a damaged copy; accordingly, since it is short and unimportant, and most scribes did not revere Chaucer's every word, out it went. Four, however, adopted the middle course of substituting "the nunne" for "another," and adding six spurious lines to introduce the *Second Nun's Tale*. This expedient suggests that the omission of *NPEp* is due not to ignorance of its existence but to its unfinished look. It is very noteworthy that these six

<sup>41</sup> See, e.g., Kittredge, *Date of Chaucer's Troilus* (Ch. Soc., 1909), p. 32, Tatlock, *Devel. and Chronol. of Ch's Works* (Ch. Soc., 1907), p. 77. Chaucer's "favorite line" about pity in the gentle heart appears no less than five times. In the two links under discussion there are three pairs of lines with echoing of words and thought (4641-42, 3135-36; 4645, 3131), and there is a general parallel in idea. But so is there in the Prioress' and Second Nun's prologs, and also echoing of words in as many pairs of lines (1668, 54 and 56, 1657, 36; 1664, 50). So is there in the Miller's and Manciple's prologs, and in many other places, a recurrence of situation and idea, and more or less of wording. Mr. Manly notes the parallels between the latter half of *MkP* and the *NPEp*, only 1500 lines apart, and infers the cancellation of the latter, he does not note those between its first half (on the Host's wife) and *MchP* and *MchEp* (the latter two only 1200 lines apart). Which of these should Chaucer have cancelled? The verbal parallels are less striking than Manly's—also than mine above; but three appearances of a pilgrim's ill-tempered wife are striking enough. Cf. *MchP* 1223-25 with *MkP* 3085-90, and 1239 with 3094 ff., *MchP* 1222 with *Mch-Sq* link 2428, 1226-27 with 2432, 1221-22 with 2429 and 2433-34, 1243-44 with 2439-40. Perhaps all this tends to invalidate an argument for cancellation based on likeness in thought or language. Chaucer may have written one of these links long after the other, and without much memory of it, but we cannot affirm that he would ever have changed or even regretted such repetition. I believe the usual omission of *NPEp* is due to the scribes or "editors," and has no connection with its resemblance to the earlier link. It is hard to see how it could have any.

lines form almost the only spurious link in any of the ten MSS.;<sup>42</sup> therefore the Nun's Priest's epilog is retained in MSS. (though not in all of them) which do not try to conceal gaps by spurious links. Rarely by insertions or by omissions, therefore, do they attempt as others do to secure a false air of completeness. The present writer has not the least doubt that this link should be retained in the text, and without any hedging.

The case of the link after the Man of Law is much more complicated, but in essentials perhaps no less intelligible. Being nearly twice as long and far livelier, though often omitted, it was retained in much more than half the complete texts (35 out of 57). But the trouble was worse than the passive suggestion of a loss; it forced active uncertainty on both scribes and readers, for the swashbuckler who demands the next tale (l. 1179) in some twenty-eight texts is the Squire, in six is the Sumner, in one the Shipman,<sup>43</sup> and all are questionable. What increases the seeming puzzle is that in some thirty-two MSS. what directly follows is the *Squire's Tale*; yet that in four of these (and perhaps originally in another MS.) it is the Sumner who is mentioned; and that in two others what directly follows is the Merchant-Squire link or the Wife's prolog. The vast majority of the texts would seem at first glance to show that Chaucer wrote *Squyer* in l. 1179, and meant his tale to follow, but it is a vivid illustration of the complex history of the *Tales* that this conclusion would be wrong. One need not dilate here on what has long been recognized as the beautiful fitness of this link to the Shipman and its grotesque unfitness to the Squire;<sup>44</sup> while subjective impressions of

<sup>42</sup> Ry<sup>1</sup> has a CY-Ph link. The MSS. which retain the Host-Stanza refrain still more from spurious links.

<sup>43</sup> McCormick, p. xvii. I do not understand why his assistant says that in only 29 "the link introduces the Squire's tale," though by their own showing it does so in 32 (pp. xvii, 69, 103, 225). No one doubts this link is genuine. Koch and Robinson think it cancelled; Brusendorff has a peculiar and unacceptable theory (p. 72); Manly does not commit himself save by printing it merely in his notes.

<sup>44</sup> To pass over Brusendorff's fantastic suggestion (p. 72), the only person who has argued at large for the Squire is Dr. C. R. Kase, in the course of an ingenious and painstaking essay in *Three Chaucer Studies* (New York, 1932), pp. 39-50; but see also Brown in *PMLA*, xxvi, 27-28 and XLVIII, 1054; Skeat, *Evol. CT.*, p. 12. Mr. Kase's arguments are so odd as to be hard to refute briefly, but the following may suffice. The Squire might not have hankered after a Parson's tale, but he was too "courteous, lowly and serviceable," too well-bred (as shown in his tale and the links before and after it), to volunteer among his elders, his father and all, such high-spirited bluster and such rudeness to a good, learned, and probably elderly priest. Every human being whose soul is sworn by in Chaucer is obviously dead, and there was at hand too fine an assortment of medieval oaths for the Squire to treat his father, riding beside him, so jauntily as to swear by his soul. It is no wonder that, as Mr. Kase says, the dramatic appropriateness of this passage to the Squire "has not re-

relative merit may weigh little against strong MS.-evidence, the latter must be fully criticized, and strong cases of dramatic fitness in so dramatic a poet as Chaucer are as clear as proofs of holy writ. He cannot have written ll. 1178-90 for the Squire, or, unless momentarily, have considered transferring them to him. While one must not maintain that the relative number of MSS. for a reading is not often a significant argument, this depends on the genealogy and other circumstances; the delusive finality of the impression made by the agreement of many MSS. must be resisted by one who would see the truth; in a very peculiar case like this, one must equally realize that a solution of a puzzle satisfying to the scribes may have been early adopted and handed down widely. Further, that the reading *Sumner* was earlier than the reading *Squire* is distinctly shown by the conditions in the MSS. as mentioned above; still further, while three of the oldest and best MSS. (Ellesmere, Hengwrt, Camb. Dd) are among those which adopt the expedient of omission, this very fact suggests that their scribes found no such simple-seeming con-

ceived much attention from scholars." On the other hand, the Shipman, who was in the habit of throwing objectionable persons overboard, would not consider whether or not he had a right to be disrespectful to the Parson; there is rich humor in this pirate heading off a clerical bore by professing fears of heresy; and the breeziness of his "joly body" and his clinking a merry bell is perfect for him.

Though almost no one has argued for the Sumner, I add that the rollicking speaker here cannot have been that surly fellow; nor would a man who had a suppressed desire to show off his parrot Latin have boasted that there was but little Latin in his maw. (Here I retract a note on p. 218 of *Devel. and Chronol.*)

In support of his view that the *Squire's Tale* was written to follow the *Man of Law's*, yet that it and the Franklin's were meant as a unit, Mr. Kase argues against Kittredge's view, accepted by almost everyone, that group F was written as a part of the "marriage group." Here again much that he says is odd and irrelevant. After pausing to wonder at his statement that the *Franklin's Tale*, especially the delightful little verse-essay near the beginning (ll. 761-786) on the Conduct of Life, are not concerned with marriage, I merely point out that there *is* in this tale "textual linking" and "reference back to the D and E Groups," of which it suffices to compare *Fklt* 745 ff. with *CIT* 351 ff., 751-2 with *MchT* 1379, 768-70 with *WBT* 1038-40, 774 with *CIT passim* (esp. 1044-50), 804-806 with *MchT* 1259-60, 818 with *WBP* 592, 1364 with *MchT* 2239 ff. (serving as a retort), and with 2280-85 (as illustration). I do not affirm that the one passage was always meant to recall the other; but this suffices to show that the debate on marriage was held in mind in *Fklt* as much as one need expect; Chaucer was writing tales, not polemics. In Mr. Kase's idea that Chaucer's first plan was a Man of Law-Squire sequence, and his final plan (as held by all scholars) the Merchant-Squire, there is nothing *a priori* unlikely; the question is merely one of evidence, of which Mr. Kase shows none except the commonest reading in l. 1179 and the usual position of *SqT*, which are better interpreted otherwise.

After this note and article were written, Professor F. Tupper's "Bearings of the Shipm. Prol." appeared in *JEGP*, xxxiii, 352-72. It is pleasing that we almost exactly agree throughout.

dition as the Squire mentioned and his tale following; and another of them (Harleian 7334) is one of those with the Sumner. Since the sequence of parts never favors this latter reading, it is hard to fancy it an alteration from Squire, and easy to fancy the opposite alteration. All the indications therefore are that "Squire" is a scribal alteration. Now then, what next? The unlikelihood of the Sumner has been shown in the last footnote, and there and by earlier writers the exquisite appropriateness of the Shipman. Why then do we find him, and his tale following, in only one MS., and that a late and peculiarly disordered one? Not, assuredly, because the right reading and arrangement have come straight down from Chaucer to the late and poor Selden MS.; nor probably because it has been restored there through consulting the original text, for though this is likely enough now and then by the curious and privileged, if the reading was plainly to be seen there why should it ever have been changed? A clear "Shipman" cannot have been in the original. It is unlikely that the Selden MS. offers any evidence at all, or that this good reading in it is anything but an accident. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that in Chaucer's MS. there was something peculiar and ambiguous in the designation of the person in l. 1179. Since the Shipman, though appropriate, is not inevitable, it is not absolutely impossible that the passage may have been written, in an early stage of the *Tales*, for some other pilgrim than one of the three found. But there is the striking fact that all the three designations begin with S-;<sup>45</sup> the only three in the whole company of more than thirty (except the Sergeant of Law, whose tale has just been finished). Unless my arithmetic is far astray, the chance that the appearance of S- pilgrims only is not accidental but significant is many many thousands to one. It really looks then as if what the scribes found after Chaucer's death was something like "S. . . ." The original author would be unlikely to limit himself to the S- pilgrims in mending the trouble, but this is just what a scribe who found "S. . . ." would do in feeling about for the author's intention. The probability, then, seems to be that, having written this link for the Shipman, earlyish in the growth of the *Tales*,<sup>46</sup> before the transfer of the present *Shipman's Tale* to him from the Wife of Bath, Chaucer changed

<sup>45</sup> Miss Hammond seems to have been the first to remark on this, in *Mod. Phil.* III, 163-164.

<sup>46</sup> So Skeat continued to believe, though he changed his mind as to other things about it for reasons hard to understand (*MLR*, v, 430-434). It is not strictly impossible, perhaps, that Chaucer left the spot blank or illegible, that a very early scribe or "editor" (*anathema sit*) wrote "Sumnour" on the original MS., and that others used their own judgment. But there is no evidence for such a notion, and my supposition seems far likelier. This is one of the passages that make one believe in lively discussion among early "editors."

or suspended his plan, and partially expunged the word Shipman; that, after this transfer being busy with other parts, he never made the trifling restoration needed in l. 1179;<sup>47</sup> that some of the scribes met the glaring unfinished appearance by dropping the whole link, others by unfittingly inserting the Sumner, others later by changing Sumner to Squire, and putting his tale immediately next, taking advantage perhaps of the confusion existing in group E-F, where it belonged;<sup>48</sup> and that the scribe of Selden or a predecessor had the wit or luck to see that the Shipman was the best solution. Why earlier scribes did not see the same thing we cannot say, except that clearly the earliest solutions of puzzles often and naturally became accepted and unquestioned; there is really nothing strange in this. I say once more that the Selden MS. gives no *authority* for this solution; some scholars speak as if this fact proved the solution wrong; but the removal of one unsound argument *pro* is not an argument *contra*. The above explanation should not be penalized because complicated, for the true history of the *Canterbury Tales* was probably more complicated than any account of it which will ever be written. At any rate, the clear probability is that most of the expedients in dealing with this enigmatical link after the Man of Law were deliberately adopted in order to remove the glaring signs of indecision and incompleteness.

The explanation of the omission of these links which has been most favored hitherto we have seen to be revision by Chaucer; having written them in an early stage of the work, he has been supposed to have cancelled them. It is not quite easy to understand to what conception of the early physical history of the *Tales* this idea is meant to point. To the production by Chaucer of two or more recensions of this fragmentary work? It is hard to see either evidence or probability for such an idea. To some form of visible cancellation of these links which would leave them still legible—expuncting, stroking out, a *vacat* in the margin—which would allow some scribes to put them in after all? Shortening of so incomplete a work, especially by omission of admirable passages, seems unlikely (as said already), and no adequate motive is perceptible here. When so many scribes went the lengths they did to conceal gaps, even the most scrupulous would be unlikely to insert what the author had visibly cancelled. Whether Chaucer might have omitted some link

<sup>47</sup> His omission to indicate the intended unity of B<sup>1</sup>-B<sup>2</sup>, as he may have done somehow with other groups, might be due to realizing that the beginning of *SkT* had to be rewritten. I cannot for a moment believe Brusendorff's idea (pp. 118-119) that the Shipman is meant to be quoting an imaginary female speaker; it requires as much modern punctuation as Skeat's interpretation of *MchT* 1684-87.

<sup>48</sup> I repress conjecture here as to the origin and history of this confusion.

had he revised no one knows; in most cases I should think it very unlikely; but if he gives no sign of such an intention it does not concern us. Mr. Manly's penetrating idea as to loose sheets explains some cases of omission in the very earliest MSS.; but not as many (I believe) as my explanation. There is not a single text out of the fifty-seven which does not omit one or more; none contains all the links. Some are omitted in one set, some in another, with various cross-arrangements. In two cases of two texts<sup>49</sup> certainly (or almost) by the same hand the later fills some of the gaps but never all. After the first years, no genuine part would have been very hard to find; many persons were familiar with more than one text, as is shown by the Caxton anecdote, the frequency of contamination, and other facts. What a scribe most desired, perhaps, was not quite so much to find everything as to avoid glaring gaps. The interests of the scholar and the purely literary reader are not identical; but the scribe was, and worked for, the literary reader. The foregoing explanation seems more serviceable than the conceivable suggestion that these links, some very short, were by themselves on loose sheets, which got mislaid; though this also may sometimes have occurred.

The other way of dealing with gaps between tales was by means of spurious links. It is quite clear that the chief purpose of these<sup>50</sup> was to introduce the following tale, for though they sometimes comment on what precedes, the absence of a headlink is much more conspicuous than that of an endlink; we have seen that it is the absence of a *prologus* which is apologetically remarked on. There was a peculiar temptation to insertion in the fact that it was not uncommon to leave in a MS. a blank page or so where a link was obviously lacking, clearly in the hope that the missing part would turn up in another text; probably this sometimes happened—one explanation of the immense amount of contamination in the MSS. There is no reason to suppose that most of the spurious links originated thus; but the blank, perhaps after a vain search, would be an inviting hint to some enterprising dealer or even amateur to tag Chaucer's verses with partial or complete links. There is seldom more difficulty in discriminating between them and the genuine than in discriminating in a handful of real nutmegs and wooden nutmegs.

<sup>49</sup> Caxton's two editions, and El and Hg (see pp. 128, 129 below). Caxton for his second, and presumably the El-scribe at times, used a fresh exemplar. The El-scribe probably used more care and intelligence than any other, and the only links he omits are the two which most strongly indicate incompleteness. An intelligent scribe is the riskiest of guides when what we are seeking is the original Chaucer.

<sup>50</sup> Lists in Miss Hammond, pp. 156-157; Brusendorff, pp. 69-70; Manly, pp. 82-86; the Ch. Soc. *Six Text* edition; and above all, presumably exhaustively, McCormick, pp. xxv-xxviii, and (with the text) in his account of all the MSS., pp. 1 ff.

They were composed by men of small literary ability, in the rough verse usual in the fifteenth century, often with reminiscences of Chaucer's lines elsewhere, sometimes as a mere *cento* from them, in group E-F sometimes as a making over of genuine couplet-links into seven-line stanzas in order to embody the genuine Host-Stanza. They strike one much as if a *naïve* stenographer (the scribe's nearest modern equivalent) should lose a leaf here and there out of her notes, and should invent what she thought her employer might have said, using his mannerisms. They serve the function, and no doubt are the product of an intuition, of filling gaps and concealing from the uncritical the torso-character of the *Tales*; amusing as they sometimes are, they certainly serve no other function. I am not prepared to say that there ever was a MS. in which every gap was fully filled; but in those MSS. in which spurious links are abundant the gaps would not be disturbing to the uncritical. One other matter should be observed—that while none or few are found in the very oldest MSS. (bad arrangement is earlier therefore than the spurious links sometimes produced by it), yet most of them<sup>51</sup> are found in several or many MSS., and therefore presumably were produced early in the MS.-tradition, probably after a series of complaints at incompleteness. This is one of several indications that shortly after Chaucer's death those who took the responsibility for getting the *Tales* into the hands of readers were greatly exercised as to the form they should go in.

As to spurious passages within the *Tales* and links themselves<sup>52</sup> little need be said. Various reasons may have helped to produce them—literary exercise, edification, sportiveness (sometimes, as we saw, to the point of gross obscenity), but most are intended to conceal accidental losses. Even the obscene additions may have been intended to appeal to the sort of customer who today affects certain "curiosa" and privately printed *éditions de luxe*. In spite of Caxton's disgusted gentleman, there were other tastes than his in the fifteenth century. Most of the spurious passages inside have the effect of making the MSS. more salable.

The matters thus far discussed in this article mostly show an attempt by scribes or "editors" to rid the *Tales* so far as they could of a markedly unfinished air, with the purpose probably of contenting purchasers. It is true that the possible occurrence of misbinding may show a lack of sustained professional concern for keeping things smooth. But it would seem that those most occupied with the production of MSS. were applying their wits to the problem, a fact of which there are many more signs than are mentioned here. Consideration of the opinion of readers, head-

<sup>51</sup> Except a half-dozen found respectively only in La and Tc<sup>1</sup> (Mrs. Heseltine, in McCormick, pp. xxv-xxviii).

<sup>52</sup> Noted by McCormick in his account of each MS.

ing off their dissatisfaction, is so constant that one must believe the production of MSS. was due chiefly to the initiative of booksellers, not to that of readers. A reader having a copy made on his own initiative would be less inclined to the Jesuitry of concealing or spuriously filling the gaps.<sup>53</sup>

The chief of all questions, practically, concerns the arrangement of the work, a stale subject which cannot be evaded, but may be approached in a fresh manner, and which also shows signs of the commercial or practical consideration. In the last century the usual view was that Chaucer had fully decided on the arrangement, and that his decision could be discovered;<sup>54</sup> lately, however, scholars have been more doubtful.<sup>55</sup> There is assuredly nothing inherently improbable in a fixed and discoverable plan, even one with a consistent scheme of towns passed, even with consistent notes of time, and a clear idea of the number of days in the pilgrimage and the lodging places. Indications of these might or might not be given in the imperfect remains, but there is nothing unlikely in the discovery of an order consistent with them. It would not have taken much foresight to perceive that in the long run it would save work and revision; and though the medievals were mostly not much interested in small realism, the greater writers were, including Dante and sometimes Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Chaucer especially.<sup>56</sup> It is unlikely that a realist like him would have embarked on a highly realistic plan with the disorderly method of a Herr Teufelsdröckh. It may even be, as was said above, that he wrote out a skeleton outline, which of course would be lost. If we find a fairly consistent arrangement discoverable, it is more likely to have been what was in his mind than to be accidental.<sup>57</sup> But it is just as likely that at times he would forget and

<sup>53</sup> There is backing for this opinion in the Paris MS. It bears both a private coat-of-arms and the name of the "scriptor," as very few do; it also contains no spurious links and omits most of several tales with a frank expression of distaste. So the least commercial-looking of the MSS. is the least Jesuitical. The mere spurious lines in which it abounds would not be recognized as such, and may have been inherited from its original.

<sup>54</sup> Furnivall, *Temporary Preface* (Ch. Soc., 1868), pp. 9-44, esp. 42-43, Skeat, *Oxf. Chaucer*, III, 376-379.

<sup>55</sup> Manly, pp. 77-78; and *Stud. in Philol.*, xxviii, 617; Brusendorff, pp. 125-126; Koch, *Pard. T.* (Ch. Soc., 1902), p. xx; Robinson, p. 1005.

<sup>56</sup> Consider the surprising freedom from inconsistencies in the *Divina Commedia*, and its time-scheme, discoverable only on minute observation. Chaucer was not the perfectionist Dante was; but his love of reality appears in the unobtrusive accuracy shown by Mr. W. C. Curry in many passages, and shown in the *Troilus* and the *Franklin's Tale*. On that in *Troilus* see Root, *PMLA*, xxxix, 50.

<sup>57</sup> I venture to draw a parallel with what I have said (*Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 345) of the *Phyl* astrology; a certain date is pointed to, and on that date the astrological



depart from it. Above all we should not force things, as Dr. Furnivall did; the question at this point, I say emphatically, is not what was his arrangement, but is any accurate arrangement discoverable. So we turn from *a priori* considerations to evidence.

Evidence on the arrangement is of four kinds (in order of decreasing importance): actual joining by links, clear allusions to earlier incidents of the pilgrimage, notes of place, notes of time. It is hard (to say the least) to doubt that he left the poem in eight groups, fully linked internally—those lettered A, B<sup>1</sup>, B<sup>2</sup>, C, D, E-F, G, H-I, and thus arranged by Furnivall. No one will dispute any of these except E-F and H-I. E and F were uselessly separated by Furnivall,<sup>58</sup> against all the evidence, merely because he thought the Squire began a day. But the certain form of the Merch-Sq link (E 2419-F8) proves that E and F are a unit; so far as I know, it has never been doubted that the first part of this link is meant to follow the *Merchant's Tale* and the last to introduce the *Squire's* and it is a positive fact that the MSS. are unanimous for it as a unit.<sup>59</sup>

For dividing H-I there may seem somewhat more justification, but discussion is needed. The hitch here is that it is morning in the Manciple's prolog (l. 16), and four o'clock in the Parson's (l. 5) after only the short *Manciple's Tale*, that the geography seems odd, and that the reading *Manciple* (*Pars P 1*) is not at first above suspicion, being on an erasure in what seems the most archaic of the MSS., the Hengwrt. This last point is discussed below (p. 138 f.), and in several ways is explicable; also the discrepancy of time, by granting that each prolog must have been written without thought of the details of the other, and that notes of time are arbitrary and unreliable.<sup>60</sup> But Messrs. Manly and Root in 1928 and

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conditions prove to be extraordinarily potent for Chaucer's purpose; how can we believe this accidental?

<sup>58</sup> *Temp. Pref.*, p. 29. See the present writer in *Harl. MS. 7334*, pp. 21, 26 (notes). See even Dr. Kase, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 58.

<sup>59</sup> The only exception (merely apparent) is in Ln, where the two tales which it is used with are far from each other, and a later hand splits it to introduce each. Even where the pilgrims mentioned are changed, the link remains a unit. Its last part (for the Squire) never has a separate heading (see even Skeat's way of printing); it has no "quod oure hoste," but continues the preceding speech. These facts may be verified in McCormick's *MSS. of CT*, and are stated by his assistant Mrs. Heseltine, p. xxii. I am not discussing the complex history of the E-F links, but so far as I know there is no theory even of revision, or anything, to contradict the view that E-F was finally (and so far as known always) intended as a unit.

<sup>60</sup> To put H and I together will help explain a still worse absurdity, in *Pars P* itself; "ten of the clokke" (l. 5) was certainly written by Chaucer, though a child could see the time is late afternoon, and several MSS. correct the reading. When he decided to join *Manc* and *Pars*, he probably changed from *four* to *ten* (as was easy) and postponed changing the rest (not easy). How otherwise can one explain the flagrant impossibility in *Pars P2-7*?

1929<sup>61</sup> argued for the view that H and I were written, respectively, for the first and last tales on the return-journey, and therefore could not be connected. As they convincingly hold, there is a lack of reality in putting two tales in the last two miles before Canterbury, and no "thrones ende" is known between it and Harbledown. On the other hand, such may have existed, or the words may have been written without thinking of the exact identity and location of the thorp, of which there must have been many all along. Against Root's and Manly's views there is much to be said. First, in so huge a plan as that of the *Tales*, begun latish in life, there is probability against the writer starting in on the second half before securing the degree of completeness given by a completed first half; unless there were some highly interesting matter which could not be worked into the first half, as there certainly is not in either of these two links. It would have been only humanly natural also, in the earliest-composed element in the second half, to drop some clear allusion to the returning, which there also certainly is not. Further, it would be curious that the two pilgrims chosen for these two homeward-bound tales should be among the few who have told none of the outward-bound; this fact suggests carrying on the first series rather than starting the second. As to the Manciple part more particularly, if the two links were not thought of together the difficulty hardly seems great; one short tale in the last two miles is not unreasonable; and why should not a party of early-rising medievals have ridden the eight miles or less from Ospringe and heard a half-dozen tales while it is still "by the morwe"?<sup>62</sup> As to the Parson's prolog, Manly and Root point out certain lines (16-19, 47, 63) which truly seem to imply the end of a series. These have been supposed heretofore by most readers (probably and reasonably, as by the present writer) to refer to the finality of the arrival at Canterbury; further, perhaps Chaucer had not yet formed the plan announced in *Prol* 791-795, or much more likely had abandoned its vastness yet not made the needed change there. Again, since we must discuss realism, the Host's manner of speaking to the Parson shows that he scarcely knows him, for though the pilgrim Chaucer (*Prol* 31 ff.) knew all the pilgrims the first evening, the Host here (*Pars Pr* 22-23, 21, 27-29; cf. 31 ff.) asks the Parson wheth-

<sup>61</sup> Manly, p. 655, and *Stud. in Philol. (Royster Memorial Studies)*, xxviii, 613-617; *MLN*, xlv, 493-496.—Dr. J. A. Work uses some of the arguments used below, but in general he follows these two scholars (*JEGP*, xxxi, 62-65).

<sup>62</sup> With horses walking two or three miles an hour there was plenty of distance also for E-F and G since Ospringe. I do not understand why Mr. Manly sees in *MancP* 4-13 or later any implication of beginning the day's tales; all that seems implied is a momentary lull (l. 5). The situation is a stock one, natural to recur in a series of fragments written as the C.T. were, and especially natural in headlinks—remarks on a fresh start of tales, "time we began," someone silent (*Prol* 828 ff., *MLP* 16 ff., *CIP* 1 ff., *MancP* 5 ff.).

er he is a parson or vicar, and in good sooth makes a bad guess as to what sort of talk he is likely to give; this suits the first part of their week or so together far better than the very end. There is also a plain implication (l. 25) that as yet he has told no tale whatever—a very great departure from the plan if this is at the end of the return. These arguments are not conclusive, but they are as conclusive as Mr. Manly's. Again, unrealistic as the tale is in the circumstances, it fits the approach to the martyr's shrine a thousand times better than that to the Tabard Inn and a jovial dinner. The other pilgrims feel just so (ll. 61–63, 70–71), and with resignation see the propriety of ending "in som vertuous sentence" (though, realizing what they are in for, they more than hint for brevity). Manly<sup>63</sup> even goes so far as to suggest that, while the Parson's prolog was written for the return-journey, Chaucer wrote no tale for it, and that the actual *Parson's Tale* or treatise was put in the *Canterbury Tales* not by Chaucer, but by someone after his death who found it among his papers. Though this cannot be disproved, the evidence seems much against it. To one who sees into the Parson he pretty well forecasts the character of this treatise (ll. 31–40, 46, 49–51, 55–57); he refuses bluntly to tell "a fable," and offers only "moralitee and vertuous matere," to be told in prose "at Cristes reverence." Does not all this fit the *Parson's Tale*? To our way of thinking it is far from a merry tale, though of great historical interest and not without Chaucer's own vivacity; but "tale" here as often means merely something said, and "mery" (or pleasant) fits the idea of it held by the tactless Parson<sup>64</sup> (whose flawless personality in the *Prolog* becomes slightly clouded here and in the Man of Law's endlink). The *Parson's Prolog* has always seemed to some a fine example of Chaucer's keen reality. But as to the character and length of the tale his unrealistic and "medieval" side got the better of him, and he thought of the literary rather than of the oral-talk side of the *Tales*, as we know he often did. In view of the ambiguity (to say the least) of the evidence, of the uncertain date and uncertain permanent vitality in Chaucer's mind of the plan for the *Tales* presented in *Prolog* 791–795, of the naturalness (for all his realism) of temporarily overlooking arbitrary things like time of day and a mere implication of an unnamed location while writing over a long period, and finally of the uncertainty as to how much wary though unessential realism we can constantly expect, we are not forced to an upsetting and heroic remedy. It

<sup>63</sup> *Cant. T.*, p. 656; *Stud. in Philol.*, xxviii, 616.

<sup>64</sup> I could illustrate this from real life in the twentieth century. We might compare Chaucer's own characterization, with conscious humor, of the long and matter-of-fact though highly interesting *Melibeus* (ll. 2127, 2154) as a "litel thyng in prose," "this murie tale." Professor Robinson (p. 16) is with me as to the *Pars. T.*

seems better to believe that neither of these two links was written with detailed thought of the other, and that before publishing the complete work Chaucer would have revised here. No one knows better than Mr. Root and Mr. Manly how many passages in the *Canterbury Tales* call for revision.

If H and I were designed for the outward journey, in view of the geography it is hard to doubt that they would stand last in what we have, and in view of *Manciple* in *ParsP1* (if as I believe that is what Chaucer wrote) hard to deny that Chaucer made them a unit. Inconsistency of time cannot weigh against clear unity. Whatever theory one holds, no one arranging what we have could put anything between them; which affords a good definition of a "group." The argument in this section, if sound, points to eight groups, and only eight, of which A is first, H-I last.

As to the positions of the other groups (to disregard till later any evidence imagined in the order in the MSS.), the clear-allusions evidence puts D before E-F and probably just before, because of allusions to the Wife of Bath, far more than the two actual mentions of her. The validity of notes-of-place evidence requires consideration.<sup>65</sup> Being unimportant to the essence of the poem, geography might be forgotten, and not infallibly point to a comprehensive plan. But unless contradicted by real evidence it seems valid in a working hypothesis. Chaucer must have gone many many times over the road between the metropolis and political capital and the ecclesiastical metropolis; it formed the greater part of the shortest sea-route to the Continent, where he had been so often; he probably had had business duties in Canterbury, and may himself have gone on the most popular pilgrimage in England. Among places along the route he must have known which comes first, quite as well as a New Englander knows the situation of Providence and New Haven between Boston and New York, or a Britisher Dover and Calais between London and Paris. Though Kentish geography is not striking to us, it would be vivid to him. It is as bad to minimize as to exaggerate the realism of the *Canterbury Tales*. Accordingly, no one has doubted that G should slip into place after D and E-F, and before H-I.<sup>66</sup>

The point at issue is the relative positions of B<sup>2</sup> and D. In the former the pilgrims are close to Rochester ("Loo, Rouchestre stant heer faste by!", *MkProl* 1926); in the latter (*WBP* 847-8) the Sumner promises his enemy the Friar two or three such damaging tales of friars

<sup>65</sup> For the passages which supply all this evidence, see Furnivall, *Temp. Pref.*, pp. 42-43; Miss Hammond, pp. 160 ff.

<sup>66</sup> In D 847 the party has not reached Sittingbourne (sixteen miles from Canterbury); in G 556 they are at Boughton (only six miles).

er I come to Sidyngborne,  
That I shal make thyn herte for to morne,

and amply keeps his promise with two anecdotes eight hundred lines later in the same group D. The unimportant place Sittingbourne is ten miles beyond Rochester, and seems unlikely to be in anyone's mind far on the London side. That it would be chosen merely for the rime is unlikely; it is *morne* which seems chosen for the rime, and as Manly<sup>67</sup> once retorts, "rhyming is not as difficult as Brusendorff implies." The evidence then is for B<sup>2</sup> before D. The only contrary evidence is that the other order is that in the MSS., the authority of which as to arrangement is disregarded for the moment. The two kinds of internal evidence just treated extend the order to A B<sup>2</sup> D E-F G H-I.

This would leave adrift only B<sup>1</sup> and C, and unused only notes-of-time evidence. Notes of time are so arbitrary and unfixed that we can rely on them little in this instance or elsewhere, partly because the significance of times of day depends on what day of the pilgrimage each falls in.<sup>68</sup> If we may allow any weight at all to notes-of-time evidence,<sup>69</sup> there are difficulties against any position for B<sup>1</sup> except between A and B<sup>2</sup>; in any case there is no better position, indeed none so good, and it has never been disputed. Though this is mostly because it is the position in the MSS., I accept it for other reasons. On the basis of internal evidence only, therefore, the order A B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> D E-F G H-I is discoverable and involves no contradictions.<sup>70</sup> Group C contains no evidence of any sort as to its position; it might possibly, but in each case inappropriately and with difficulty, come after B<sup>1</sup>, D, E-F, or G, and for none of these positions is there the slightest internal evidence anywhere. With perfect smoothness it may be put between A and B<sup>1</sup> or between B<sup>2</sup> and D; the latter, Furnivall's position, cannot be improved on. The likeliest conclusion for every reason seems to be that pretty much throughout his work Chaucer had some sort of time-scheme and arrangement in mind, that

<sup>67</sup> P. 505. I add that he detects the absence of a fixed plan in the geographical contradiction in the MSS. between two links here (pp. 77-78), but (as we saw) not so in another between H and I, and bases a revolutionary theory on it.

<sup>68</sup> I still believe the evidence distinctly favors the intention of a three-days pilgrimage, with nights at Dartford and Ospringe conceived as coming between A and B<sup>1</sup> and between D and E; see *PMLA*, xxi, 478-485. E-F must follow D, but not necessarily on the same day. It is likely enough that had the work been completed some of these arrangements would have been changed; we are merely discussing what is indicated by the present evidence, which seems clear if not decisive.

<sup>69</sup> In *MLP* 14 the hour is ten in the morning, and the implication is that there have been no tales for some time; the opinion has been expressed above that B<sup>1</sup> should be immediately followed by B<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Except that in H-I, which cannot be cured by rearrangement.

he did not carry it through with perfect proportion and consistency, and that had he finished his work he might have changed it. We must not assert that the entire arrangement thus arrived at is that intended by Chaucer, but it seems likely enough to be; for no order is better, most others involve contradictions, and there is nothing against this.<sup>71</sup>

Except the order in the MSS.? How can we ignore that? The not unnatural assumption has constantly been made that Chaucer must somehow be responsible for one or more of the innumerable arrangements in the MSS.,<sup>72</sup> but the details and implications of the assumption seem seldom to have been thought out. At this point the arrangement and mutual relations of the MSS. can no longer be entirely evaded. To go into the subject extensively would be audacious in the absence of all the evidence, and above all in view of the authoritative work being done by Mr. Manly and his colleagues. And most brief and broad statements as to relations would be equally risky. Happily neither is necessary for the present purpose, a consideration of whether the MS. order of the groups is in any way due to Chaucer. If anyone should surmise that results may be vitiated by the lack of a general view of MS.-relations, my reply is that the immense amount of contamination which every informed person realizes existed, and the amount of discussion which must have occurred, seems to provide a better explanation of any possible opposition from a probable MS-genealogy than the abandonment of what here follows.

Two things are certain. The nearly fixed and consistent order which was elicited long ago, perhaps confirmed here, almost the only such order possible, is found in not a single text out of the fifty-seven.<sup>73</sup> What is much more important is this. If there is validity in the view presented earlier as to the physical form in which Chaucer worked on the *Tales*, the form in which he left them, and their history shortly after his death, we must question the authority in the arrangement of any of the MSS. Possibly someone might ask, did not Chaucer conceivably leave notes as to arrangement (as mentioned above), which might have been used

<sup>71</sup> I therefore take issue with Brusendorff (p. 126), and Manly, pp. 77-78, and *Stud. in Philol.*, xxviii, 617. The debate really comes to the dilemma—which is more likely, a discoverable and fairly thorough plan with rare irrationalities, or no discoverable thorough plan at all? I vote for the former.

<sup>72</sup> One would like to know, how many of them? See even Professor Carleton Brown, *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), 1058-9.

<sup>73</sup> In five texts (McCormick, pp. 327, 335, 387, 405, 425), mostly very incomplete, and all hopelessly disordered, the undoubted unit B<sup>2</sup> is broken up, and a part comes earlier than D; the whole of it never. One is almost surprised at this, considering the extraordinary variety of orders in which the work became shaken up. No one could conceivably find MS. precedent for the order B<sup>2</sup>D here.

by one of the early "editors," and might account for some one arrangement in the whole chaotic series? If this very risky guess were sound, probably all would agree that the order could be only that of MS. Ellesmere and a few later congeners;<sup>74</sup> and this order is adopted by recent editors, Koch, Manly, and Robinson. There is good reason against adopting it as authoritative, not only in the geographical difficulty, and the separation of B<sup>1</sup> and B,<sup>2</sup> and the improbability that any authoritative order survived, but in the arrangement of the nearest relative of the Ellesmere, MS. Hengwrt.

This close relationship, and the excellence of the Hg text, are well known. What is not so well known is, first, the great age of these two texts, which makes them the best guides to original conditions. The three oldest MSS. are considered to be these two and Harleian 7334.<sup>75</sup> Still more important is the fact that El and Hg were almost certainly written by the same hand, as can be easily verified.<sup>76</sup> What is more, Hg was written earlier than El. This is shown first by the fact that while all El's chief peculiarities of omission and commission are in Hg, the latter omits several important elements present in El, of which the chief are the entire Canon's Yeoman's prolog and tale and the Clerk-Merchant link.<sup>77</sup> Whether or not the two MSS. used almost always (as is probable) the same original, had the Hg-scribe previously copied these passages he is most unlikely to have omitted them in a later and specially careful

<sup>74</sup> A B<sup>1</sup> D E-F C B<sup>2</sup> G H-I. The most considerable difficulty here (to ignore the affinity of B<sup>1</sup> for B<sup>2</sup>) is the mention of Sittingbourne before Rochester. Another of the oldest MSS., Harleian 7334, makes the worse error of putting also Boughton-under-Blee before Rochester.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Brusendorff, p. 84; E. Markert, *Chaucers Canterbury-Pilger u. ihre Tracht* (Wurzburg, 1911), p. 4; and *Athenaeum* (1911), ii, 210-211.

<sup>76</sup> See the terminal note on the Hengwrt MS. (pp. 133, 134 below).

<sup>77</sup> Besides this, Sq headlink is adapted to the Franklin and Fkl headlink to the Merchant, distortions correct in El. These differences in content with closely similar text in these two MSS. probably by the same hand and mostly copied from the same original are extremely illuminating as to the sort of thing which happened shortly after Chaucer's death. The suggestion (which has actually been made) that the lack of CYP and T in Hg proves they were a late addition by Chaucer shows an idea of the history of the CT hard to understand, and certainly contradicting what is said of it here. They are lacking also in He, Ra<sup>2</sup>, Sl<sup>2</sup>, Tc<sup>2</sup>. The sheets containing them may have been temporarily lost, lent, or mislaid from an unbound original, and later returned to it, or were taken by the El-scribe from another original. They were not lost from their right place in Hg during binding or otherwise, but were never there. It is true that it would be hard to prove them never in Hg in a wrong place; it is not quite impossible also that CYP and T were intentionally omitted, as most of them were (with an amusing comment) in the Paris MS.; conceivably there might have been some resentment at the reflections on alchemists or on canons. There may be several ways of explaining their absence from Hg; but far the most likely is absence from the original.

copy. Caxton in his second edition fills in some of the gaps in his first, and makes no fresh ones. An equally clear indication of the priority of Hg is the contrast in order. While El has the smoothest and most reasonable of all the MSS. arrangements, Hg has one of the very worst. Even on the supposition (wrong, I believe, pp. 136, 137 below) that it was early misbound, it was never anything like so well arranged as El. It is obviously most unlikely that a careful scribe (or even two of them) would produce from one and the same original a copy inferior in both content and order after a fairly good one.

There is another and more doubtful consideration as to the El-arrangement. From what has been said and from its extreme handsomeness and carefulness it is clear that the Ellesmere was produced with peculiar solicitude, an *édition de luxe*.<sup>78</sup> If a possible reason for the El-arrangement is discoverable which could hardly be due to the author, this will obviously be an argument for the secondary character of this arrangement, which we remember is A B<sup>1</sup> D E-F C B<sup>2</sup> G H-I. We have seen that to the attentive early "editors" the absence of a headlink was much more conspicuous than of an endlink, and also that the only groups<sup>79</sup> always without a genuine headlink are C, B<sup>2</sup>, and G, those, therefore, which most mar the continuity. Now El is one of the MSS.<sup>80</sup> which have no spurious links, and it also never excuses beginning a group without a headlink by stating that it does not exist. This is assuredly not because the very wary Ellesmere-man did not notice the absence of links. What he did do was to put these headless groups as near the end as he possibly could — *primum bonum vinum, tunc id quod deterius est*. So it is only well after the middle of the *Tales* that this most conspicuous sign of incompleteness appears in El. The author would surely have had better views as to arrangement than this, even if he did not take the moderate trouble to compose permanent or makeshift headlinks. We saw, too, that the

<sup>78</sup> El used to be called an "edited MS.," showing such signs of meddling as the "modern instances" in *M&T* at the end, and the omission of ML and NP endlinks. I cannot for a moment agree with Brusendorff's peculiar view (p. 78) that Chaucer meant the "modern instances" to come last in *M&T*. Since these peculiarities are also in Hg, they are no argument for or against my position as to the priority of Hg. But all these variations among the oldest MSS. do show how the earlier scribes tried and tried again to get things into a satisfying shape. "Edited MS." is unmeaning; most of the early MSS. are "edited," El merely more intelligently. The later MSS., made in wholesale routine, show less use of the wits, often were misled by spurious links, and are more careless as to arrangement; at times there may have been misbinding, and since the original confusion may have become well known, scribes perhaps gave up the problem of order as a bad job.

<sup>79</sup> *WB Prol* though beginning abruptly carries on the narrative of the pilgrimage, and with a label attributing it to the Wife is satisfactorily connective.

<sup>80</sup> These number about 24 out of the 57. In the terminal note (pp. 137, 138) I show that Hg also probably had reasons, intelligible though less good, for his arrangement.



only links omitted by E1 are the two which most emphasize incompleteness. The indications great and small, therefore, are that the excellences of arrangement (such as they are) in E1 are secondary and not Chaucerian.

The question remains if there is anything whatever in any often-found sequence of the groups to suggest that it owes anything whatever to Chaucer and not everything to the scribes or "editors"; though it is to be sure hard to see why a sequence due to him should be any more likely to survive through nearly a century than one due to an "editor." The only evidence for such survival would be indications as to intended position so delicate as probably to escape an early "editor," yet inevitable to us. Such evidence as some have thought to detect assuredly has the delicacy, but completely lacks the inevitability. Now obviously the order A D E-F H-I is palpably predetermined or fully explained by the two termini and by allusions, and therefore cannot plausibly be deducted from the credit of the "editors." We are used to slurring them, but after all they had some sense. The only sequences which are common enough to be worth examining are A directly followed by B<sup>1</sup> and C directly followed by B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>81</sup> Is there any reason to believe that these point to an arrangement somehow indicated by Chaucer? The sequence A B<sup>1</sup> comes near being universal; to disregard some eight badly deranged or mutilated texts, I find only MS. Ld<sup>1</sup> without it. This sequence we have seen to be as good as can be devised, perhaps the best; it is adopted, I believe, in all editions. The facts that it is not inevitable through evidence, yet is almost universal, permit the opinion that Chaucer somehow pointed to it. But just as possibly it was that adopted by the earliest "editor" and was retained by his successors, perhaps because the solution of the first doubtful point would be easy to remember. The sequence C B<sup>2</sup> usually comes toward the end, and is about as common; barring badly deranged and damaged texts, I find none with no sign of it, strikingly enough so that on this fact has been based an argument<sup>82</sup> that here is the position of C intended by Chaucer. It is true that the frequency of this sequence is partly explained by a development which followed Chaucer's death; its presence in over a third of the MSS. containing it is fully explained by the "John pardoner" spurious link from the Pardoner to the Shipman, so that to the scribe's eye C B<sup>2</sup> just as much formed a "group" as B<sup>2</sup>

<sup>81</sup> For the facts see McCormick and (more conveniently) Manly, pp. 79-81. The nearest other cases are F C, and B<sup>2</sup>G, in only a fourth or fifth of the MSS.

<sup>82</sup> By the late and deeply-regretted Samuel Moore, *PMLA*, xxx, 116-123. He assumes of course that some group-arrangements (which ones?) in the MSS. are authoritative; and speaks of a general agreement (by whom?) that the worst defect of the Chaucer Society arrangement is the position of C. His assumption granted, his argument is sound enough.

itself did. But it is also true that this spurious link is lacking in a considerably larger list of MSS., including most of the oldest; in the majority, therefore, there is no visible explanation of the sequence, yet it is maintained. Here too one cannot deny the possibility that Chaucer somehow pointed to it. But also just as possibly it was adopted by the earliest "editor" (it is in Hg), and by chance or for some unknown reason unusually well retained. Neither of these sequences is of weight in face of *a priori* and other considerations against indicated arrangement by Chaucer, and of arguments against the second sequence. At any rate, anything like evidence for arrangement of the "groups" indicated externally by Chaucer does not exist.

If it is true that, according to all evidence, the only even plausible MS.-arrangement is not due to Chaucer—and if the foregoing discussion leads to a sound opinion that he is very unlikely to have left a unified and arranged copy—then a highly significant conclusion follows. None of the MSS., however good, has any authority whatever in determining the order of the "groups." This is meant literally. No more guidance to his intention is to be found in the MSS. or in any MS. than is to be found in Robinson's or Manly's text, or in Skeat's or Tyrwhitt's or Urry's. The best of the authority in any of them is that only of enlightened opinion. If the above is correct, the nearest we can come to learning Chaucer's intention is by doing as we have already done—coördinating all the internal indications, and seeing how far they produce a self-consistent arrangement, complete or partial. We cannot be perfectly certain that Chaucer intended that which has been elicited; and we cannot be at all certain that if he had added more he might not have changed some of the signs which point to this order, and have produced or pointed to some other order. But we can reach no nearer point than this. Perhaps the practical question is not so much how did Chaucer plan to arrange what he has left, but how would he have arranged it if he had published merely what he had left. He would have had to adopt some arrangement, and so have we. It is hard to see what answer is better than that which has been reached. The fact that it is that reached two generations ago by Furnivall is certainly nothing against it. Every scholar has had the experience of adopting a view, abandoning it, then returning, possibly on somewhat altered grounds, but with increased confidence because of the very return. Perhaps the increased confidence is in place here.

The still more practical question, as to the best procedure for a modern editor, produces the same answer. The procedure of recent editors in following the Ellesmere order is cautious and in a way defensible, but seems fundamentally unsatisfactory—partly because there is no evidence

whatever that this order is, probably it is not, what Chaucer had planned or would in any event have adopted had he acted in the circumstances with full consideration; and partly because it involves puzzling or misleading or dissatisfying the modern reader (less kindly treated than the medieval). This of course does not refer to the position of C just after the Franklin, though its position in the Six-Text and Skeat seems preferable; nor to the mention of Sittingbourne earlier than Rochester, which would trouble few but Kentishmen; but to the problem what to do about the reading in l. 1179 of the Man of Law's endlink, the fact that by all appearance the speaker intended is the Shipman, and the fact that the *Shipman's Tale* stands without a prolog. Here is a tale in search of a prolog, and a prolog just suited to it in search of a tale. Even if we should not grant (as I believe we should) that Chaucer meant this link for the Shipman, it seems hard to deny that this junction is a happy way out, which the poet himself might well have adopted. If an editor does not take it, he must follow the procedure of one or other of the three last and cautious editors, Robinson, Manly, and Koch; and the fact that each of them follows a different procedure is suggestive of the unsatisfactory character of all. He either must like Koch read "Esquier" in l. 1179, grossly inappropriate, and followed up inappropriately also by the Wife of Bath, with the *Squire's Tale* far distant; or like Manly must omit this admirable passage from the text altogether, and thereby convey the unjustifiable assumption that Chaucer canceled or did not write it; or, strangest of all, adopt from the Selden MS. the reading "Shipman," yet not adopt from it the position of the *Shipman's Tale* directly after this link, but leave it seven thousand lines later, though all ready to snap into place. It is doubtless cautious to follow the order in the best MS; but it seems a despairing solution if that is neither authentic, nor consistent, nor satisfying. A minor but practical disadvantage in the separation of B<sup>1</sup> from B<sup>2</sup> is the fact that for a half-century and more an immense scholarly literature has used one line-numbering for B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> together; the use lately of two sets of line-numbers in B<sup>2</sup> (the old from unquestionable and a new from much more questionable necessity) is unesthetic and sure sooner or later to produce confusion. This disadvantage would be cheerfully accepted if there were fundamental sound reason for the separation—not so cheerfully otherwise. The foregoing argument, if valid, might be summed up by asking why a modern editor should adopt an arrangement and a content which were probably devised by an ill-informed fifteenth-century "editor" to make his book salable, which contradict what evidence there is as to Chaucer's intention, and which tend to mystify the reader and to emphasize the fragmentary state of the work.

This study has confessedly done little directly to illuminate the nature of Chaucer's genius and personality, but so far as it is sound it has done what it could to clear away some things which tend to obscure them. Its chief conclusions are suggestive enough to justify the pedantry of summarizing them.

1. Chaucer probably left the *Canterbury Tales* mostly in his own informal draft, and without external indication of the order of the "groups."

2. The chances are that he knew where he intended almost all of these to be placed, if not quite all, though he might have changed had he proceeded farther, or had he revised; and he has left many clear if not conclusive internal indications.

3. He never published the work as a whole, nor probably many (if any) parts of it.

4. Commercial considerations, the desire to satisfy purchasers, played a large part in the procedure of those who produced the MSS., as to omissions, insertions, and arrangement—their success being often marred by their own want of perception.

5. The order of the "groups" in the MSS. has no authority whatever.

6. The order adopted by Furnivall and Skeat is as near as any which can be devised to what Chaucer seems likeliest to have intended, and is the best practically.

#### NOTE ON THE HENGWRT MS.

Hg, now Peniarth MS. 392D in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, is probably one of the oldest of the MSS. It has been variously dated "about 1450 A.D.," "circa 1420,"<sup>1</sup> and much earlier yet; although it is well not to snatch hastily a hasty dating, and to remember that datings of MSS. cannot usually be fixed within limits much less than a generation, I am prepared to believe Hg almost and perhaps quite the oldest, and to fall in with the long-held opinion that it is the most significant of all as to the *post mortem* history of the *CT*. It contains some 30 quires, nearly always with 8 folios to a quire,<sup>2</sup> and 40 ll. to a page. It is in the same hand throughout, as the Ellesmere is, and these hands are almost certainly the same.<sup>3</sup> Besides the likeness of handwriting, and substantial identity

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer Soc., *Autotype Spec. of Chief Chauc. MSS.*, facsim. and Forewords; Nat. Libr. of Wales, *Charter of Incorp. and Rep. on the Progress of the Libr.* (Oswestry, 1909), pp. 50 ff.; respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Except in those (important in this argument, and with none of the text missing) comprising folios 82–87 (only 6 folios), 152–160 (9 folios, the first separate, with no catchwords, discussed in note 6 below), 225–234 (10 folios, normally arranged, none separate). There are one or two other cases of peculiarities among the 30 quires. F. 203 *recto*, within a quire, has catchwords, evidently inadvertent. Ff. 161–176 (containing *Fhl*, *SN*, *Cl*) form a quire of 16 ff. These cases are not significant, as the others are.

<sup>3</sup> Facsimiles in the National Library's publication just mentioned, of A, ll. 4323–92; and in the Chaucer Soc. *Autotype Spec.*, of B, 1191–1226. These may be convincingly compared with that of El published by the Manchester Univ. Press in 1911. Koch is not aware of the identity of hand.

in readings in the passages compared, and even in spellings (including eccentricities), there are identical mannerisms and identical and quite peculiar flourishes. Their texts are well known to be usually close together, closer than either to any other, and perhaps closer than any other two texts are to each other, so much so that it seems probable for textual reasons that in large part they were copied from a common original.<sup>4</sup> A study of the history of Hg would be invaluable for the history of the CT as a whole, and may be hoped for from Manly. Here nothing so extensive is given. But since at two points above (pp. 122, 128-9) conditions in Hg are important, two matters are considered, the beginning of *Pars P* and the arrangement of the MS. This treatment of them should not be regarded as merely contingent on the larger study, but as separable from that, and I hope sound, being based so far as known on all the facts in existence. The chief sources for facts are my own examination of the MS. at Aberystwyth, certain photostats lately made for me there, some hours with those at Chicago (my thanks to Mr. Manly), the facsimiles already mentioned, answers to my questions given by Evan D. Jones, Esqre, B. A., of the Department of MSS. there, McCormick's *MSS. of C's CT.*, and the Ch. Soc. print of Hg.

That while Hg was being written there was no predetermined order in view, that the scribe was not sure where all the parts would later be put, seems certain. This is shown first by the entire absence of signatures, of any lettering and numbering of the folios, an absence unusual in CT MSS.; though sometimes due to trimming of folios in rebinding, that is not the case here.<sup>5</sup> It is shown more especially by the catchwords at the foot of the last page of each quire, which by giving the first words of the following quire show the binder that this is to come next, and which in Hg are never contradicted by the actual order; every time when a quire ends within a tale or link catchwords were necessary, and are present, and the correct quire follows, but the point is that at every one of the 4 places where a tale or link ends with a quire the catchwords are omitted,<sup>6</sup> these omissions are between

<sup>4</sup> Skeat, *Evol. of CT*, p. 34; Koch, *Eight MSS.*, p. 68 (cf. 128, 132, 142), and *Pard. Prol.*, and *T.* (Ch. Soc., 1902), pp. xxxvi f.; *Spec. of . . . Unpr. MSS. of CT.* (Ch. Soc., 1897) iv, xlv f.; *Athenaeum*, 1872, ii, 208 (ten Brink quoted).

<sup>5</sup> Though the folios have been trimmed. The fact that folios 225-9 (which begin the 10-f. quire) have just under the text the numbering i, ij, iij, iiij, v, with no preceding letter, proves that there were never any other signatures beneath, because these would have made this needless. Further, those familiar with this MS. will probably grant that vestiges of signatures would be likely to remain on some folios.

<sup>6</sup> It is less confusing to exclude here the very peculiar case between *MchT* and *FklT*, rather similar. A quire ends 58 lines before the end of *MchT* (at E 2360), with the proper catchwords. Then comes a single separate folio beginning with these words and ending the tale (followed by a rubric) at the middle of the verso, the rest of which was left blank, and has no catchwords. Then comes a complete 8-folio quire, the first 1½ pp. of which are as follows. At the top of p. 1 is

"¶Here folwen the Wordes of the Worthy Hoost to the ffrankeleyn," followed by a ¼ p. blank, then by the genuine *MchSq* link (Ey goddes mercy—I wol seye as I kan, E 2419-F 4), which fills the rest of the page without any blank. At the top of p. 2 comes the rest of the link (F 5-8), followed by a ½ p. blank containing only

"¶Explicit" and

"¶Here bigynneth the ffrankeleyns tale." Below the middle of this p. 2 there begins the *Fkl* "proem" (Thise olde gentil Britons), which with the tale continues normally throughout the quire. There is nothing abnormal except the extra folio, the blanks, and the fact that F 1 instead of "Squier" reads "Sire ffrankeleyn." Several things are certain. The scribe used the separate folio because he wished to end *MchT* without committing himself as to

*CookT* and *WBP*, *SumnT* and *MelMonk* link, *MancT* and *ML* headlink, *MelT* and *Pars* headlink. What is more, in 3 of these 4 the not beginning the next poem before the next quire was due to an elaborate effort; for after *SumnT* the last 2½ pp. are left blank (much the longest of all the blanks), and the last quire of *MelT* contains 10 folios instead of 8 as normally, besides other singularities mentioned later. With *CookT*, luckily for the scribe, he was so near the end of the quire that only a ½ page remained; which he left blank.<sup>7</sup>

what should follow. Why was he so cautious? Since *MchSq* link was obviously composed to follow *MchT*, the answer is that it was not then at hand. Why did he at first leave one and a half pages and more blank before *Fkl* proem? He hoped to find a link. At some time after he began *Fkl* proem and tale he found the *MchSq* link. If it had the *Fkl* in F 1, he inserted it here inevitably. If (as probably) it had the correct reading "Squier," why did he not insert it before *SqT*, already copied and with a blank page before it with ample space for *MchSq* link? Because the wording made it much more necessary that this link should follow *MchT* than precede *SqT*, it was too late to change the position of *SqT*, and it was easy to change "Squier" to "Sire frankeleyn" ("Sire" obviously suggested by "Squier"). The absence of catchwords at the end of the separate folio proves that Hg did not know what words would begin the next page; he may or may not have known that *MchSq* link existed, and have intended *FklT* to come next. The presumption is, it is true, that this case was originally like the other four where catchwords are wanting, and that he omitted them and left the blank on the mere chance that a link would turn up; but the exposition is clearer through treating this case separately. The whole matter is a good specimen of the early laxity as to safeguarding and altering Chaucer's MS. or the first copies.

<sup>7</sup> It is notable that in every one of these 4 cases it makes no difference whether or not Chaucer's text indicates what is meant to follow, it gives no indication after *Ck* or *Sumn*, but does so after *Mel* and (as I believe, and in almost all MSS.) after *Manc*. The one-fourth page blank between *Ck* and *WB* is far from unparalleled; not only did our man in writing E1 leave one of his few blanks here; within quires in Hg he left a page blank between *MLT* and *SqT*, a half and a quarter and a half page blank between *MchT* and *FklT* (before and after the *MchSq* link, made over to *Fkl*, the very peculiar case described above), a half-page blank between *FklT* and *SecNP*, a quarter-page blank between *PardT* and *ShipmT*. All except part of those in the peculiar case are at the bottom of the page. These blanks are not, as might be fancied, due to a preference for starting a new poem at the top of a page. Hg had none; in the first half or so of the work (from *Prol* to *MancT*) he almost always begins a new one on the same page as the last (always, except in a very few cases where by chance the last fills the page). But in the later part of the MS., where are the blank places under discussion, there are about as many cases of beginning on a new page as on the old, and half of these cannot possibly be deemed accidental. The clear reason is that in this part of the MS. the scribe was very doubtful about the completeness and the sequence, and wished to leave space (even thinking of inserting an extra folio if necessary) for rearranging or the supplying of a link; which usually proved to be not forthcoming, either because Chaucer had never written it (as after *Fkl*, *Pard*), or because Hg did not find or use it (as after *ML*, *SN*, *Cl*). That this was the main reason for leaving the blanks is almost proved by the peculiar case just mentioned. The blanks of a page or more (2½ pp. after *SumnT*, 1 p. after *MLT*) betray even more clearly the hope that some connective would turn up. Hg left so long a blank after *SumnT* because it was so near the end of a quire that he was willing to leave the rest blank; a shorter after *MLT* because that ends close to the beginning of a quire; at the only other cases where a tale or link ends without a following connective, —*NPT*, *MancT*, *MelT*—the last two end exactly with the quire (allowing the insertion of following folios later if needed), and *NPT* ends before the middle of the quire, to leave the

In the fourth case an 8-folio quire is exactly filled; by chance, unless, wishing to fill this quire exactly, the scribe tucked in what would do so. It is clear then that the scribe was much at sea as to the arrangement, since every time when he ends a poem or prose tale with the quire he by omitting catchwords avoids committing himself as to what shall follow, and leaves the decision till later. This obvious reason for omitting shows it was not due to oversight. At the same time he cannot have been always deeply concerned about the arrangement, since in other cases with seemingly equal ground for uncertainty he makes on the spot the decision as to arrangement,<sup>8</sup> though usually allowing for possible insertion of a passage, which at *Mch-Fkl* was actually made.

One of the chief questions about the arrangement of Hg is whether any of it can be due to misbinding of Hg, a belief held by Sir William McCormick (pp. x, xix, 245). It is quite impossible except at some of the 4 points already mentioned, where a tale or link ends with a quire and where there are no catchwords. The only rearrangements of the 5 portions made by these points which have anything to be said for them as intended are two. One is the order of portions—1, 4, 3, 2, 5—which besides putting *MelT* just before *MelMk* link, gives the order—group A, *MLP* and *T*, *Sq*, *Mch*, etc., which is bad, but found in many other MSS. (this may be a slight argument for the opinion that it was scribally intended). I do not believe Hg did intend this, for I believe he meant 4 to be next to 5, but shall not enter an elaborate discussion, since this possible rearrangement is less important for us now than the other. It would leave the order still very bad indeed, and of course quite un-Chaucerian. The other is 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, which puts *MelT* just before *MelMk* link, and *MancT* just before *ParsP*. The misbinding theory here assumes the binder misplacing, in their proper order, 3 complete quires. It looks somewhat attractive, at first indeed almost irresistible, for it removes the strange break between *MelT* and the link which mentions this, and also that between *MancT* and *ParsP* (whatever is the explanation of the hesitant reading in *ParsP* 1).

All the same I believe the scribe did not intend this order 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, and that its *prima facie* plausibility involves much greater difficulties under the surface. The chief reason is that (as stated before) he put no catchwords<sup>9</sup> at the end of *MelT* or of *MancT* (each ending a quire); if he meant *MelMk* link or *ParsP* to come next, why not their opening words as catchwords at the end of the preceding quire, as normally? Further, in order to end *MelT* with a quire, and so not commit himself as to what should follow it, he put two extra folios in that quire, and toward the end crowded the writing; why, unless in order to end *MelT* with the quire? And again, if he had meant *MancT* to be just before *ParsP* 1, why should he have apparently originally written in that line something else than *manciple*? *Manciple* replaced by a reading fitting the present position would be an argument for misbinding; an unknown reading replaced by *manciple* is not. (Further discussion of this reading comes later.) A highly important consideration is that (as I said) Hg felt more certain of the in-

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rest of which blank would have been too much; but the chief reason for no blanks is that early in the MS. the scribe was not so uncertain and suspicious as he was later.

<sup>8</sup> These cases, where Chaucer's text does not show what tale is to follow, but where Hg continues in the same quire, are *NPT-MancP*, with no intervening blank space; *MLT-SqT*, with a page of blank; *FklT-SNP*, with a half-page of blank; *PardT-ShipmT*, with a quarter-page of blank; and two cases where (since Hg lacks *CYP* and *CLMch* link) Hg found equal uncertainty, *SNT-CLP*, and *CIT* with Host's stanza-*PhysT*, each with an insignificant blank. While in some of these cases leaving some blank space for links possibly to be found, Hg did not trouble here to leave open the question of arrangement.

<sup>9</sup> None are erased. The very few other irregularities of procedure in Hg mentioned in n. 2 are not nearly enough to justify doubt that the extra sheet, crowded writing and absence of catchwords have the significance I give them.

ternal structure of his 5 portions when copying the first 3 (viz., <sup>(1)</sup> group A, <sup>(2)</sup> group D, and <sup>(3)</sup> *MelMk* link-*MkT-MkNP* link-*NPT-MancP* and *T*), for (as we saw) he left no blanks (except at the ends of groups A and D), while in his fourth portion (viz., from *MLP* to *MelT*, much less than half the whole work) he left 4 or 6, all within quires. It is pretty clear that the chief reason why Hg put *MLP-MelT* late, just before the inevitably closing portion, is that it was the most problematical and confusing portion, and he preferred to put the clearest portions toward the first—a good example of the *tunc deterius* principle. Again, there are two other possible reasons for deciding to put together *Mel* and *Pars*, and not *Manc* and *Pars*; Hg, while not given to noting Chaucer's intimations, may have noticed that *MancP* came in a morning and *ParsP* late in an afternoon, or (more likely) perhaps he thought he might wish (and finally did wish) to put *MelT* and *ParsT*, the only prose tales and the least generally attractive, together and at the very end. I do not believe it is without his intention that the two long prose tales are last. As to the ignoring of the connection obviously meant by Chaucer between *MelT* and *MelMk* link, either he overlooked its existence (strange, but not at all impossible with an ordinary scribe), or he thought the above considerations more important—by this time despairing of getting things exactly right, he may have merely consulted his own taste.

With far from absolute conviction, I propose the following as an explanation of the arrangement of Hg. It was copied from loose sheets, not from a bound volume. Its scribe was a good deal concerned about the arrangement and connection of parts; especially toward the end, he was far from certain that he had all the parts, and was very doubtful about the best arrangement. But in the peculiarities of the arrangement some *rationale* can be detected on examination, though almost never intended by Chaucer. He put first the two "groups," A and D, which were least problematical, and then a smaller portion which he also felt sufficiently sure about. He put at the very end the 2 long prose tales, then as now the least generally attractive. He put next each other *NPT* and *MancP* and *T*, both tales being of the nature of bird-fables; possibly also because the latter would just fill the quire. He put next each other 4 especially ideal tales (*Fkl*, *SN*, *Cl*, *Phys*), forming an unbroken sequence, *SN* and *Cl* being alike also in being 2 of the few stanzaic tales. In 3 cases he finally put next each other especially bawdy tales or parts, *CookT-WBP*, *SummT-MelMk* link, *Pard* end-*ShipmT*. If this conjecture as to ideal and bawdy sequences seems rash, it finds curious and independent support. We have seen that after just 6 tales blanks are left, and seen reason to believe that the motive for the blanks was chiefly uncertainty as to what ought to follow. Of these 6 tales, 4 are exactly the 4 tales which begin the sequences just mentioned, the 4 ideal and bawdy sequences all contain the intervening blanks which indicate some uncertainty. It really seems likely that Hg at the end of his labors accepted these two makeshift reasons for placing poems about which he had previously shown uncertainty, the blanks allowing for later insertions if desirable. It is true that there may have been other reasons for some of these sequences, and that 2 other sequences (only *MancML* and *MLSg*) are entirely unexplained—a purely empirical criterion would hardly work always, and people completely at sea are often inconsistent. The above suggestions give a possible and intelligible explanation. A man who had not the wit to examine and think carefully, and did not realize the efficacy of dramatic contrast, yet had more taste than to throw a disorganized mass together helter-skelter, would be likely enough to think first of harmony of tone; having read or copied a portion ending in a certain tone, he would be likely enough to look next for what would continue the same tone. In such cases as these the true explanation is likely to be trivial and complicated. In sum, the Hg-man (whom we may feel for) so far as we can see was the first who ever wrestled with the problem of arrangement. In E1, his later and especially handsome copy, he used more care or better guidance, and got a more satisfying order; he followed all the internal indications he noticed,



putting E directly after D; but put at the end the conspicuously truncated "groups" (see pp. 129-130), just as in Hg he had put there the most confused and least attractive parts. In both MSS. therefore he used the principle of *tunc deterius*.

The second chief matter in this note is *ParsP* 1,

By that the manciple hadde his tale al ended,  
which is highly significant for the history and development of the CT (as we have seen, pp. 122 ff.). The word *manciple* is in the same hand and ink as the rest, but on an erasure, seemingly made after the whole line had been written. The original word was of the same length, or possibly a shade longer.<sup>10</sup> Since *manciple* is suspicious only in Hg, since Hg is perhaps the earliest MS., and since the late afternoon time of ll 2-4 contrasts with the morning in *MancP*, it has been conjectured that Chaucer did not mean to connect *Manc* and *Pars*, that he wrote some other word than *manciple* in *ParsP* 1, and that Hg, followed by all other MSS., made the change. If Chaucer wrote *manciple*, we seem to find in Hg the unusual situation of the word being abandoned and then restored, and restored where *MeT* just before makes *manciple* inappropriate. At first sight it is plausible to suppose that he wrote some other word.

It is pertinent to ask what other pilgrim Chaucer could have designated here. The only ones whose labels used by the poet are not distinctly too short, or too long (like *ffrankeleyn*, *haberdashere*), are *Prioress*, *Marchant*, *Sommour*, *Pardoner*, *Plowman*, and *Carpenter*. The first 4 are not favored by the endings of their tales, and what follows in Hg and other MSS. Some of them are for other reasons unlikely or impossible, and the fact that all 4 have already told tales is against them here; there is no case of a second tale but the peculiar one of Chaucer himself. The Carpenter might have been intended, but his label has too many syllables to be likely from Chaucer. The Plowman is the most promising, the two peasant brothers coming at the end, with the implication that his tale was either lost or never written. Though one cannot deny that in some stage of the evolution Chaucer might have intended one of these, or some person unknown, and though if one adopts what seems to me the wholly unacceptable view that *ParsP* and *T* were meant for the return-journey, anything is possible, except for the Plowman there is no fair answer to the query what pilgrim Chaucer could have meant instead of the Manciple. So far the indications rather oppose the idea that Chaucer wrote anything but *manciple*. A strong indication against any other Chaucerian reading is that all other MSS. have this clearly,<sup>11</sup> including the equally authoritative El, which I find no reason to doubt is probably here as usually<sup>12</sup> from the same original. Whether it is or not, Chaucer's MSS. had *manciple* unless some meddler actually changed the word in it, or unless the original was never copied from but once, both suppositions unlikely. The conceivable supposition that Chaucer left a blank has nothing to be said for it.

But what then is the explanation of the puzzle in Hg, if its earlier reading was not due to Chaucer? I have none which is instantly convincing, but several which are possible and more satisfactory than the alternative supposition—that Chaucer designated some more or less unlikely person, that Hg copied this and then changed to *manciple* because he meant

<sup>10</sup> The / which in other lines marks the caesural pause was also erased, so the original word was little if at all longer. There seems no possibility of distinguishing anything more of the earlier reading.

<sup>11</sup> Except that 4 late MSS. (Ch, Gl, Ra<sup>3</sup>, Tc<sup>1</sup>) changed to *yeman*, *Marchaunt*, or *Frankelen*, trying to adapt to wrongly preceding tales.

<sup>12</sup> Incidentally I add,—even *WBP* and *M&NP* link suggest the same original, the passages there in El but lacking in Hg having been perhaps on loose sheets disregarded by Hg. See p. 112 above. I accept with alacrity Manly's theory as explaining things sometimes.

*MancT* to precede, yet that he headed off this order by 2 of his only 4 significant omissions of catchwords, those which would have ensured *MelT* and *MelMk* link, and also *MancT* and *ParsP*, being put together, and that the binder completed the disaster. The alternatives are these. Hg, having left himself entire freedom as to what should just precede *ParsP*, might have planned to put it just after *SumnT*, and in the manner of the 4 MSS lately mentioned have written *Somnour* (his usual form, *Somonour* in *Prol*, neither really too short), having changed his mind, he would restore the original reading, being as fitting as any as well as being genuine. Unless Hg is here copied from Chaucer's own MS, its parent may have substituted (like the 4 late MSS. mentioned above) a wrong reading to fit some other wrongly preceding tale, and Hg have restored *manciple* as being correct. He might even conceivably have written *manciple* the first time, but so badly that he erased and re-wrote, though this seems unlikely. He may have written something appropriate to the preceding *MelT*, something feeble, and thought better of it, and restored the original reading; he usually did try to harmonize a visibly contradictory connection by means of an invented reading.<sup>13</sup> The likeliest reason then for the writing in of *manciple* is that it was thought to be (as I believe it was) what Chaucer wrote, and had been displaced by something wrong. With so many possibilities we are not forced to accept what is almost an impossibility.

A strong reason for disbelieving that Chaucer wrote anything but *manciple* is what has been said earlier as to the strong probability (to say the least, see pp. 122-125 above) that Chaucer intended the *MancPars* sequence. If we cannot accept the return-journey theory for either of these parts, the geography shows they must come last, even if Chaucer had written all the outward-bound tales, he would hardly in this 55- or 60-mile journey have put more than these two in the last two miles.

This note may be dull reading and what is worse may seem inconclusive. It would be pleasant to find one simple explanation which would fit everything into a convincing brilliancy like a finished picture-puzzle. But with the complex situation and a certain amount of (often excusable) obtuseness, inattention, and variability in the scribes, such satisfactions are usually denied us. *De facto*, a complex situation usually though not always means a complex explanation. The trouble is that, however satisfying such may be, a reader is likely to ask if some other complex explanation just as satisfying, but different, may not later be proposed by someone else; therefore the first, however logical, may not convince. But I do not believe the present explanation will seem as unlikely as any alternative worked out as fully.

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<sup>13</sup> In most cases marring the verse and style—*Marchant* in *SqFkl* link, 675, 696, 699, *ffrankeleyn* in *MchSq* link ("F," 1). The only case where he might conceivably have done this and did not is in the *MelMk* link; here it would have been a waste of trouble since this is preceded by several blank pages, which he hoped might be filled later.

## X

### E.K. IS SPENSER

IN the 14th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1929) under the Spenser entry, J. C. Smith says:<sup>1</sup> "The notion that E. K. is a mask for Spenser himself has been disproved by Dr. Herford." Since 1895, when the late Dr. C. H. Herford published his edition of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, a great many critics, as well as Professor Smith, have accepted as final Dr. Herford's conclusion that E.K., the so-called editor, is some one other than Spenser, and is probably Edward Kirke. In this paper I shall try to refute the arguments advanced by Dr. Herford and his followers,<sup>2</sup> and to give supporting evidence for the affirmation in my title.

First Dr. Herford says: "E.K. shows ignorance of things which Spenser must have known. His information is professedly imperfect." To those who believe that Spenser is playing a dual rôle in the poem, this is no argument; and Dr. Herford admits its weakness. For when he cites "E.K.'s" ignorance about the tale of Roffy (September eclogue) and the identity of the lamented person in the November dirge, he says: "These cases are not, taken by themselves, free from suspicion. For in dealing with Algrind, E.K. is evidently silent with a purpose. There, however, he makes no profession of ignorance." Thus Dr. Herford admits feigning, and in so doing points the argument for his opponents. Why

<sup>1</sup> On the strength of that, Professor Smith goes on to say, "It is not unlikely indeed that the Mistress Kerke in Westminster who took charge of letters for Spenser in October of the year 1579 was E.K.'s mother and that all three were living at her house." He further supposes E.K. "getting to work on the notes" after 10 April, 1579.

<sup>2</sup> Schelling and Rhys speak of "E.K., Spenser's friend, Edward Kirke"; De Selincourt says it is *natural*, Renwick says it is *common sense*, to accept the view that E.K. stands for Edward Kirke. Draper says that E.K. is Edward Kirke "plausibly enough." Schelling, F. E., *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* (N.Y., 1927), p. 48.—Rhys, E., *Lyric Poetry* (N.Y., 1913), p. 134.—Spenser, *Poetical Works*, ed. with an introd. by E. De Selincourt (London, 1924), p. xiv.—Spenser, *The Shepherd's Calendar*, ed. by W. L. Renwick (London, 1930), p. 163 f.—Draper, in *JEGP*, xviii, 557.—C. H. and T. Cooper were the ones who discovered that an Edward Kirke had matriculated as sizar at Pembroke in 1571. See *Notes and Queries*, 2d ser., ix (1860), 42. Collier (1862), Hales (1869), and Grosart (1882) are among the editors who have adopted the Edward Kirke theory.—G. C. Moore Smith in *Harvey's Marginalia* (1913), p. 24, speaks of "the editor, Edward Kirke"; J. B. Fletcher (*Encyc. Amer.*) and the late Edwin Greenlaw (*PMLA*, v, 26) grant E.K. a separate existence, but think that much of the gloss must have been inspired, if not dictated, by Spenser.—J. J. Higginson in his *Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar . . .* (N.Y., 1912), favors Edward Kirke; also B. E. C. Davis, *Edmund Spenser* (Cam., 1933).

should an acknowledged annotator feign? Does it not seem more reasonable to think that Spenser himself is not revealing more than he wishes to reveal?

Dr. Herford's second point is that "E.K. is a bold etymologist."<sup>3</sup> My contention is that the gloss is not built up by the dictionary method, and that such mistakes as occur in the gloss are those that Spenser himself would have made. I shall try to show that the gloss is true to the idea in the poem. For instance, *herse* (xi, 60)<sup>4</sup> is not *defined* as "solemn obsequies in funerals"; we are to understand that the line "O heavy herse!" *refers* to the solemn obsequies; these obsequies are a sad ceremony until one thinks of the soul passing into heaven, and then they become happy: "O happy herse!" (xi, 170). The idea that *herse* is used by apheresis for rehearsal (recital) is well taken by Herford, Skeat, and others; but that does not conflict with the gloss, as they seem to think; although Spenser's mind may have travelled from his thought of obsequies in the first stanza to the dirge itself as a recital. Farther on in the same November gloss appears: "Eternall night is death or darkness of hell." The form of statement is the same here as in the case of *herse*; but no quarrel has ever been entered against "E.K." about his definition of *eternal night*.

Spenser is equally poetic in his use of the word *glen* (iv, 26).<sup>5</sup> What he is most interested in explaining in the gloss is that the lady whom he is celebrating is well born. He styles her briefly and poetically "the widowes daughter of the glen" (a word in keeping with the pastoral idea, and rhyming with *frenne*); but he is at pains to tell us that she is a gentlewoman "of no mean house." He does not say that *glen* means "country hamlet or borough," as Dr. Herford says that he does.

Again, "welked" (xi, 13) seems to Dr. Herford a shibboleth to show up E.K. as an annotator ignorant of his author's meaning. Let *welked*

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Herford admits that "Most of his mistakes in this kind, such as the derivation of *Æglogue* (General Argument), of *Elf* and *Goblin* ("June" glosse) may well have been shared by Spenser." Here again Dr. Herford sides with his opponents. Other examples could be cited (for instance, *spell*, iii, 40) where there is more poetry than truth; and all of them taken together show that Spenser was using the gloss to indulge his fancy and also no doubt to make a display of learning.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Herford's note says: "Skeat is probably right in explaining this (*against E.K.*) as for something *rehearsed* or recited. In *F.Q.*, iii, 2, 48, Spenser uses it of the recital of the Church service. It may be rendered *burden*." Needless to say, the correct interpretation is not *against E.K.*

*N.E.D.* under *hearse* gives *solemn obsequies* as a definition, and cites this passage; but adds, "perhaps an error."

<sup>5</sup> According to *N.E.D.* *glen* was at that time coming into English use from Ireland and Scotland; and it is both possible and probable that Spenser knew that it was "a wild valley" from colloquial use. He uses it in that sense in *F.Q.*, iii, 7, 6.

derive from M.E. *welken* (wither) as Dr. Herford suggests. Then, combining gloss and verse, Spenser says to us: "As the Moone being in the waine is sayde of Lidgate to welk [i.e. wither], [so I say], nowe sad winter hath welked [i.e. withered] the day, [i.e., (shortened and empayred it)]." Spenser's innovation, if any, is to use an intransitive verb transitively. Both here and in "the welked [i.e. withered] Phoebus" (i, 73) the shorter day is clearly meant, and not the gloom of winter.

About the word *wonne*—"Thereto aye wonned to repayre," ii. 119—Dr. Herford says: "This is one of the glosses which cannot be due to the writer of the poems. *Wonned* is here *were wont*." The gloss has "to wonne) to haunt or frequent." I am willing to believe that in the bracketed *wonne*) Spenser has simply indicated the whole phrase *wonned to repayre*, which certainly means to haunt or frequent. The idea of *custom*, of doing a thing again and again, inherent in the M.E. *wonen* was no doubt in the poet's mind when he glossed this line; perhaps more so than when he wrote:

And *wonned* not the great God Pan  
Upon Mount Olivet? (vii, 49)  
Whilome there *wonned* a wicked wolf (ix, 184)

To illustrate, however, how the poet's mind could shift, we have only to note that he has used *Pan* twice in the same eclogue, meaning each time something different; but he has carefully glossed it each time, once to mean Christ (vii, 49), once to mean the Pope (vii, 179).

Mr. J. J. Higginson has adopted the foregoing citations made by Dr. Herford, and has added some of his own.<sup>6</sup> For example, he cannot understand how *evermore* could render the sense of *ay* in the sententious line:

Ay little helpe to harm there needeth (ii, 198)

Yet then as now the word *ay* could be mistaken for the affirmative *yes*; the poet informs us in the gloss that he intends the adverb of time. For such a prosaic purpose, who but a poet would select so poetic a word as *evermore*? Mr. Higginson also fails to feel the force of the gloss's *to dote* used to explain *assot* (iii, 25) meaning infatuated, like a fool (after the French); and he misinterprets *aforesayde* in the gloss (v, 257; ix, 161), apparently not sensing that it does not refer to anything in the gloss, but refers to the ideas developed in the poem before the glossed line occurs. This last item is proof that the gloss writer knew the poem very well and had it constantly in mind, and is an answer to Mr. Higginson's note on *assot* to the effect that the glosser showed unfamiliarity with the text. Mr. Higginson himself shows unfamiliarity with the text when he accuses

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 165-178.

the glosser of using *dogge* wrongly for *dogges* (vi, 22)<sup>7</sup> and of glossing *blacke* (ix, 97) as *hell*.<sup>8</sup> He cites the "failure to follow the order of the text in the gloss, especially noticeable in the April eclogue" as an argument in favor of a pedestrian and alien annotator; but such liberties would seem more natural to the poet himself than to an alien annotator. A poet, on looking through his poem, might very easily append new comments to the end of his gloss and not fit them in where they belonged.

Also, in spite of Mr. Higginson, weeping and complaint (*greete*, viii, 161) do constitute mourning, and loss (*scathe*, xii, 100) does constitute a hindrance. Mr. Higginson takes exception to the use of *order* in the gloss to explain *equipage* (x, 114).<sup>9</sup> *N.E.D.* shows that about that time the word *order* could be used to mean rank, grade, class, series, or a body of persons engaged in the same profession, occupation, or pursuits. So that for Spenser to teach his muse to tread in the *order* of the warlike Bellona is permissible. Mr. Higginson says that the glosser did not understand *tambourines*; but is not Spenser himself floundering here? Spenser may have heard the word but not associated it with the proper instrument;<sup>10</sup> and therefore showed confusion of thought in his note saying that the instrument might be the clarion. He may even have made the word himself;<sup>11</sup> some of his coinages, such as *crumenall* (ix, 119) and *stanck* (ix, 47), have been agreed upon by Herford, Renwick, Higginson, and others; he was among the first to use *quaint* (x, 114) in the modern sense of *strange*.<sup>12</sup>

Spenser did make mistakes, but they were of a nature that makes it seem incredible that he could have found an annotator to uphold him in them. For instance, in the March eclogue (line 23) Spenser speaks of Lethe *lake*; and his hypothetical gloss-writer docilely explains that Lethe is a *lake* in hell which the poets call the lake of forgetfulness. Does it not seem better to think that it was Spenser's error (or poetic license) both in poem and gloss?

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sommer, Facsimile edition.

<sup>8</sup> *blacke*) is the keyword for *blacke bowre of sorrow* which is glossed as *hell* from which *Great Pan* (Christ) saved mortals "with dear borrow."

<sup>9</sup> *Equipage* in and before the Elizabethan era had the meaning of *equipment*, especially military. *N.E.D.* gives this passage from Spenser as first citation under the definition: train of retainers or attendants, retinue; as second citation a passage from Fairfax's Tasso. Spenser shows that he is leaning to the new usage, and he has glossed it accordingly, using the word *order* instead of *rank*, which he might have used.

<sup>10</sup> A somewhat analogous error would be the American misapplication of the word *portecochère*.

<sup>11</sup> Blount's *Glossographia* (1661) cites only Spenser's use of it.

<sup>12</sup> Although Spenser (i.e., E.K.) explains in the gloss that *quaint* means strange, and shows fully how that might be, Dr. Herford pronounces this "far-fetched." Such contradiction of explicit evidence is scarcely understandable.

Again, in the eclogue assigned to November (whether or not written for November) Spenser puts the sun in the sign of Pisces (line 16); and the gloss states that the sun is in Pisces all November! A "mistake" of E.K.? It is far more interesting and plausible to accept Harvey's information about Spenser that he knew little astronomy,<sup>13</sup> and to believe that when he decided to move the end of the year<sup>14</sup> (as set forth in the general argument) from February around to November–December, he thought he could move the signs of the Zodiac also. It would be natural and to his interest to make use of the gloss to bolster up his haziness of mind on the question; and without much analysis of the matter, he might have been influenced by Du Bartas,<sup>15</sup> who, without giving names of months, groups Capricornus, Aquarius, and Pisces, and associates with them the snow and cold of winter.

The foregoing discussion covers practically all of the details concerning words and their interpretation which Herford and Higginson adduce to prove that E.K. is an entity apart from Spenser. They charge E.K. with making mistakes; and as they interpret E.K.'s annotations, these same annotations are clumsy and blundering indeed; read aright, they show that a poetic mind was at work in the gloss as well as in the poem. In the hands of Dr. Herford and his adherents, E.K. seems scarcely more than a moron, a mere straw-man. Could such an inept person have written the note on *Forever* (October gloss)<sup>16</sup> regarding the honor awarded to poets? Could he, unless Spenser had been holding his pen all the while, have written the poetic "arguments," the general argument as well as those for each eclogue? Could he have written the flowing lines of the Introductory Epistle, replete with solicitous mention of the special characteristics of the poem as they could be set down only by the author himself? Professor Renwick says that E.K. was no fool.<sup>17</sup> My own conclusion is that, when the commentators have got done pointing out what he did and did not write on his own initiative, he must have been at least a very *colorless* person, if he had any reality at all.

<sup>13</sup> Harvey's *Marginalia*, ed. Moore Smith, p. 162: "Pudet ipsum Spenserum, etsi Sphaerae, astrolabique non planè ignarum; suae in astronomicis Canonibus, tabulis, instrumentisque imperitiae."

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection that the beginning of the civil year was not officially changed from March to January until the mid-eighteenth century in England.

<sup>15</sup> Du Bartas, *Première Semaine*, 4<sup>e</sup> jour.

Harvey's *Marginalia*, ed. Moore Smith, p. 161: "M. Spenser conceives the like pleasure (much delight to repeate it often) in the fourth day of the first Weeke of Bartas. Which he esteemes as the proper profession of Urania."

Spenser's familiarity with the *Semaine* does not necessarily depend upon the edition of 1579. In Bn and BM is listed a latinized version of the poem, date 1573.

<sup>16</sup> Higginson says, "Perhaps Spenser did contribute the note on *forever*." *Op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. Renwick, p. 169.

Prof. Renwick comments thus on E.K.'s information (Oct. gloss) that Hobbinal is Harvey: "Spenser cannot have objected to that revelation; it would have been quite in Harvey's character to arrange for it with E.K."<sup>18</sup> How much simpler and more worthy it is to believe that in every mention of Harvey in the gloss Spenser is writing from his own heart and in his own person! Spenser's affection for Harvey is well known. So manifest is it, that Mr. G. C. Moore Smith, in his edition of Harvey's *Marginalia*, says of the *Shepherd's Calendar*: "Sufficient to say of it that it is an eternal monument to the friendship of Edmund Spenser for Gabriel Harvey."<sup>19</sup> This same note of warm friendship for Harvey is sounded in the Introductory Epistle (signed E.K.):

Defend [the poet] with your mighty rhetoric & other your rare gifts of learning . . . and be perswaded to pluck out of the hateful darknesse those so many excellent English poemmes of yours. . . . Trust me you doe both them great wrong, in depriving them of the desired sonne, and also yourselfe, in smothering your deserved prayses, and all men generally, in withholding from them so divine pleasures, which they might conceive of your gallant English verses. . . .

Yet Harvey never mentions E.K., nor Edward Kirke, in his letters, marginalia, or other writings. In his marginalia he groups in one place, "the rare spirits of the age," and in another "the most admired of contemporary poets";<sup>20</sup> he mentions Spenser, Sidney, Dyer, and many others; but he does not mention E.K., nor Edward Kirke. Yet Mr. Higginson says, "E.K. presents a higher conception of the ideal poet than Spenser does."<sup>21</sup> It would seem that Harvey would surely have included Edward Kirke<sup>22</sup> among the rare spirits of the age, if he had had such great ability. It would seem that E.K. might have expected no less from one whom he styles (Jan. gloss) "my verye singular good freend, M. Gabriel Harvey." E.K. in the Introductory Epistle sounds the praise of Harvey.

He also praises Spenser, even, as it might seem, to the point of extravagance. This brings me to what I have lately come to believe to be the crux of the whole controversy. The praise meted out to the poet in

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Renwick, p. 166.

<sup>19</sup> Harvey's *Marginalia*, ed. Moore Smith, p. 24. Although Harvey was far inferior to Spenser as a poet, and although his Latinized style cannot compare with Spenser's rhetorical prose, yet it is clear that he was at that time Spenser's affinity in the world of books.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 231-233.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>22</sup> Sidney Lee's statement in *D.N.B.* (entry: Kirke) that "Edward Kirke formed a warm friendship with Harvey and Spenser during his residence at college" seems scarcely warranted. All that we know certainly about Edward Kirke is that he matriculated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1571; after graduation took orders; became rector at Risby, Suffolk; and died there in 1613.—Strange that neither he nor any of his descendants ever laid claim to any of Spenser's greatness, nor even to his friendship.



the Epistle is offensive to Dr. Herford and others, if admittedly written by Spenser. They feel that his honor and standing among poets will be dimmed if he is convicted of being his own laudator. Dr. Herford says:

E. K. expresses opinions concerning both "the author" and other poets, which it is incredible that Spenser should have put forth under whatever disguise, and which are not involved in that disguise.

Mr. Higginson says:

It is evident that E.K. employs methods of praising the poet which it is impossible to believe that Spenser himself could have used.<sup>23</sup> . . . It is a far cry from the young poet's open acceptance of praise which exploited his unfledged work, to an absurd boasting of his own powers.<sup>24</sup>

Sidney Lee writes:<sup>25</sup>

If Spenser were the author of E.K.'s preface and notes, he would be exposed to a charge of repulsive immodesty in lavishing praise upon himself; but it is incredible that the poet who disguised himself in his early works under the pseudonym of Immerito should be guilty of this offence.

J. P. Collier (1862) speaks of "the absurd speculations hazarded by some critics that Spenser had in fact been his own editor, and consequently his own laudator."

I wish to show that the praise was part of the disguise; and that it is possible to believe that there was no immodesty to the point of being repulsive. Let us admit that Spenser knew how to write with enthusiasm about his poetry. In his letters,<sup>26</sup> he says of his *Epithalamium Thamesis* that "it will be very profitable for the knowledge, and rare for the invention and manner of handling," of his *Dreams* "that M. Angelo himself could not amend the best nor reprehend the worst," of his *Stemmata Dudleiana* that "in his own fancie he never did better," of the *Faerie Queene* that he intended "to overgo Ariosto," of his *Iambicum Trimetrum* that "they be precisely perfit for the feete, and varie not one inch from the rule." The tenor of his words here is not very different from that of the Introductory Epistle. The excuse for the letters is that Spenser was writing freely and frankly, exuberantly, in fact, to his friend. The excuse for the praise in the Epistle is that it was necessary to the purpose of introducing the anonymous poet.

That Spenser should have wished to keep his anonymity in publishing the *Shepheardes Calender* is understandable. It is a natural impulse of a new writer at any time to wish to ascertain the attitude of the public toward his matter before revealing his name. In the days of Queen Eliza-

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>25</sup> *D.N.B.* (entry Kirke, Edward).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Spenser-Harvey correspondence.

both it was more than usually important, especially since Spenser wished to express himself on ecclesiastical matters, which formed a vexed question in those times.<sup>27</sup> As a poet, he was attempting to establish pastoral verse in the English language; he, like Chaucer, saw beauty and poetical possibilities in the English language and in English verse (the vogue for Latin verse and for English verse in the Latin manner claimed his attention but not his heart, as his printed works attest); and he had to lament an unsuccessful love for a lady whom he names Rosalinde.

As there were several reasons for his use of a pseudonym, *Immerito*, there was also several reasons for his adoption of the elaborate scheme of introductory letter, argument, and gloss. There was precedent, for one thing; scarcely anything was published in those days without a commendatory letter, or poem.<sup>28</sup> So E.K. says in the *Introd. Epistle*: "Hereunto have I added a certain glosse or scholion . . . which maner of glosing and commenting, well I wote, wil seeme straunge and rare in our tongue . . . yet forsomuch . . . that in this kind, as in other we might be equal to the learned of other nations, I thought good to take the paines upon me." Moreover, it is reasonable to believe that Spenser felt it would be better for his verse to appear not unfriended. In addition, he had so many things to say, as pointed out above, that he needed all the means possible in which to say them. No one could say these things so well as he could himself, even if there were anybody to say them.<sup>29</sup> But anonymity must be maintained; therefore he adopted initials as an indication of another personality.

Why did Spenser adopt the particular initials *E.K.*? It would not have been unheard of to select initials at random. Such things have been

<sup>27</sup> In the analysis of the ecclesiastical eclogues, written by the late Edwin Greenlaw (*PMLA*, xxvi, 419 f.) he shows that Spenser was perilously brave in writing about the Catholic-Protestant controversy, even in allegory. He also shows how closely the gloss is united to the poem, pointing out some "charmingly innocent notes." An instance of this is in the *Sept. eclogue*: "So as never since that time, there have been wolves here founde, unless they were brought from other countryes." Another would be the note on "kings and potentates" (*April gloss*) which Mr. Higginson cannot understand, although the reference to the Pope (*July eclogue*) is certainly foreshadowed. Mr. Greenlaw notes "a garrulous dwelling on minor points of pedantry where the allegory is a trifle sharp."

<sup>28</sup> Ronsard's *Amours*, with notes and glossary by A. Muret is a favorite citation of editors (Renwick, Fletcher, etc.); the glossing of Virgil's *Eclogue* is another.

<sup>29</sup> G. L. Craik, *Spenser and His Poetry* (London, 1845), has this comment on the idea that E.K. was identical with Spenser: "It does not seem to us impossible, or very improbable. Such a device, by which the poet might communicate to the public many things requisite for the full understanding of his poetry, which he could not have openly stated in his own name, and at the same time leave whatever else he chose vague and uncertain, or at least indistinctly declared, had manifest conveniences."<sup>2</sup>

done. But to think of him as *Edmundus Kalendarius* is not difficult;<sup>30</sup> and it would have been quite in keeping with the habits of scholars of his day for him to so regard himself. In a Latin poem which I shall quote later, he speaks of himself as *Edmundus*; and the Latin adjective (*Kalendarius*) would be naturally appended in connection with the work in hand.<sup>31</sup> It seems to me a mere coincidence that Edward Kirke's initials should have been the same; just as it is a mere coincidence that Spenser should have received his letters by arrangement with a person whose surname began with the letter *K* (i.e., Mistress Kerke). The idea has been put forward that in the small group of sizars at Pembroke College Edward Kirke must have been known to his fellow-sizar, Edmund Spenser, and that Spenser may have borrowed Kirke's initials. We cannot prove that he did not. What I wish to demonstrate in this paper is that the entire poem, including Epistle and gloss, was the work of one mind and hand, and that the use of *E.K.* was a device.<sup>32</sup> Spenser, the young Cambridge poet and scholar, who could write with such enthusiasm about poetry, did not need a collaborator, and the literary conventions did not exact it of him. Moreover, a perusal of poetry collections of that period shows that initials were a not unusual disguise.<sup>33</sup>

We have considered the reasons for anonymity, and the structure of the poem through which this anonymity expressed itself. If there is to be mystification, it must be maintained; and I think that Spenser has done this. He liked to speak of himself in the third person, as we shall note again later on; and it was with relish that he adopted the rôles of Colin Clout, Immerito, and *E.K.* The introductory letter, signed *E.K.*, is an excellent piece of impersonation. It is a fine touch to make *E.K.* say, "I was made privie to his [the author's] counsell and secret meaning." Since it was incumbent upon the writer of an introductory letter to praise an author, Spenser, in the rôle of *E.K.*, does not hesitate to say that the author of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, when known, will be beloved and wondered at,

<sup>30</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., vi (1876), 365. Some one signing himself Beta, has suggested: "... *E.K.*, intended, not improbably for the poet himself, the initials signifying here Edmund the *Kalenderer*."—Cf. Sommer, Introduction to *Shepherd's Calendar*, Facsimile ed. p. 17.

<sup>31</sup> *Kalendrier des Bergiers* was the title of the old work to which Spenser refers in the Epistle in applying "an olde name to a new worke." Probably he knew it best in translation under the title of *The Shepherd's Calendar*, mentioned in Harvey's *Marginalia* (ed. Moore-Smith, p. 163) as being among the "A.B.C. of our vulgar Astrologers."

<sup>32</sup> Craik (*op. cit.*) says: "No one would know so well as himself in all cases what to disclose and what to withhold, and he would perhaps be more likely therefore to perform the office himself."

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Old Ballads*, ed. J. P. Collier, Percy Society; *England's Helicon*, etc.

for no lesse, I think, deserveth his wittinesse in devising, his pithinesse in uttering, his complaints of love so lovely, his discourses of pleasure so pleasantly, his pastorall rudeness, his morall wisenesse, etc.

All of this is in the spirit of the requirements; and Spenser, behind his mask, enters into the work as he thinks it should be done. This is not self-laudation in the ordinary acceptation of the term; yet as a means of recognizing him in his disguise we cannot help noting how closely the phraseology chimes with what he says about himself in his letters. It is true that Spenser has a sense of the high calling of the poet,<sup>34</sup> and of his own vocation to be a poet; but he has inward fears, and modesty, which he presents by saying:

As for Colin, under whose person the Author selfe is shadowed, how furre he is from such vaunted titles and glorious showes, bothe himself sheweth, where he sayth,

of Muses Hobbin, I conne no skill

and

Enough is me to paint out my unrest.

It is significant that the author of the Epistle could quote so aptly from the poem (vi, 65, 79).

Another charge which Dr. Herford brings is that the gloss speaks slightly of Marot in a way which Spenser, the confessed imitator of Marot, could not have done. Dr. Herford cites the January gloss:

The word Colin is Frenche, and used of the French poete Marot (if he be worthy of the name of a Poete).

He also cites the November argument in which this appears:

This Æglogue is made in imitation of Marot his song, which he made upon the death of Loys the frenche Queene. But farre passing his reache, and in myne opinion all other the Eglogues of this booke.

Dr. Herford censures this as "insolent disparagement of the gifted French poet. This is pardonable enough in a loyal friend [supposed to be writing the gloss]; but if E.K. be Spenser himself it would imply a baseness of which he cannot for a moment be suspected." I believe that Dr. Herford is far too severe. The dispraise of Marot could easily be part of the disguise for the rôle of gloss writer; moreover, it would have been no crime if Spenser's opinion of Marot's poetry had varied from one time to another; a poet is not a person of one mood, nor of one point of view. But we have, in addition to these surmises to justify Spenser in his parenthesis, literary history, to tell us that Marot had brought upon

<sup>34</sup> Again and again in his poetry he says that in poetry is the only true immortality.

himself a great deal of odium for the part he played in the Marotique and Sagontique quarrel;<sup>35</sup> and there were consequently, especially among the Protestants, people who would not be willing to grant Marot a worthy place anywhere, certainly not among the poets. As to the November Argument, Dr. Herford's comment that the comparison between Marot's poetry and Spenser's is "unjust as well as unbecoming" bears too heavily, I think, upon a very innocent little signal given to the reader to note particularly the ensuing eclogue.

Again, Dr. Herford says that "E.K. displays *literary tastes* differing from Spenser's"; and he cites E.K.'s expressed distaste for alliteration as against Spenser's constant use of it. Whatever may be the idea expressed in the cited passages, they bear, as we shall see, the mark of the confirmed alliterator, and therefore show Spenser's hand in framing them. In the first passage, "the rakehelly rout of our ragged rymers (for so themselves use to hunt the letter)" the stress is not upon alliteration but upon the fact that they "without learning boste, without judgment jangle, without reason rage and fome"; in contradistinction to this, the Epistle points out that in this author the sentences are "well grounded, finely framed, and strongly trussed up together." Spenser had some learning, and was not ashamed of his endowments; it would seem that he might be forgiven for showing contempt for those who "being in the midst of all theyr bravery, sodenly eyther for want of matter, or of ryme, or having forgotten theyr former conceipt, they seeme to be so pained and travailed in theyr remembrance, etc."<sup>36</sup> In the October gloss it was the hand of one who found alliteration as easy as breathing that wrote "I think this playing with the letter to be rather a *fault* than a *figure*"; Dr. Herford admits that this is a "mild cavil"; but mild or not, it seems quite in the Spenserian manner to put in this note for the purpose of using the learned word *cacozelon*, which means *fault* (i.e. faulty imitation).<sup>37</sup>

Mr. Higginson adopts the foregoing citations made by Dr. Herford, and adds as an item that whereas Spenser used several words of foreign origin in his *Calender*, the writer of the Epistle was opposed to borrowing from foreign languages, "making our English tongue a gallimaufrey, or hodge-

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Saintsbury's article on Marot in *Encyc. Brit.*—Spenser may be deferring to Du Bellay's censorious opinion expressed in his *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse*.

<sup>36</sup> Sir Philip Sidney mentions Spenser in his *Defense of Poesy*, but says that there were few at that time who had "poetical sinews" in them. Cf. ed. Cooke, p. 47.

<sup>37</sup> The note in full reads: "For lofty love) I think this playing with the letter to be rather a fault than a figure, aswel in our English tongue, as it hath bene alwayes in the Latine, called Cacozelon."—It is rather Spenserian that the Latin form should not be given quite correctly.

podge of al other speches." A careful reading of the Epistle convinces me that in it the writer was not inveighing so much against the use of words of foreign derivation, as against those people who show contempt of good native words; just as today there are objections made against those who lard their conversation with French phrases, or who express themselves wholly in slang, disdaining the slight labor of finding an English equivalent. There is, therefore, no inconsistency between Spenser's practice and the expressed opinions of the Epistle.

Another charge which Dr. Herford brings is that E.K. is a false guide, and therefore not Spenser, in the matter of sources for borrowings and imitations. Dr. Herford says:

Aware that the names "Thenot and Colin" are borrowed from his "January," *glosse*, and that the "November" is founded upon an Eclogue of his, he (E.K.) gives no hint that the "December" is a direct imitation of another. This omission may indeed be due as well to envy as to ignorance.

If Dr. Herford allows himself to impute envy and to touch on probabilities, we may perhaps be allowed the same latitude. In the place of envy on the part of the gloss writer, I should insert vanity on the part of the author. Perhaps there was a literary vanity at that time which countenanced misleading citations. Dr. W. P. Mustard says as much in his edition of Mantuanus:<sup>38</sup>

E.K.'s comment on Spenser's poem states that "this [October] Æglogue is made in imitation of Theocritus his xvi Idilion," adding—what most of his readers were likely to know—"and the lyke also is in Mantuane." But this comment is misleading, and must have been intended to be misleading. Spenser's indebtedness to Theocritus is exceedingly slight; but it would doubtless be more impressive to refer one of his poems to a great Greek model than to the "homely Carmelite" whose *Eclogues* were a familiar text-book in almost every school.

Or, if not vanity, perhaps it was considered clever, a sort of literary hide-and-seek, to indicate sources in a somewhat oblique way. The Epistle hints at such a thing when it says: "Yet so as few, but they be wel sented can trace him out." Texts were few and hard to obtain to verify a reference; it was necessary to trust to memory. Professor A. S. Cook says of Sidney<sup>39</sup> (and the same could apply to Spenser) that he was not "singular among the Elizabethans" for the inaccuracy of his quotations. The conclusion is that the many vague and misleading citations of sources over which Professor Renwick has spent much time in his edition do not furnish an argument for the existence of an alien gloss writer.

<sup>38</sup> *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, ed. by W. P. Mustard (Baltimore, 1911), pp. 134-135.

<sup>39</sup> Sidney, *Defense of Poesy*, ed. Cook, p. xix.

We shall now take up that part of the Harvey-Spenser correspondence which bears upon E.K. Those who advocate a personality for E.K. apart from Spenser find herein, they think, their strongest argument. I wish to show that the evidence points the other way. Dr. Herford says, "Spenser's correspondence with Harvey repeatedly refers to E.K." I consider this statement misleading, to say the least; for with us, *repeatedly* certainly means more than *twice*—the actual number of times that Spenser refers to E.K.

The above-mentioned Epistle, or Introductory letter to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, is dated "10. of Aprill, 1579." The first letters that we have from Harvey and Spenser were exchanged in October, 1579. Ample time had elapsed for Harvey to have seen the E.K. letter, and to be familiar with that pseudonym, as also with Immerito. Harvey's letter, dated "23. Octob. 1579," is addressed "*To my verie Friende, M. Immerito,*" and begins thus:

Liberalissimo Signor Immerito, in good soothe my poore storehouse will presently affourd me nothing, either to recompence, or to countervaille your gentle Masterships, long large, lavish, Luxurious, Laxative Letters withall, (nowe a Gods name, when did I ever in my life, hunt the Letter before? but belike, theres no remedie, I must needes be even with you once in my dayes). . . .

Harvey makes use of *Immerito*; so that we know that he is in the secret of the *Shepherd's Calendar*. He also uses the expression, "hunt the letter," which occurs in the letter intended to introduce the *Shepherd's Calendar*, written the previous April as noted above. This letter of Harvey's, dated 23. Octob., is in answer to a packet received from Spenser, containing *three* letters. The first contains a Latin poem, addressed

Ad ornatissimum virum . . . G.H. Immerito sui, mox  
in Gallias navigaturi. . . .

This poem, written by Spenser on the eve, as it were, of his setting off on a commission under Leicester, is full of praise of Harvey. Toward the close, he says:<sup>40</sup>

An Angel even Gabriel (although surrounded by innumerable friends and attended by a choir of deities) may often look for one absent, Immerito, and he will wish, O that my Edmundus were here, he who wrote new things and who did not keep silent about his loves.

Angelus et Gabriel (quamvis comitatus amicis  
Innumeris, geniũmque choro stipatus amaeno)  
Immerito tamen unum absentem saepe requirit,  
Optabitque, Utinam meus hic Edmundus adesset,  
Quĩ nova scripsisset, nec Amores conticuisset  
Ipse suos . . . .

Spenser dates this letter *5. of October, 1579*, and closes it by saying:

So once againe, and yet once more, Farewell most hartily, mine owne good Master H. and love me, as I love you, and thinke upon poore Immerito, as he thinketh uppon you. . . . Per mare, per terras, Vivus, mortuusque, Tuus Immerito.

I have quoted from this letter to show what Spenser could do when writing to a "warm friend";<sup>41</sup> also to show that he was fond of speaking of himself in the third person and under a pseudonym. It is here that he speaks of himself as *Edmundus*. It is also in this letter that he says that his letters may be sent by Mistress Kerke, "and by none other." However, his faith in Mistress Kerke may have been somewhat dashed, for when he came to Mistress Kerke's on October 16, he found that the Latin letter was still lying there, not having been sent to Harvey. On the previous evening (October 15) he had written again to Harvey, on the subject of dedicating books and on other matters, including affirmations of respect, admiration, and love for Harvey. At the close he becomes intimate and affectionate as usual, saying:

Maister E.K. hartily desireth to be commended unto your Worshippe; of whome, what accompte he maketh, youre selfe shall hereafter perceive by hys paynefull and dutifull verses of your selfe.

He breaks off at this point, leaving the letter open until he arrives at Mistress Kerke's the next morning, the sixteenth. Can we help thinking that he is referring to the long, laborious Latin poem which he had written ten days previously, and from which I have quoted above? Can we help coming to the further conclusion that Immerito, Edmundus, and E.K., being spoken of in the same vein, are one and the same?

On the morning of the sixteenth Spenser arrives at Mistress Kerke's to deliver his letter to the carrier. He finds there a letter from Harvey, sent the previous week; but he also finds that his own letter (of Oct. 5) had not been sent to Harvey. So, in addition to what he has already written on the morning of the sixteenth, he adds in a postscript

My last farewell<sup>42</sup> whereof I made great accompt, and much marvelled you shoulde make no mention thereof, I am now tolde, (in the Divels name) was thorough one mans negligence quite forgotten, but shoulde nowe undoubtedly have beene sent, whether I hadde come, or no. Seeing it can now be no otherwise,

<sup>41</sup> Spenser was devoted to those to whom he gave his heart, among others to Philip Sidney and Lord Grey de Wilton, as evidenced in the *Faerie Queene*.

<sup>42</sup> That is, the letter of Oct. 5 containing the Latin poem.—Harvey acknowledged this poem in his letter of 23 Oct. 1579: "You're Latine Farewell is a goodly brave yonkerly peece of work, and Goddilige yee, I am alwayes marvellously beholding unto you, for your bountifull titles."



I pray you take all together, with all their faultes. . . . But I would rather I might yet see youre owne good selfe, and receive a Reciprocall farewell from your owne sweete mouth.

The three letters were then dispatched together.

The *Shepherd's Calendar* was "entered" for publication in December, 1579. A letter following that date interests us, because, being written by Spenser in April, 1580, there occurs in it the second, and only other, mention of E.K. In a postscript to that letter he says:

I take best my *Dreams* shoulde come forth alone, being growen by meanes of the Glosse (running continually in manner of a Paraphrase) full as great as my *Calendar*. Therein be some things excellently, and many things wittily discoursed of E.K.

I take this to mean that Spenser intended to use again the pseudonym E.K. No one can paraphrase a work so well as the author himself; nor can any one comment thereupon as wittily (in Elizabethan English, intelligently, or discreetly) as can the author, whether he signs his own name, or some fictitious initials. This is the last that we hear from Spenser of E.K.

Dr. Herford sought to clinch his argument that E.K. was *not* Spenser by citing the mention of E.K. in Spenser's letters; but it has been the purpose of this paper to show that the sequence of letters and Spenser's temperament and attitude toward his friends prove beyond reasonable doubt that Spenser was referring to himself. The publishing in 1580 of the part of the Harvey-Spenser correspondence from which I have quoted could not have been fortuitous. Perhaps it was intended to make as clear to Spenser's contemporaries, as it does to some of us of the present day, just who Immerito and E.K. were. Certainly no one of that day has left any record of wonderment about E.K. My theory is that they knew that E.K. was merely another version of Immerito.

There have been commentators who have increased my faith in this interpretation. Craik (1845) points the way to the identification of E.K.'s dutiful verses as the long Latin poem by Spenser.<sup>43</sup> Uhlemann (1888),<sup>44</sup> followed by Sommer (1889),<sup>45</sup> has taken up the matter in some detail, as Herford has done, but with a different conclusion from Herford. Uhlemann and Sommer bring forward Spenser's knowledge of Plato, which E.K. reflects so clearly; they excuse the untrustworthiness of the indi-

<sup>43</sup> Craik, *Spenser and His Poetry*.

<sup>44</sup> Uhlemann, "Der Verfasser des Kommentars zu *Spenser's Shepherdes Calendar*," *Jahresbericht*, No. xiii, des Königl. Kaiser Wilhelms Gymnasiums zu Hannover (1888), Progr. No. 292.

<sup>45</sup> Spenser, *Shepherd's Calendar*, Facsimile ed. by Sommer.

cation of sources on the ground of Spenser's having probably done it from memory; and they identify the treatise on poetry, mentioned by E.K., as Spenser's *English Poet*, which apparently never left the author's hands. Their best argument, however, is the citation of the couplet:<sup>46</sup>

All that I eate did I joy, and all that I greedily gorged  
As for those many goodly matters left I for others.

Spenser translated this from the Latin, once, when he spent the night with Harvey, and he mentions it in one of his letters. E.K. uses it in the gloss to the May eclogue to explain a source for certain lines. It seems to me that no one can read the correspondence of these two bookish young men, Harvey and Spenser, boon-companions of the spirit, and still think that there was a third person of flesh and blood picking up the crumbs from their intellectual feasts, aware of their secrets, and yet not sharing their intimacy.<sup>47</sup>

Spenser, in the gloss, has not hesitated to throw dust into the eyes of the reader; and so well has he succeeded that Professor Renwick<sup>48</sup> says that "after working through the poems and the glosses one feels the contact of a different, a less flexible mind."<sup>48</sup> For my own part, the gloss seems the product of a very supple mind, and all of one fabric with the poem. It forms a philosophical, polemical, shrewd, whimsical, and altogether delightful accompaniment to the eclogues, a most skilful "undersong" such as Willye sings to Perigot in the August eclogue. I have shown, I think, that when one tries to understand what Spenser meant, the gloss is seen to be a clear projection of his own mind; and philologists can find therein a picture of the development and use of the English language unsullied by the "mistakes" of a supposititious annotator. More than that, if we admit that it is Spenser writing throughout, the literary criticism of the Epistle can be accepted as coming from the hand of a master.

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<sup>46</sup> May Eclogue, gloss.

<sup>47</sup> It is rather more interesting to think that it was Spenser who had the copy of Sir Thomas Smith's book of government, "a perfect copie in wryting, lent me by his kinsman, and my verye singular good freend, M. Gabriel Harvey" (Jan. gloss) than to think of its being in the possession of a young clergyman who sank at once into obscurity.

<sup>48</sup> Ed. Renwick, p. 163 f.—I believe, however, that Professor Renwick is open to conviction on this point, for he says, "Certainly there is little inherent absurdity in the notion" (i.e., that Spenser is E.K.). Professor Renwick also says the fear of envy "even passes through to E.K." when he writes in the Epistle "Yf Envie shall stur up any wrongful accusation, etc." I think it much more logical to think that Spenser is himself expressing the fear of envy which seemed to be with him all his life. Cf. *F.Q.* vi, 12. 40-41; *Amoretti*, LXXXVI, 1.

# XI

## MILTON'S DEBT TO WOLLEB'S *COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIAE CHRISTIANAE*

IN seeking for sources of Milton's theology, scholars have gone far afield. While they have argued for Milton's dependence on Ochino, Boehme, Servetus, and even the occult Cabbalists—with little or no external evidence and only vague and general parallelism to corroborate Milton's knowledge and use of these writers—they have disregarded certain systematic theologies, which Milton knew, and which have the same general plan and purpose as the *De doctrina Christiana*. With one of these treatises, the present investigation is concerned:<sup>1</sup> it will seek to determine the relationship of the *De doctrina* to Wolleb's *Compendium Theologiae Christianae* with the view of contributing something to an evaluation of Milton's originality as a theologian, and to a knowledge of his habits of borrowing and of the manner in which he worked.

To this problem, scholars have given scant attention. In a footnote to his translation, Sumner<sup>2</sup> observed that the *De doctrina*, like the *Compendium*, was divided into two books, that the plans of Book II were similar, and that the two works contained arguments and even sentences that were almost identical. Some thirty years later, Barber<sup>3</sup> compared Sumner's translation with the *Compendium*, contributed little that was new, and concluded that Sumner had not stated the similarities too strongly. Since Barber's time, no student of Milton seems to have sought to ascertain more accurately the extent of Milton's indebtedness or the significance of his borrowings.

Published in 1626, the *Compendium Theologiae Christianae* was the work of John Wolleb, preacher and professor of Old Testament theology at Basle.<sup>4</sup> The treatise consists of some three hundred duodecimo pages divided into two books of thirty-six and fourteen chapters respectively.

<sup>1</sup> This study grows out of a suggestion of Professor Hanford in *A Milton Handbook* (New York, 1933), p. 211, and is the first of a series of papers dealing with Milton's indebtedness to the sixteenth and seventeenth century systematic theologies.

<sup>2</sup> *A Treatise on Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge University Press, 1825), p. 602 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Sacra*, xvi (1859), 596-599. Lacking Sumner's Latin edition of the *De doctrina*, Barber was unable to pursue his comparison to any great extent.

<sup>4</sup> In this study, I have used the earliest edition available: *Compendium Theologiae Christianae . . . autore Johanne Wollebio* (Cantabrigiae, 1642). For biographical and critical data, see H. J. Leu, *Allgemeines Helvetisches Eydgenössisches, oder Schweitzerisches Lexicon* (Zurich, 1764), xix, 572-574; W. Gass, *Geschichte der Protestantischen Dogmatik* (Berlin, 1854), I, 397; K. R. Hagenbach, *Die Theologische Schule Basels und ihre Lehrer* (Basel, 1860), pp. 23-24; J. H. A. Ebrard, *Christliche Dogmatik* (Königsberg, 1862), I, 67-68. Leu contains some inaccuracies; and Ebrard, it would seem, overstates Wolleb's importance.

Each chapter contains an introductory statement of the relationship of that chapter to the system as a whole, definitions, and sets of rules (*canones*), in which the author dissects his topic into its causes, parts, modes, objects, etc. To these, he adds other comments and examples, which are often supported by Biblical citation or quotation. Scholastic in its dogmatism, and anti-Catholic in its bias, the treatise reveals that its author sometimes lacked a sense of the essential and buried the significant under a mass of academic detail; but in spite of this pedantry and the strained coherence of the *canones*, the seventeenth-century divines found in the *Compendium* a unity, a conciseness, and a clarity of arrangement that made the book extremely popular. Before 1660, it went through at least eight editions and was translated into Dutch, Hungarian, and English. At the Reformed universities, it became the basis of lectures on dogmatics and ethics. In turning to this treatise, therefore, Milton was utilizing what many considered the best systematic theology of the day.

External evidence for Milton's knowledge of the *Compendium* exists in the testimony of Edward Phillips.<sup>5</sup> Concerning the work done by Milton's students during the period of 1639-47, the poet's nephew wrote:

The next work after this, was the writing from his own dictation, some part, from time to time, of a tractate which he thought fit to collect from the ablest of divines who had written of that subject; Amesius, Wollebius, &c. viz. A Perfect System of Divinity, of which more hereafter.

This statement lacks the corroboration of other contemporary biographers; and Milton, in the *De doctrina*, failed to mention the *Compendium*; but a comparison of the two treatises affords ample internal evidence that verifies Phillips's assertion.

To the *Compendium*, the demonstrable debt of Book I of the *De doctrina* is not great. Both treatises, it is true, consist of two books: "Of the Knowledge of God" and "Of the Worship of God." The works have, in five instances, identical chapter headings;<sup>6</sup> and throughout the two treatises occur numerous similarities. Each work, for instance, has utilized the same bases of division in discussing the names of God,<sup>7</sup> decrees,<sup>8</sup> and the incarnation,<sup>9</sup> the mediatorial office,<sup>10</sup> and the exaltation<sup>11</sup> of Christ. Similarities exist in the analyses of the fall,<sup>12</sup> in the arguments that the Messiah has already come,<sup>13</sup> and in the remarks on the singular

<sup>5</sup> William Godwin, *Lives of Edward and John Phillips* (London, 1815), p. 363-364.

<sup>6</sup> See *Dd.* iv, *Comp.* iv: "De Prædestinatione"; *Dd.* vii, *Comp.* v: "De Creatione"; *Dd.* xii, *Comp.* xii: "De Poena Peccati"; *Dd.* xx, *Comp.* xxix: "De Fide Salvifica"; *Dd.* xxii, *Comp.* xxx: "De Justificatione." <sup>7</sup> *Dd.* 14; *Comp.* 9. <sup>8</sup> *Dd.* 22; *Comp.* 21.

<sup>9</sup> *Dd.* 212; *Comp.* 76.

<sup>10</sup> *Dd.* 216; *Comp.* 87.

<sup>11</sup> *Dd.* 224; *Comp.* 104.

<sup>12</sup> *Dd.* 180-181; *Comp.* 47.

<sup>13</sup> *Dd.* 213; *Comp.* 82.

meaning of מַלְאָכִים,<sup>14</sup> and on the despair of the evil angels.<sup>15</sup> The influence of Wolleb, however, may be logically questioned. The bi-partite division of systematic theologies was not unusual,<sup>16</sup> the chapter headings consist of common terms; the bases of division are conventional; and the discussions concern matters which were commonplace to Renaissance theologians.<sup>17</sup> Such objections, however, seem hardly valid in the case of the following remarks on Scripture and on the second advent of Christ:

*De doctrina*, pp. 346-347

Sensus cujusque scripturæ unicus est; in veteri tamen testamento sæpe est compositus ex historia et typo: exempli gratia in his Hoseæ verbis, cap. xi. 1. cum Matt. ii. 15. *ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum*: ubi et de populo Israelitico et de Christo puero sensus duplex constare potest.

*Compendium*, p. 8

Sensus cujusque Scripturæ non nisi unicus est: in Veteris tamen Testamenti Vaticiniis sæpe est compositus ex historia & typo.

Exempli gratia, Hoseæ cap. 11. v. 1. in his verbis, *Quia puer est Israel quem diligo, ideo ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum*, sensus est compositus; literaliter enim ac historice de liberatione populi Israelitici ex Ægypto; typice vero seu mystice de vocatione Christi ex Ægypto sunt intelligenda. Matthæi 2. 15.

Ratio recte interpretandi scripturas utilius quidem a theologis traditur, quam diligentius aut fidelius observatur; linguarum peritia; fontium inspectio; scopi animadversio; locutionis propriæ et figuratæ distinctio; causarum, circumstantiarum, antecedentium, consequentium consideratio; locorum cum aliis locis comparatio; fidei quoque analogia ubique spectanda est; syntaxeos denique haud raro anomalia non omittenda . . .

Media verum Scripturæ sensum investigandi sunt, frequens oratio; linguarum cognitio; fontium inspectio; argumenti & scopi consideratio; verborum propriorum & figuratorum distinctio; causarum, circumstantiarum, antecedentium & consequentium notatio ac Logica analysis, obscuriorum cum illustrioribus, similium cum similibus, dissimilium cum dissimilibus comparatio; fidei denique analogia.

<sup>14</sup> *Dd.* 18; *Comp.* 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Dd.* 158; *Comp.* 41.

<sup>16</sup> Thus Ames and Polanus, both quoted by Milton in the *De doctrina*. See Gass, *op. cit.*, I, 397.

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, William Ames, *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (London, 1642), pp. 74, 92; James Usher, *A Body of Divinity* (London, 1702), pp. 119-120; Franciscus Gomarus, *Locorum Communium Theologicorum Epitome* (Amsterdam, 1643), pp. 29, 53; Zacharias Ursinus, *Corpus Doctrinæ Christianæ* (Geneva, 1623), pp. 41-42; John Calvin, *Institutes*, II, I, xv, xvi.

*De doctrina*, pp. 373–374

Diem et horam adventus Christi solus Pater novit . . . Signa tamen quædam a Christo et apostolis sunt tradita, quæ de adventu ejus nos admoneant. . . . Signa autem illa communia sunt vel propria. . . . Communia sunt, quæ excidium Hierosolymitanum veluti typum adventus sui et adventum ipsum communiter prænuntiant: cujusmodi sunt pseudoprophetæ, pseudochristi, bella, terræ motus, persecutiones, pestis, fames, fidei et charitatis imminutio ad hunc usque diem. . . . Propria sunt, securitas atque impietas extrema, et universa propre defectio. . . . Secundo, antichristi revelatio, et per spiritum oris Christi abolitio.

*Compendium*, p. 189

Etsi tempus adventus Christi exquisite, quoad diem & horam nemo norit (a): signa tamen a Christo & Apostolis tradita sunt, diem ejus appropinquantem aut instantem indigentia (b) . . . Signa illa communia sunt, aut propria. Communia sunt, quæ excidium Hierosolymitanum & extremum Christi Adventum communiter significare debuerunt. . . . Nempe, Pseudo-Prophetæ, Pseudo-Christi, bella, pestilentiæ, fames, terræ-motus, persecutiones Christi caussa, prodictiones, fidei & charitatis defectus, &c. Propria sunt, extrema securitas & impietas, (a) Antichristi revelatio & per Spiritum oris Christi abolitio. . . .

These thirteen similarities may all represent direct influence; but since eleven are theological commonplaces and lack conclusive verbal parallelism, the case for the influence of the *Compendium* on Book I of the *De doctrina* must rest ultimately on the two passages quoted in full above.

Book II, however, presents considerable evidence of debt. This fact, the chapter headings fail to indicate, for Milton and Wolleb differed on a basic matter of Christian ethics. A staunch Calvinist, Wolleb believed that the Mosaic law was still binding on Christians, and organized and named his chapters on the basis of the relationship of the Christian virtues to the individual commandments. Milton, however, was a conservative antinomian, held that the decalogue had been abrogated by the promulgation of the Gospel, and rejected consequently such a classification. A careful comparison of the two treatises, however, would seem to indicate that this difference of opinion troubled Milton little: he omitted the references to the decalogue, added the argument that the form of good works was faith rather than congruency with the decalogue, and utilized the *Compendium* as he saw fit. In both the *De doctrina* and the *Compendium*, Book II consists of two parts: the duties of man to God, and the duties of man to man. In the first part of both treatises, chapters i–iii have similar organizations: the general virtues are identical, and most of the special external virtues and their opposing vices are the same. In chapters iv–vi, however, the differences are more numerous: chief of these are the absence in the *De doctrina* of certain academic distinctions present in the *Compendium*, the discussion of *idololatria* and *invocatio sanctorum* as opposites of *invocatio* rather than *ritus*, and of *jusjurandum* and *sors*

as species of *invocatio* rather than of *sanctificatio ejus nominis*. In both works, however, the virtues and vices are in general the same, and considerable verbal parallelism<sup>18</sup> attests Milton's debt to Wolleb. Chapter vii of the *De doctrina*, a discussion of the circumstances of worship, owes little or nothing to the corresponding portion of the *Compendium*, chapter vii. In the second part of Book II, Milton's organization is so different, that only a general idea of the similarities may be given. In varying degrees, *De doctrina* viii is similar to *Compendium* viii and xiv;<sup>19</sup> *De doctrina* ix to *Compendium* xi-xii;<sup>20</sup> *De doctrina* x to *Compendium* iv;<sup>21</sup> *De doctrina* xi to *Compendium* viii;<sup>22</sup> *De doctrina* xii to *Compendium* x;<sup>23</sup> *De doctrina* xiii to *Compendium* xiii;<sup>24</sup> and *De doctrina* xiv to *Compendium* xii.<sup>25</sup> *De doctrina* xv-xvii, if dependent at all, are expansions of certain statements in *Compendium* ix, x, xii.<sup>26</sup> This similarity of structure and statement, present in practically every chapter of the two works, would seem to indicate that the basic source of Book II of the *De doctrina* was the corresponding section of Wolleb's *Compendium Theologiae Christianae*, and that at some time during the period that Milton was writing this portion of his treatise, he had the *Compendium* before him, and borrowed, reorganized, added, and omitted as it suited his purpose and beliefs.

Comparison of sentences and paragraphs reveals that Milton, in taking over Wolleb, often made only minor changes in words or word order.

<i>De doctrina</i> , p. 462	<i>Compendium</i> , p. 260
Sobrietas est temperantia ab immodico cibo et potu.	Sobrietas est temperantia a superfluo cibo & potu.
<i>De doctrina</i> , p. 477	<i>Compendium</i> , p. 245
Charitas erga proximum est qua eum diligimus ut nosmetipsos.	Charitas erga proximum est, qua proximum ut nos ipsos diligimus.

<sup>18</sup> See, for instance, *Dd.* 387-388, *Comp.* 203; *Dd.* 398, *Comp.* 208; *Dd.* 401-403, *Comp.* 210; *Dd.* 404, *Comp.* 210-211; *Dd.* 407-410, *Comp.* 213-215; *Dd.* 413, *Comp.* 216; *Dd.* 423-425, *Comp.* 222; *Dd.* 432-433, *Comp.* 236-238; *Dd.* 440, *Comp.* 232; *Dd.* 443-444, *Comp.* 239.

<sup>19</sup> See *Dd.* 457-458, *Comp.* 244-245, 251.

<sup>20</sup> See *Dd.* 462, 465, 467-468, *Comp.* 261-262, 274-275.

<sup>21</sup> See *Dd.* 476, *Comp.* 215.

<sup>22</sup> See *Dd.* 477-479, 481, *Comp.* 245-249.

<sup>23</sup> Here, there seems only a slight similarity of plan.

<sup>24</sup> *Dd.* 493-494, 501, *Comp.* 277-280. Here Milton's treatment of the *Compendium* is midway between the two extremes. He adds two virtues (*simplicitas* and *admonitio*), attaches to *fidelitas* the meaning given by Wolleb to *taciturnitas*, gives another a new name (*libertas loquendi* for *parrhesia*), adds, omits, and shifts opposites from one virtue to another. Only the connection of these virtues to the treatise as a whole, their order, their general similarity, and some verbal parallelism remains to show the debt.

<sup>25</sup> *Dd.* 507-508; *Comp.* 272-274.

<sup>26</sup> *Compendium*, pp. 252, 258, 274.

*De doctrina*, pp. 402–403

Huic [constantia] opponitur inconstantia. . . . Et pertinacia in errore seu proposito malo.

Often, by compression, Milton attains a conciseness superior to that of Wolleb.

*De doctrina*, p. 413

Appellatur [vera religio] in scripturis λατρεύειν, Matt. iv. 10. et δουλεύειν, cap. vi. 24. Gal. iv. 8. Errant igitur pontificii, qui λατρεῖαν [sic] Deo, δούλειαν [sic] sanctis angelis et hominibus tribuunt.

*De doctrina*, p. 434

Illa [idololatria] est qua idolum cultus religiosi causa vel fabricatur, vel habetur, vel colitur; sive id veri Dei confictum simulachrum sit sive falsi.

*Compendium*, p. 210

Ei [constantia] opponitur Inconstantia & Pertinacia in errore seu malo proposito.<sup>27</sup>

*Compendium*, p. 216

Appellatur [vera religio] in Scripturis Δουλεία & Λατρεία. Pontificii Λατρείαν Deo, Δουλείαν sanctis Angelis & hominibus, Ὑπερδουλείαν Mariæ tribuunt. Sed sine Scriptura, imo contra eam. Nam & λατρεύειν, Matth. 4, 1. & δουλεύειν, Matth. 6, 24. soli Deo jubemur.

*Compendium*, p. 225

Idololatria, est qua idolum fabricatur, retinetur, aut religiose colitur. Idololatriæ duo sunt genera. Prius est, cum pro Deo habetur & colitur, quod verus Deus non est; atq; hæc primo præcepto repugnat. Posterius idololatriæ genus est, cum verus quidem Deus colitur, sed aut in Idolis, aut in sanctis, Angelis & demortuis.<sup>28</sup>

Sometimes, Milton omits theological matters from his definitions, and thus imparts to them a significance broader and more ethical than that of Wolleb.

*De doctrina*, p. 407

Spes est qua Dei promissiones certo expectamus.

*Compendium*, p. 212

Spes est, qua futura Dei beneficia, imprimis autem salutis nostræ complementum, Dei promissionibus & Christi merito nixi, indubitato expectamus.

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, *jejunium ecclesiasticum* (Dd. 423, Comp. 222); *charitas hominis erga seipsum* (Dd. 457, Comp. 244); *verecundia* and *honestas* (Dd. 465, Comp. 261–262); and *castitas* (Dd. 464, Comp. 261).

<sup>28</sup> See, for instance, the opening sentences of Book II; *prudencia* (Dd. 398, Comp. 208); *jejunium publicum* (Dd. 424, Comp. 222); opposites of *charitas erga semetipsum* (Dd. 458, Comp. 245); *vigilantia* (Dd. 463–464, Comp. 261). Occasionally Milton expands for clarity or explicitness. See *votum* (Dd. 425, Comp. 222); opposites of *promptitudo* (Dd. 401, Comp. 210).



*De doctrina*, p. 388

Bona opera sunt quæ agente in nobis Dei Spiritu per veram fidem facimus, ad Dei gloriam, salutis nostræ spem certam, et proximi ædificationem.

*Compendium*, p. 203

Bona opera sunt, quæ Spiritus sancti gratia ex vera fide & ad Legis præscriptum præstantur, ad Dei gloriam, salutis nostræ certitudinem & proximi ædificationem.<sup>29</sup>

On occasions, Milton borrows arguments from the *Compendium*. Instances of such dependence may be found in Milton's discussion of usury<sup>30</sup> and in his brief against works of supererogation.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes, Wolleb's remarks serve merely to call up similar statements in the *De doctrina*: for instance, the discussions of the cherubim, the brazen serpent, and the Catholic assertion that idols are the books of the laity.<sup>32</sup> A statement of Wolleb often serves as a starting point for a discussion or a refutation. Thus, Wolleb's statement that "Prudentia est, in malis culpae nullum, in malis poenae nimiud eligere" gives an excuse for caustic remarks on doctors of theology.<sup>33</sup> Wolleb's assertion that of oaths given to robbers, promising ransom and silence, only the first should be kept leads Milton to offer an extended argument that neither oath is binding.<sup>34</sup> Wolleb's definition of *mendacium*, Milton quotes and spends a page in pointing out that it is too narrow.<sup>35</sup>

In adapting Wolleb to his needs, Milton has rejected many of the scholastic niceties that characterize the *Compendium*. Among these are details concerning true religion,<sup>36</sup> the Lord's Prayer,<sup>37</sup> fasting,<sup>38</sup> oaths,<sup>39</sup> and lots.<sup>40</sup> Milton uses none of Wolleb's classical quotations<sup>41</sup> or historical references,<sup>42</sup> and takes over little of his violent anti-Catholicism<sup>43</sup> or his Calvinistic insistence on the depravity of man.<sup>44</sup> Scholastic distinctions and narrow sectarianism would seem to have no important place in Milton's exposition of Christian ethics. Many of his additions have a pronounced utilitarian purpose. He omits definitions and the opposites of the affections, and adds a discussion of the motives that should govern

<sup>29</sup> See the exclusion of references to the decalogue in the reorganization of Book II; *patientia* (*Dd.* 475, *Comp.* 215), *benevolentia* (*Dd.* 481, *Comp.* 247), *promptitudo* (*Dd.* 401, *Comp.* 209); *constantia* (*Dd.* 402, *Comp.* 210).

<sup>30</sup> *Dd.* 507-508, *Comp.* 272-273.

<sup>31</sup> *Dd.* 391-392; *Comp.* 204-205.

<sup>32</sup> *Dd.* 436, *Comp.* 226-228.

<sup>33</sup> *Dd.* 399; *Comp.* 208.

<sup>34</sup> *Dd.* 430; *Comp.* 236.

<sup>35</sup> *Dd.* 493-495, *Comp.* 277. Wolleb, however, points out that his definition has those exceptions that Milton notes. <sup>36</sup> *Compendium*, pp. 216-217. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 248, 250. Milton, however, of his own accord quotes Homer for an example of *verecundia* (*Dd.* 465).

<sup>42</sup> *Compendium*, pp. 237, 248, 266, 283.

<sup>43</sup> See, for instance, *Compendium*, pp. 213, 226-229, 234, 237, 261.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 209, 214, 245.

their exercise.<sup>45</sup> He asserts that our duties to God are sometimes to be postponed when our duties to man are more pressing.<sup>46</sup> He comments on the effect of a good example,<sup>47</sup> discusses practical aspects of prayer,<sup>48</sup> and thanksgiving,<sup>49</sup> neglected by Wolleb, and collects Biblical passages that describe the good and the evil man.<sup>50</sup> Thus Milton borrows, compresses, expands, omits, and adds, and attains in Book II of the *De doctrina* an economy of expression, a directness of presentation, an emphasis of essentials, and a broad, humanistic appeal too often absent in the corresponding part of the *Compendium*.

In the composition of the *De doctrina*, therefore, Wolleb's *Compendium* seems to have played a considerable part. Milton, however, states that his treatise was compiled from Scripture alone.<sup>51</sup> To this apparent contradiction, an examination of Milton's use of the Bible would seem to offer some solution. For his definitions and *canones*, Wolleb offers on the whole no great amount of annotation. Milton's documentation, as he himself admits,<sup>52</sup> is, if anything, excessive. Verbal parallelism of introductory remarks and similarity of citation and presentation, however, indicate that in these matters Wolleb exercised some influence on Milton. Compare, for instance, the following discussions of *justitia*:

*De doctrina*, p. 508

Justitia in rebus custodiendis est quæ in depositis ac pignoribus repetendis aut restituendis observatur: de qua Exod. xxii. 7. *si quis dederit proximo pecuniam aut suppellectilia ad servandum*—Sic. v. 10, 11. Ezech. xviii. 7. *neminem oppresserit, pignus suum debitori restituerit*. Pignus a paupere quatenus accipiendum, videatur Exod. xxii. 26. *si pignore ullo acceperis vestem*—. Deut. xxiv. 6. *ne pignori accipito metam aut catillum*—. De pignoribus humane ac modeste accipiendis præcipitur eodem cap. v. 10. *ne ingreditor domum eius*—.

*Compendium*, pp. 273–274

Justitia in rebus custodiendis est, quæ in depositis ac pignoribus repetendis aut restituendis æquitas observatur.

Exod. 22, 7. *Si quis dederit . . . in rem proximi sui*. Similis lex de asino, bove & parva pecude sequitur v. 10, 11. Pignus accipiens videat, ne aut pignus recipiat a paupere, aut pignoris loco id retineat, quo pauper carere nequit. Exod. 22, 26. *Si pignore acceperis vestem proximi tui, dum inclinat Sol, restituito illam ei, nam solum operimentum ejus est*. Deut. 24, 6. *Ne pignore accipito quisquam metam aut catillum: nam is vitam acciperet*. & v. 10. *Ne ingreditor . . . proferat ad te pignus suum foras*: Ezech. 18, 7. *Neminemque oppresserit, pignus suum debitori restituerit*.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Dd.* 458–461; *Comp.* 285–287.

<sup>46</sup> *Dd.* p. 455.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 390–391.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 417–420

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 427–428.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 393–394.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Dd.*, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup> The omissions indicated in the quotation from the *Compendium* are my own. The passages are too long to quote in full, and they add nothing to the discussion.

That this dependence was neither blind nor uncritical, the following discussion of *zelus* would seem to indicate.

*De doctrina*, p. 440

Exempla hujus virtutis sunt in Loto, 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8, in Mose. Exod. xxxii. 19. in Phineas, Num. xxv. 7. in Elia, 1 Reg. xix. 10. in Jeremia, Jer. xxiii. 9, 10, 11. *frangitur cor meum in me—, nam adulteris plena est haec terra:* in Christo, Matt. xii. 30. Joan. ii. 14, &c. in Stephano, Act. vii. 51 &c. in Paulo et Barnaba, cap. xiv. 14. et xvii. 16, 17.

*Compendium*, p. 232

Exempla ejus sunt in Lotho, 2. Petri. 2. 8. in Mose, Exod. 32. 19. in Pinehas, Num. 25, 9. in Davide, Psalm. 69 & 119, 53. in Elia, 1 Reg. 19, 10, in Jeremia, Jer. 33. 9, 10, 11. in Johanne Baptista, Matth. 14. 14. in Christo, Johan. 2. 14 &c. in Paulo, Act. 14, 14, & 17. 16, 17.<sup>54</sup>

Here, similarity of expression and order of examples indicate direct dependence. Milton, however, has omitted the examples of David and of John the Baptist, and has added Stephen and Barnabas, who is also included in Acts xiv. To the citation concerning Lot, Milton has added verse seven, which is also applicable. In the case of Jeremiah, Milton has given the correct chapter reference and has added the quotation. This addition, omission, change of citation, and addition of quotation is typical of Milton's treatment of Wolleb,<sup>55</sup> and indicates that Milton checked all borrowings carefully. Differences in the quotation of individual verses, moreover, show that Milton did not copy them from the *Compendium* but from his own Junius-Tremellius.<sup>56</sup> These facts and the greater number of Biblical quotations found in the *De doctrina* seem to permit the following conclusions. First, the evidence bears out Milton's statement<sup>57</sup> that in imitation of some of the shorter systems of theology, he was in the habit of listing passages of Scripture under certain heads. Second, it indicates that in these compilations, the *Compendium* suggested more than merely the topic headings under which the passages were classified; and third, that Milton checked Wolleb carefully with Holy Writ. In the composition of the *De doctrina*, therefore, Wolleb's *Compendium* played no small part; but Milton considered its authority secondary, and consequently verified his borrowings. To these, he added other quotations, which he himself collected. In this sense, then, the *De*

<sup>54</sup> See also the paragraphs in *Dd.* 478 beginning *nec inimici charitate . . .*, and in *Comp.* 245–246 beginning *neque haec in parte . . .*; *invidia* (*Dd.* 481–482, *Comp.* 247–248), and *asseveratio* (*Dd.* 432–433, *Comp.* 236).

<sup>55</sup> For expansion of citation to quotation, see *Dd.* 482, *Comp.* 248: Mark ix, 38; James iii, 16; Luke xiv, 1; *Dd.* 481, *Comp.* 247: Luke xv, 10; Prov. vi, 1, xi, 15. For complete quotation of a passage quoted only in part by Wolleb, see *Dd.* 468, *Comp.* 275: Luke xii, 15; Jude 16.

<sup>56</sup> See, for instance, *Dd.* 402, *Comp.* 210: Luke ix, 62; *Dd.* 407, *Comp.* 213: 1 Sam. xxvii, 1; *Dd.* 409, *Comp.* 214: Matt. x, 28.

<sup>57</sup> *Dd.* p. 2.

*doctrina* may be said to have been compiled from, and to depend, if not always immediately, at least ultimately, on Holy Scripture alone.

If the present study reveals that Milton's theology is less original than many have previously thought, this disappointment would seem in a degree compensated for by the fact that a comparison of the works appears to contribute something to a fuller understanding of the *De doctrina* and its author. The comparison, in the first place, enables us to assign a *terminus a quo* for Book II of the *De doctrina*. In the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*,<sup>58</sup> Milton seems to agree with Wolleb in holding that the Mosaic Law is still binding on Christians. In Book II of the *De doctrina*, however, Milton denies the bearing of the Decalogue on Christian ethics and rejects Wolleb's classification of the virtues according to their relationship to the individual commandments. Between the composition of these two works, therefore, Milton appears to have experienced a change in belief; and Book II of the *De doctrina* must consequently be dated after 1644. Through this comparison, moreover, the connection of Milton's theology with the thought of the Protestant reformation becomes even more pronounced. Milton's inclusion of the virtue *urbanitas*, for example, which Tillyard<sup>59</sup> took to be evidence of a debt to the classics, testifies rather to an obligation to the *Compendium*.<sup>60</sup> This treatise, likewise, appears to have contributed those views on the Scripture which Fletcher<sup>61</sup> pronounced echoes of Ibn Ezra. The analysis of the fall, if not dependent on Wolleb, at least belongs to an established tradition. The comparison moreover, would seem to throw some light on the manner in which Milton wrote his treatise. The appearance of two close parallels in widely separated portions of Book I of the *De doctrina* from two equally separated places in the *Compendium* suggests notes in a commonplace book. The continued similarity of Book II seems to indicate elaborate notes or constant consultation of the *Compendium* while this portion of the *De doctrina* was being written. Milton's habits of borrowing revealed by this study, finally, make it probable that we shall find the true sources of much of the *De doctrina* not in passages embodying general conceptual similarity but rather in those presenting close verbal parallelism.

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<sup>58</sup> Compare *Prose Works* (Bohn Edition), III, 253-254 and *Dd.* p. 303.

<sup>59</sup> E. M. L. Tillyard, *Milton* (London, 1930), p. 280.—The fact that Ursinus (*op. cit.*, p. 761) included *urbanitas* in his discussion of Christian ethics, indicates that at least one other theologian considered it a Protestant virtue.

<sup>60</sup> *Dd.* 501; *Comp.* 280-281.

<sup>61</sup> H. F. Fletcher, *Milton's Rabbinical Readings* (Urbana, Ill., 1930), pp. 61-62, and the parallels printed above, p. 158.

## XII

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RHETORIC AND METRE OF THE HEROIC COUPLET, ESPECIALLY IN 1625-1645

THE purpose of this paper is to point out certain elements in the development of the rhetoric of the "classical" pentameter couplet in the middle seventeenth century and to show how the development of this rhetoric is bound up with the establishment of its formal metrical pattern. The rhetoric and metre interacted and helped to shape each other into the integral form which we know in Dryden and Pope. The paper proceeds as follows:

After defining the tendencies of metrical and rhetorical form in the early closed couplet, which derives from the elegiac distich, I shall trace the marked development of this form during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when the pentameter couplet of some sort won great popularity and became the recognized form for familiar verse such as Donne's letters, and for the steadily increasing output of reflective and occasional verse, critical, complimentary, or topical. Then I shall show in detail how the couplet became almost prescriptively associated with the verse of definition and with occasional verse, and as it became thus established, it gained strength in its distinctive form in the twenty years from 1625 on. In order to show how this final form took shape, I shall analyse the couplet in detail in two separate groups of minor occasional verse; namely, the laudatory poems which accompanied the volumes of George Sandys, 1636-40, and the occasional verse in a minor volume of 1646, the *Men-Miracles* of Martin Lluelyn, both that written by Lluelyn himself and that written for his volume. The first of these I choose because the work of Sandys himself is important in the history of the couplet, and chiefly because the laudatory verse includes that of Falkland, of whose literary circle at Great Tew Waller was a member; the second, because it is significant to see to what point the couplet had developed in some very minor writers by the time Waller and Denham were reaching maturity. And finally, I shall compare the occasional poems with the verse of Waller and Denham. Thus we can form an idea how far the couplet had taken shape in minor poets, as well as in Waller and Denham, and how far the general effort and the general literary taste helped in the shaping of it.

The closed couplet originated as a naturalization of the Latin elegiac distich, the single largest influence being that of Ovid. Beginning with Nicholas Grimald's contribution to *Tottel's Miscellany* in 1557,<sup>1</sup> we can trace a continuous direct influence of the distich on the English form; in Grimald in 1557, with translations from Ovid, Martial, and the neo-Latin epigrammatists; in Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores*,

<sup>1</sup> See G.P. Shannon, "Nicholas Grimald's Heroic Couplet and the Latin Elegiac distich," *PMLA*, xlv (1930). 532-542. My quotations follow the text of Hyder Rollins.

1587-88 (?);<sup>2</sup> in Thomas Heywood's translations of Ovid's *Heroides*, xvi and xvii, and of *The Art of Love*, 1596<sup>3</sup>—these all direct translations; and in 1597 in Hall's *Virgidemiarium*, which owes much to the distich in the Latin satiric epigram,<sup>4</sup> and again in Drayton's *Heroicall Epistles*, which is modelled on the *Heroides* of Ovid.<sup>5</sup>

Drayton's work demands special treatment with the coming of the couplet into dominance at the turn of the century. Here we must define what the couplet achieved at its inception among the other men we have listed. They show no coherent advance, but were all aiming at the same effect under the same influence. Perhaps Grimald is the most purposive of them. In sixteen sets of his occasional verse and epigrams, giving a fair body of continuous couplets, 97 per cent of the couplets are end-stopped; the lines have masculine rhymes on strongly accented syllables; and balance and antithesis are frequent.<sup>6</sup> All these qualities are suggested by the originals, but balance and antithesis, both in Grimald and in others, exceed that in their originals.<sup>7</sup> But the balance and contrast are present in Grimald more often in possible idea than in explicit form; and where present in actual syntax, they are primarily the decorative balance and antithesis so almost universally pervasive in Renaissance literature, neo-Latin and vernacular, verse and prose. One or two examples are:

But of the deed, throughout the life, the shame  
Endures, defacing you with fowl defame.

Hereto heap vp vndaunted heed, stiff hart,  
And all the rest; eche spouse can tell a part.

To rid my wo, and pull these pangs away.

Measure forbids vnmeasurable prayse.

<sup>2</sup> See C. E. Knowlton, "The origin of the Closed Couplet in English," *The Nation*, xcix (July 30, 1914), 134. Professor H. B. Lathrop, of the University of Wisconsin, has pointed out to me also how closely Marlowe's couplets preserve the couplet units of his original.

<sup>3</sup> See J. S. P. Tatlock, "The Origin of the Closed Couplet in England," *The Nation*, xcvm (April 9, 1914) 390 and A. M. Clark, "Thomas Heywood's *Art of Love* Lost and Found," *The Library*, Fourth Series, III, 210-222 (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Second Series, III (1923).

<sup>4</sup> See Knowlton, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See Tatlock, *op. cit.*,—I do not know of any discussion of the elegiac distich as found in the Greek and Latin and neo-Latin epigrams upon the form of the English epigram in pentameter as a whole, and then more particularly in the work of Ben Jonson, and from his time on through the first half of the seventeenth century. But that influence is obviously very great.

<sup>6</sup> For valuable tables and comparisons with other poets, see Shannon's article.

<sup>7</sup> See the articles already cited, especially Shannon's and Tatlock's. Shannon points out, on the distich as a model for the couplet, that half of the hexameters and all the pentameters in the lines from which Grimald translates end in monosyllables or dissyllables, and the pentameter, moreover, gives a strong analogy for the masculine ending.

Yet this balance had certain design to suggest for the future development of the couplet; and we may note several cases where the balance, such as it is, depends on the double adjective:

But *pleasant* ayr in *quiet* countrie sought.

. . . . .  
Thee, Nero *stern*, rigor *extreem* did kill.<sup>8</sup>

The presence of balance and antithesis thus ties up with the significance of the end-stopping and the formation of pattern in the couplet; for in defining the classical couplet we imply by the term not merely that there shall be a distinct pause, but that the two lines shall form an organic and distinct unit of thought. In these early couplets, the sentences are so unfolded as to give a rhetorical separateness to each two-line unit. But as yet these couplets have not consistently anything like the syntactical distinctness, or anything like the terse completed thought that marks the fully developed couplet.

The same thing is true of the metrical form. The basic element of the two-line pattern is made neat by firm rhymes, and there is a tendency to divide the line by medial pause, but no distinctive rhythms or patterns. The structure of the balance is not specifically related to anything in the structure of the line. But the presence of the pause is structurally important for both metre and rhetoric. For the tendency toward such a pause sometimes helps to give form to both elements by relating the rhetoric to an elaboration of the two-line metrical pattern into lines or half-lines. And thus, though there is no principle of pause either rhetorical or metrical, Grimald, for instance, sometimes strikes into so definite a form and rhythm as,

But my good syre gaue, with soft woords, releef:  
And clokes, with outward chere, his inward grief:

In the realization of this tendency, the development of the rhetoric and of the metrical form help to further each other; but there is as yet nothing like the completeness of mutual pattern which they finally attained. And the couplet still lacks, except by occasional accident, any distinct organic musical form.

#### 1. THE TURN OF THE CENTURY: THE DEFINITE FORM ESTABLISHED

In the first quarter of the new century the closed couplet in its distinctive rhetoric developed rapidly as a mode of continuous verse and at the same time took on a new type of line movement.<sup>9</sup> This growth is

<sup>8</sup> In both instances the italicized adjectives are in Grimald's originals, as Shannon notes.

<sup>9</sup> The importance of certain men and works has been so widely noted, in general terms,

marked by the rise and increase of the explicitly sententious and didactic element in poetry, an increase abundantly shown not only by tables of contents of the old collections of the poets of the period, but by study of the contemporary manuscript collections and commonplace books. In the development of couplet music and elaboration of the rhetoric three men call for consideration—Drayton, Fairfax, and Ben Jonson. Drayton in his *England's Heroicall Epistles*, 1597, wrote narrative couplets. Fairfax, in his translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme*, 1600, wrote narrative in *ottava rima*; yet through Waller, the movement of his stanzas, in both rhetoric and musical pattern, contributed significantly to the development of the couplet. In both, this development owes much to the prevalence in their narrative of reflective, moralizing, and sententious elements. In Drayton we find, especially in passages where rhetoric and sentiment prevail, an analytical balance and antithesis marked by alliteration, related to the movement of line and half-line, emphasized by balanced musical patterns. In him these developments are sporadic. Fairfax is more sententious than Drayton; and in him such elements are more frequent and hit upon with more steady success. They still do not form, however, the warp and woof of his verse. In the occasional work and epigrams of Ben Jonson, from about 1600 to 1630, with his style definitely formed by 1603, we have a large body of couplets specifically devoted to the purpose of reflective and satiric verse and shaped up by a conscious master. He is by far the most important of the three. In defining his work we shall rely heavily on Professor Felix E. Schelling's article on *Ben Jonson and the Classical School*.<sup>10</sup>

We take up Drayton first. Professor Schelling in his article on Jonson shows that in many respects, if studied by an analysis according to the standard tests of the proportions of run-on couplets, run-on lines, overflowing lines, and medial cæsura, Drayton in his use of the couplet looks back to the school of Spenser rather than forward to the classical school. This is true particularly in the respect that he does not use the medial cæsura, "although a certain rigidity of manner . . . caused him almost to give up the run-on couplets and lines."<sup>11</sup> But, as we have already seen, a strong conscious impetus to the couplet would be given to Drayton by Ovid, whom he was imitating. We find in him, where sentiment and reflection prevail, a very marked elaboration of rhetoric and metrical pattern as compared with the simple forms of Grimald.

It may be noted as a principle of method in making this examination

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in the commentaries, that I cite no individual comments unless they have suggested particular points.

<sup>10</sup> *PMLA*, xiii (1898), 221-249.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.—The article is full of valuable tables and of essential definitions.



that the study of the proportion of lines with medial cæsura to those without, or the proportion of lines and couplets with parallelism and antithesis to those without, does not tell the whole story. Even though couplets with a striking and characteristic new couplet movement and rhythm do not form the prevailing pattern of Drayton's *Heroicall Epistles*, the presence in the poem of a good number of such couplets, emerging with a clear emphasis in a general pattern of end-stopped couplets, might serve as a very influential model to later writers. It will be remembered how large a part of the seventeenth and eighteenth century discussion and imitation of Denham's much admired "strong" couplets centres around two couplets. As Professor Schelling's statistics are readily available, I do not here give any proportional figures, but turn to a detailed consideration of some striking lines, using for study "Rosamond to Henry" and "Queen Isabel to Mortimer."

The most important trait of their form is, of course, the development of the thought in couplet sentiments. In this Drayton but takes the basic element of the form already developed. In comparison with Grimald, however, not only does he use a sharp rhetorical pause, but his two-line units coincide with more complete sentiments. In addition to this more incisive syntax, balanced pairs of lines and balanced half-lines are common enough to give color to the whole. The origin of this balance is various. Word-play and conceit upon the pros and cons of an idea or feeling are common devices of Renaissance literature, particularly of the literature that expresses the set and self-conscious analysis of a sentimental situation. They are frequent, to name only one example, in the *Rime* of Petrarch. And where, as here in Drayton's poem, this word-play and conceit are cast into the couplet mould, it is natural that they should incline to a sharp rhetorical balance expressed in a pattern of line set against line, of half-line set against half-line. Such lines as the following at once strike the eye and mind:

Punish my fault, or pitie mine estate;  
Reade it for loue, if not for loue, for hate.<sup>12</sup>

As this pure ground whereon these letters stand  
So pure was I ere stained by thy hand.<sup>13</sup>

Lights on the ground, themselues doe lessen farre  
But in the ayre, each small sparke seemes a starre<sup>14</sup>

Fatall my birth, vnfortunate my life,  
Vnkinde my children, most vnkind my wife.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Michaell Drayton, Esquire, *Poems, Printed for the Spenser Society* (Manchester, 1888), Part I, p. 170.

<sup>13</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>14</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

What doth auaile vs to be Princes heires,  
When we can boast, our birth is only theirs?<sup>16</sup>

The letters italicized in these examples show alliteration definitely parallel to the balance and emphasizing it.

Then there is the matter of metrical pattern, perhaps even more important. Strong and great verse, it is recognized, must have not only firm and unmistakable pattern, but rich variation from that pattern, harmoniously subdued, but still so insistent and so organically melodious as to suggest counter-pattern. Professor P. F. Baum states with great clarity this principle.<sup>17</sup> Now if we examine further into the æsthetics of established pattern and variation in verse, we find in large stanzas, in blank verse, or in run-on couplets that, where a number of lines form the unit of perception and give the design, there is room for ample and subtle variation from pattern in the individual line; whereas if the unit of perception be limited to two lines, the pattern, to be firmly kept, must be more sharply and formally perceptible in the two individual lines on which the sense of design depends. This law of the relation of secondary-pattern to basic design is illustrated in the seventeenth-century emphasis on the need for smoothness in the couplet, and in the consequent evening out of the beat of its pentameters. In the second place, the counter-patterns may, in verse of large units such as the long stanza, blank verse, and the run-on couplet, move with a good bit of sweep and may themselves employ large melodic units in their phrasing. Mr. Baum points out the successively varied secondary-patterns of four-beat or other patterns against the five-beat patterns in the lines of *Paradise Lost*; Mr. Johannes Andersen points out very interestingly that in *Paradise Lost*, by his use of the cæsure combining with the run-on line, Milton frequently puts a *second* iambic pentameter pattern across the span of the first.<sup>18</sup> And we may note Chaucer's use of the same device; out of the four run-on lines in the first paragraph of the *Prologue*, three yield, with the pauses, beautiful pentameter lines.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>17</sup> Paull Franklin Baum, *The Principles of English Versification*. (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 18-19.—As Professor Scheilling reminds me, syncopation as used by Mr. Baum is not syncopation in the strict musical sense; and I shall, accordingly, in referring to this aspect of verse use the term *counter-pattern* or *secondary-pattern*.

<sup>18</sup> For example:

Wherefore do I assume  
These royalties, || and not refuse to reign,  
Refusing to accept as great a share  
Of hazard as of honour, due alike  
To him who reigns, || and so much to him due  
Of hazard more, || as he above the rest  
High honour'd sits? || Go therefor mighty Powers,

But with the closed couplet, if we are to have vigorous music, these counter-patterns must find new patterns designed within the confines of the couplet pattern itself. Looking in detail at Drayton's verses in the light of this æsthetic principle, we find in many lines and couplets just such metrical patterns emerging. The colorlessness of other couplets reaffirms the need of this secondary design. We shall consider first the general effect of the first two paragraphs (eighteen lines) of "Rosamond to Henry" and the first paragraph (sixteen lines) of "Queen Isabel to Mortimer," and than we shall examine certain outstanding lines and effects throughout these epistles.

- 1 If yet thine eies (great *Henry*) may endure
- 2 These tainted lines, drawn with a hand impure,
- 3 (Which fain would blush, but feare keeps blushes back,
- 4 And therefore suited in despairing black,
- 5 This in loues name, O that these lips might crave.
- 6 But that Sweete name (vile I) prophaned haue;
- 7 Punish my fault, or pitie mine estate;
- 8 Reade it for loue, if not for loue, for hate.
- 9 If with my shame mine eies thou fain wouldst feed,
- 10 Heere let them surfeit, of my shame to reede.
- 11 This scribled paper which I send to thee,
- 12 If noted rightly, doth resemble mee;
- 13 As this pure ground, whereon these letters stand,
- 14 So pure was I, ere stained by thy hand;
- 15 Ere I was blotted with this foule offence,
- 16 So cleere and spotlesse was my innocence:
- 17 Now like these marks which taint this hatefull scroule,
- 18 Such the blacke sinnes which spot my leprous soule.

- 1 Though such sweet comfort comes not now from her
- 2 As Englands Queene hath sent to *Mortimer*.
- 3 Yet what that wants, which might my power approue,
- 4 If lines can bring this shall supply with loue.
- 5 Me thinks affliction should not fright me so,
- 6 Nor should resume these sundry shapes of woe;
- 7 But when I faine would finde the cause of this,
- 8 Thy absence shewes me where the error is.
- 9 Oft when I think of thy departing hence,
- 10 Sad sorrow then possesseth eu'ry sence:

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Terror of Heav'n, || though fall'n; || intend at home,  
 While here shall be our home, || what best may ease  
 The present misery, || and render Hell  
 More Tolerable: || (P.L. 2, 450 *et seq.*)

- 11 But finding thy deere blood preseru'd thereby,
- 12 And in thy life, my long-wisht liberty,
- 13 With that sweet thought myself I only please
- 14 Amidst my griefe, which sometimes gives me ease;
- 15 Thus doe extreamest ills a ioy possesse,
- 16 And one woe makes another woe seeme lesse.

The variations from the norm of the verse are few, not sufficient to produce counter-patterns or melodic phrases. Most common are trochaic substitution in the first or third foot (first foot, seven times: *R. to H.*, 7, 8, 10, 17, 18; *I. to M.* 9, 15; third foot three times: *R. to H.*, 2; *I. to M.*, 2, 4.); and the line of four main beats with one light beat on a preposition (which occurs four times in the thirty-four lines: *R. to H.*, 4, 7, 10, 14.). In these cases (all except line 7 in *I. to M.*) the variation gives a weak pattern rather than a contrasting pattern, for it is musically perfectly casual or accidental and, on the other hand, has no relation to the rhetorical rhythm of the line as distinct from the metrical rhythm. It registers, therefore, simply as a failure to complete the full rhythmic motion. Moreover, it is so infrequent that we can have no sense of contrast arising from the shift of this light or suppressed beat from line to line. Only two lines have two variations: *R. to H.*, 7 and 10, which combine a trochaic substitution with a light beat. The lines are, lastly, very largely monosyllabic and dissyllabic, and there is, accordingly, very little variation by secondary stress.

A few lines call, however, for special comment. In line 6, *R. to H.*, which scans perfectly regularly, the metrical pattern and the rhetorical patter of antithesis in *sweet* and *vile* pull so strongly in different ways that they almost cancel each other out.

\*   '   \*   '   \*   '   \*   '   \*   '  
But that sweet name (vile I) prophaned have;

*Name* and *I* lose their antithesis, which tries to assert itself in *sweet* and *vile* by forcing the words into prominence in the metrical pattern and which thus leaves two weak hovers in succession over *sweet name* and *vile I*. Line 7 offers a striking contrast. First, the rhetorical antithesis is strongly stated in verb-object parallels; second, this rhetoric is underscored by a strong caesura and by alliteration; third, the metrical pattern still further marks the rhetoric.

'   \*   \*   '   '   \*   '   \*   \*   \*   '  
Punish my fault, or pitie mine estate;

The trochaic substitution in the first place and the suppressed beat in the fourth, combining with the caesura, give a distinct new pattern offering in itself both repetition (in the design of unstressed syllables included

within the stressed) and variation (in the number of unstressed syllables). Here is a distinct case in which Drayton designs a counter-pattern within the scope of the main pattern. It is the product not of rhetoric, nor of metre, but of the two working upon each other. The secondary-pattern does not weaken but rather gives strength and firmness to Drayton's usually languid pentameter line. It is first vigorous music and then effective rhetoric.—Lines 17 and 18 again offer something of the same strength derived from the same source.

' \* \* ' / \* ' \* ' \* '  
*Now like these marks which taint this hateful scroule,*  
 ' \* \ ' / \* ' \* ' \* '  
*Such the black sinnes which spot my leproous soule.*

In these lines the parallel rhetorical and syntactical elements repeat metrical and rhythmical pattern, and this balance in turn selects certain elements of the metrical pattern for emphasis and thereby gives energy to the music of the line. By contrast lines 15 and 16 in *I. to M.* show blurred rhetoric and casual metre. Other outstanding passages in the poems deserve comment. In *R. to H.* lines 25 and 26, we find again rhetorical parallelism with contrast between the two lines sustained by alliteration and by a distinct metrical emphasis on the outstanding elements of the contrast.

' \* \* ' / \* \ \* ' \* '  
*Lights on the ground themselves do lessen farre,*  
 \ \* \* ' / ' \* ' \ ' \* '  
*But in the ayre, each small sparke seemes a starre.*

Notable are the trochaic substitution in the key word *light* and the strengthening of *lessen* by alliteration in line one; in line two the cluster of beats; and in the two lines together the rhythmic and syntactic parallelism of the second, third, and fourth syllables. A little later in the same poem comes the line:

\* ' \ \ \* ' \* (\*) \* '  
*My lookes should be the index to my fault;*

Here the suppressed beat makes a single strong phrase of *index to my fault*, '\*\*\*\*', and brings out the rhetorical emphasis of the subject and its complement. In such a line as

' \* \* ' \* / ' \* ' \* '  
*Here in the garden wrought by curious hands,*

the trochaic substitution of the first place in the opening phrase is repeated in effect in the second phrase by the feminine cæsure, which causes that phrase likewise to begin with a beat and sets up a secondary pattern; and thus the line is made vigorous by a syncopation that moves with the rhetoric. In the lines from *I. to M.*:

' \* \* ' \* /(\*) \* ' \* '  
 What doth auaile us to be Princes Heires,  
 ' \* \* ' / \* ' \* \* '  
 When we can boast, our birth is only theirs?

the suppressed beat with the cæsura in the first line puts the peak of the metrical variation on the rhetorical key words *avail* and *Princes heires*. In the second line the key words which parallel the first line are marked out by alliteration. Here in the first line we note again that the suppressed beat is not casual but forms an integral element in the patterning of the line, operating with the cæsura to divide it into a two-part counter-pattern to the pentameter design. Here too the suppressed beat is compensated by the cæsural pause or hover, and hence the time movement of the line is maintained. The same element of pattern marks more continuously the fine lines beginning:

\* \ \* ' \* ' \* ' \* '  
 That after all this feareful massacre,  
 \* ' \* ' \* / ' \* / ' \* '  
 The fall of *Beauchamp*, *Lacy*, *Lancaster*,  
 \* ' \* ' \* ' \* (\*) \* '  
 Another faithlesse fauorite should arise,  
 \* ' \* ' \* (\*) \* ' \* '  
 To cloude the sunne of our Nobilities?  
 \* ' \* ' \* ' \* \* ' '  
 And glory'd I in *Gauestons* great fall,  
 \* ' \* ' \* (\*) \* ' \* '  
 That now a *Spenser* should succede in all?

In lines 5 and 6 the peak of metrical emphasis is thrown upon the antithetic element in the two contrasting lines,—first, by the shift of beat at the end; second, once more by the suppressed beat, stressing *Gaueston* and *Spenser*. The lines beginning—"When minions heads must wear our monarchs crowns," very strongly reminiscent in rhetoric of *Henry VI*, have a line movement like that of Shakespeare's early blank verse rather than a couplet movement. And yet the balance of the two half-lines in the adjective- (or possessive-) noun, adjective-noun arrangement anticipates the double adjective half-line movement later so characteristic of the Popean couplet.

One last example I wish to take from the "Epistle of Henry to Rosamond" because it offers so interesting a definition both positive and negative of what Drayton was feeling for. In the couplet:<sup>19</sup>

' \* \* ' / \* ' \* \ \* '  
 Fatall my birth, vnfortunate my life,  
 \* ' \* ' \* / ' \* ' \* '  
 Vnkinde my children, most vnkinde my wife;

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

the first line is strong both metrically and rhetorically, the second insignificant. In the first, the two half-lines have patterns distinct and interplaying. These patterns are created first by the beat shift in *fatal* giving the pattern ' \* \* ' and by the very secondary stress on the fourth syllable of *unfortunate*, which, working with the alliteration, gives the repeated but varying pattern (\*) ' \* ' \* ' ; and secondly by the rhythmic repetition in *my birth* and *my life*. Again the metric and rhythmic forms underscore the rhetorical. In the second line, on the contrary, the half-lines have no sort of distinct metrical or rhythmical pattern to sustain either by parallel or by contrast the rhetorical pattern, and the *most* which gains whatever point of emphasis is gained through rhythmic movement, by beginning the second element of the line after a feminine cæsure, is rhetorically the weak point of the line. Thus rhetorical and metrical design obliterate each other.

Drayton's *Heroicall Epistles*, then, are written at their average pace in a series of end-stopped couplets with masculine endings, which incline to rhetorical statement, and which are marked by new elements of possible design, but which remain defective and colorless in rhetoric and languid in metre. Among these average lines, however, are other lines and passages strikingly vigorous both in music and in expression. These passages, though sporadic, show certain definite principles of technique. The rhetorical structure uses either line or half-line as the *rhetorical* unit element, balancing exactly the syntactic elements, either large or small, so as to give completeness of form to the rhetorical balance and contrast. And this arrangement gives structural form to the music of the couplet by using the same line and line of the end-stopped lines within the couplet, or the same two half-lines given by the medial cæsure, to form within the pentameter line new *metrical* unit-elements. That is, they shift the regular iambic pentameter rhythm in such a way as to gain within the compass of the couplet a fresh distinct musical design or counter-pattern suspended in the main pattern. To secure these new designs they turn such devices as the trochee or the suppressed stress into integral elements of pattern, obviating casual variation. Clearly these designs we thus trace are of the formal order. The rhetorical movement which defines endstopped couplet, line, and cæsure serves as the framework or oak panelling within which the metrical design is worked out and vice-versa.

Within the new structure Drayton suggests roughly a number of possible designs. But in fact, of the 184 lines of "Rosamond" only about 6 per cent have well-formed counter-pattern and of the 164 lines of "Isabel" only 11 per cent. Around these counter-patterns, too, the remainder of the line is often rough. To Fairfax's Tasso (1600), which

Waller named to Dryden as the model for his own style, the new verse-movement owes an important advance in smoothness and fixity of purpose. Fairfax has less energy than the best of Drayton, but he creates a line and two-line movement much more even in its tension and much more obvious. His poem has a more sententious and generalized tone than that of Drayton, and consequently the frequency of lines and pairs of lines built on co-ordinated parallelism and phrases with secondary-pattern is higher. Indeed, it is no longer sporadic but standard for sententious passages. He suggests fewer patterns than Drayton, but he perfects the few he does realize, and he gives to the line rhythm as a whole a smooth, evened, neat flow against which the line and half-line designs stand out clearly.

The Tasso is, like its original, in *ottava rima*, and we look first to the concluding two rhymed lines for a succession of couplets that might give the pattern of the heroic couplet.<sup>20</sup> These lines often summarize a special point reached by a whole stanza, or describe a figure applicable to the whole stanza somewhat as the Alexandrine does in Spenser. Moreover, as to musical quality in relation to the whole stanza, they are remarkable, in sharp contrast to the swelling music of Spenser, for their low-pitched evenness of texture.

So if with drought endangered be their grain,  
Poor plowmen joy when thunders promise rain.<sup>21</sup>

But such summarizing couplets are not predominant or characteristic and are rarely distinct from the movement of the stanza as a whole. Fairfax's contribution is to be found in his poem as a whole. The closed line is the rule with him, not in general a closed line created by strong rhetoric in the line units, but the end-stopped lines of the metrical beginner whose basic need is to secure the primary metrical form. Then considering the thought periods built up on these metrical closed lines we find that a two line units prevails not only in the final couplet, but throughout. If we divide the first fifteen stanzas into their thought-units and represent the number of lines in each unit by a digit, with sub-division where there is a longer unit composed of two distinct lesser ones, they run thus:

I: 4 & 4; II.  $\frac{4}{2 \& 2}$  &  $\frac{4}{2 \& 2}$ ; III.  $\frac{4}{2 \& 2}$   $\frac{4}{3 \& 1}$ ; IV: 4 &  $\frac{4}{2 \& 2}$ ; V:  $\frac{6}{2 \& 2 \& 2}$  & 2; VI: 2 & 2 & 2 & 2; VII. 2 & 6; VIII. 2 & 4 & 2; IX. 2 & 2 & 2 & 2;

<sup>20</sup> Any previous study that I have seen has merely noted the statement of Waller and referred to the epigrammatic nature of some of Fairfax's concluding couplets.

<sup>21</sup> Edward Fairfax, *Jerusalem Delivered*, ed. Henry Morley, Revised edition (London, n.d.) p. 17.



X: 2 & 2 & 2 & 2; XI: 2 & 2 & 2 & 2; XII: 4 & 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  & 2  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; XIII: 2 & 2 & 2 & 2; XIV: 2 & 2 & 2 & 2; XV:  $\frac{4}{2 \& 2}$  & 4. In this movement the rhyme words have no distinct importance, and the final rhymed couplet has generally nothing to define its two-line movement more sharply than that of the *ab*, *ab*, "couplets." Stanza nine is typical.<sup>22</sup>

In Baldwin next he spied another thought,  
Whom spirits proud to vain ambition move:  
Tancred he saw his life's joy set at naught,  
So woe-begone was he with pains of love;  
Boemond the conquered folk of Antioch brought,  
The gentle yoke of Christian rule to prove:  
He taught them laws, statutes, and customs new,  
Arts, crafts, obedience, and religion true.

If we compare Fairfax with his original, we find in this stanza of Tasso a distinct two-line movement in lines 1-2 and 3-4, but not in the second half of the stanza.<sup>23</sup> A second important fact is that, although Fairfax follows Tasso closely in general stanza movement, his lines are end-stopped; whereas in Tasso the run-on line is highly characteristic. In this Spenser's movement is the one that is like Tasso's. Thus in Fairfax the two-line thought-movement is composed again and again of two equal elements or units of pattern, and hence the simple "couplet" effect is by this second fact also made very much sharper in him.

già non lasciammo i dolci pegni, e 'l nido  
nativo noi (se'l credo mio non erra)  
ne la vita esponemmo al mare infido  
ed a i perigli di lontana guerra,  
per acquistar di breve suono un grido  
vulgare, e posseder barbara terra:  
che proposto ci avremmo angusto e scarso  
premio, e in danno de l'alme il sangue sparso.<sup>24</sup>

"But not for this our homes we first forsook,  
And from our native soil have marched so far:  
Nor us to dangerous seas have we betook,  
Exposed to hazard of so far sought war,  
Of glory vain to gain an idle smook,

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> For so general a comparison as this, the question of variations in Tasso's text and of the relation of Fairfax's work to them seems unimportant.

<sup>24</sup> Torquato Tasso *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Opere, v. 2) a cura di Luigi Bontigli (Bari, 1930), Canto I, stz. 22, p. 6.

And lands possess that wild and barbarous are:  
That for our conquest were too mean a prey,  
To shed our bloods, to work our souls' decay.<sup>25</sup>

In rhetoric the style of Tasso is marked by compressed energy and by sharply defined statement which sometimes uses contrast and balance.

opre nostre non già, ma del Ciel dono  
furo,<sup>26</sup>  
a la fatica invitti, al cibo parchi:<sup>27</sup>  
mostra in fresco vigor chiome canute:<sup>28</sup>

Fairfax makes this contrast and balance more explicitly verbal.

By Heaven's mere grace, not by our prowess done:<sup>29</sup>  
On diet spare, untired with labor long:<sup>30</sup>  
His looks were gray, yet was his courage green,<sup>31</sup>

And he underlines this explicitness by the epigrammatic effect of line pattern as is shown in line five of the twenty-second stanza quoted above. He sacrifices the energy and narrative zest of Tasso, but creates on his own score a certain sententious quality that is his distinctive note. Further he often uses balance and contrast where it is not in his original.

Usa a temperar ne' caldi alberghi il verno,  
And pass cold days in baths and houses hot,<sup>32</sup>  
  
O più bel di maniere e di sembianti,  
O più eccelso ed intrepido di core.  
  
With majesty his noble countenance shone,  
High were his thoughts, his heart was bold in fight,<sup>33</sup>  
  
Ove rinovi il prisco onor de gli avi,  
O mostri al men, ch' a la virt latina  
O nulla manca, o sol le disciplina,  
  
So to revive the Romans' old renown,  
Or prove at least to all of wiser thought,  
Their hearts were fertile land although unwrought.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Fairfax, *Jerusalem Delivered*, Canto I, stz. 22, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Tasso, Canto I, stz. 26, l. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Canto I, stz. 53, l. 6.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Canto I, stz., 50, l. 6.

<sup>29</sup> Tasso and Fairfax, Canto I, stz. 42, l. 5.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Canto I, stz. 45, ll. 3-4.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Canto I, stz. 50, l. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Fairfax, Canto I, stz. 26, l. 3.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, Canto I, stz. 53, l. 6.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Canto I, stz. 64, ll. 6-8.

This is often a merely verbal balance, as in line 2 of the ninth stanza already cited, the original of which reads, "ch' a l' umane grandezze intento aspira:" or on stanza 16, line 6:

tu al fin de l'opra i neghittosi affreta,  
Comfort the feeble, and confirm the strong.

Yet it strongly increases the epigrammatic effect of his poem. To this increase in rhetoricalness of expression, Fairfax adds an explicitness of sentiment which must have been particularly interesting to Waller. Thus line 6 of stanza nine contains an explicit sentiment not expressed in the original. The same is true of stanza sixty-four, lines 6-8 just cited, and of stanza twenty-two as a whole. As we have suggested in the example of stanza fifty-three,<sup>35</sup> Fairfax increases the whole sententious tone by moulding all his rhetorical effects to the pattern of the single line. This practice further tends to create the line with a medial cæsura as a common type. With particular frequency, we find the last line of the stanza built on parallelism and divided by the cæsura.

The general movement of Fairfax is a very even one, as a result in a large measure of its monosyllabic and dissyllabic quality. In the sixty-four lines of the first eight stanzas, there are two monosyllabic lines; eighteen lines contain only one word other than a monosyllable; thirty-three lines contain only two words other than a monosyllable, of which twenty-six contain two dissyllables; in all there are eleven trisyllables, mostly verbs in *ed*, and one word of four syllables. So prevailing a use of monosyllables just relieved with dissyllables gives, in the nature of verse music, beats of very equal value and irons out the line. This evening process is strengthened by the rhymes, which are masculine. Moreover, of the one hundred and twenty rhyme words in the first fifteen stanzas, ninety-nine are monosyllables and nineteen dissyllables.

There is distinct patterning between the half-lines of the sort we have seen in Drayton. A frequent type of pattern is the syllabic parallel made identical with the rhetorical parallel, which is sometimes strengthened by alliteration.

His fellows late shall be his subjects now.<sup>36</sup>

Comfort the feeble and confirm the strong<sup>37</sup>

On every footman and on every knight.<sup>38</sup>

Few golden hairs to deck his ivory chin.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> See p. 179.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, stz. 16, l. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Fairfax, Canto I, stz. 12, l. 6.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, stz. 35, l. 8.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, stz. 60, l. 8.

Here more definitely than in Drayton the pattern is often further emphasized by the suppressed medial beat, as in the first example above, and very markedly the third example, where the balance is deliberately made to sustain the whole structure and almost the substance of the line. A common extension is the balanced antithesis with reversed order.

1   2   2   1  
And pass cold days in   baths and houses hot<sup>40</sup>

1   2   2   1  
High were his thoughts, his heart was bold in fight.<sup>41</sup>

1   2   2   1  
In diet spare, untired with labor long.<sup>42</sup>

More subtle variations are less common in Fairfax than in Drayton. But we may note the clustered beats in stanza 26, line 33.

\*   '   ,   '   ,   \*   \*   '   \*   '  
By Heaven's mere grace, not by our prowess done:

and the trochaic substitution with alliteration in the fourth line of stanza forty-five, "High were his thoughts, his heart was bold in fight."

Thus Fairfax's Tasso, though not written in couplets, made a distinct contribution to the development of the heroic couplet. The development of its form seems to result in large measure from interest in the sententious and in generalized reflection, which impels him to seek and find a rhetoric and a music to harmonize with it. Nor was his the only case in which such an interest contributed to the development of the couplet style. This suggests a stream of possible influence, kindred to Fairfax's, which deserves further study. There was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a great deal of translation of poetry, and it is possible that two factors on the very work of translation, operating hand in hand with the general interest in moral sentiment, tended to accelerate this development toward the didactic and the generalized reflection. A translator has before him a concentrated expression which exhibits as a whole an organic reality and scope of meaning larger than the sum of its parts. Thus it is natural that as a translator, in his endeavor to get this whole, he should, in seizing the concept or expression which he is to translate, state it to himself in more explicit and logically complete terms than the original. The original gathers much in one creative flash; any other statement seems tenuous beside that flash and accordingly tends to explain itself in order to gain completeness. This fact produces in translations a tendency to paraphrase and to sententious generalization. Indeed, the theory of paraphrase came to be specifically discussed<sup>43</sup>; but

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, stz. 42, l. 6.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, stz. 45, l. 4.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, stz. 50, l. 6.

the tendency was operative long before the theory. The point is illustrated by the opening lines of the Second Day of the First Week of Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.

Tous ces doctes esprits, dont la voix flateresse  
Change Hecube en Heleine, & Faustine en Lucesse:  
Qui d' vn nain, d' vn bastard, d' vn archerot sans yeux  
Font, non vn dieutelet, ains le maistre des dieux.<sup>44</sup>

Those learned spirits whose wits applyed wrong,  
With wanton Charms of their enchanting song,  
Make of an olde, foul, frantike Hecuba,  
A wondrous, fresh fair witty Helena:  
Of lewd Faustina, (that loose Emperess)  
A chaste Lucretia, loathing wantonness:  
Of a blinde Bowe-Boy, of a Dwarf, a Bastard,  
No petty Godling, but the Gods great Master;<sup>45</sup>

It is also seen in Drummond's translation of Tasso's *O vaga tortorella*.

Misera vedovella,  
Tu sovra il nudo ramo  
A pié del secco tronco io la richiamo.  
Ma l' aura solo e 'l vento  
Risponde mormorando al mio lamento.<sup>46</sup>

Unhappie widow'd Dove,  
While all about do sing,  
I at the Roote, thou on the Branche above,  
Even wearie with our Mones the gaudie Spring.  
Yet these our plaints we do not spend in vaine,  
Sith sighing Zephyres answer vs again.<sup>47</sup>

Innumerable other examples might be given.

In the case of the English translations, in the second place, where the writer keeps to the metrical pattern of his original, but where English words have fewer syllables than Greek or Latin or Italian, the pattern must be filled out, and the explicitness in sentiment or in form of state-

<sup>43</sup> See the whole seventeenth-century discussion of the theory of paraphrase in translation and the many works which are distinctly conceived of and titled paraphrases.

<sup>44</sup> G. de Saluste, Sr. Du Bartas, *Les Œuvres Poétiques et Chrétiennes*, (à Geneve; M. DC. XXXII.), p. 31.

<sup>45</sup> *Du Bartas. His Devine Weekes and Workes Translated: . . .* by Joshua Sylvester. Now thirdly corrected and augm. (London, 1611), p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> Torquato Tasso, *Le Rime, a cura di Angelo Solerti* (Bologna, 1898), II, 439.

<sup>47</sup> William Drummond of Hawthornden, *The Poetical Works, with a Cypress Grove*, ed. L. E. Kastner (Edinburgh and London, 1913), I, 30.

ment we have just spoken of thus becomes the material for the necessary amplification. The passages from Fairfax already considered bear witness to this fact, or, to take only one other example, the first line of Drummond's translation of Marino's sonnet to night.

O del Silenzio figlio, e della Notte,<sup>48</sup>  
*Sleepe, Silence Child, sweet Father of soft Rest.*<sup>49</sup>

It is perhaps a virtue in Fairfax at this stage of the couplet development that he should be so obvious and so simple and thereby so insistent on the new verse and rhetorical structure. But the simplicity and sameness of his line structure hardly allow for energetic forward movement or larger design even had he not been confined to occasional reflective lines and couplets scattered through narrative verse. When we turn to Ben Jonson, we come to a master craftsman deliberately evolving a style for continuous occasional and reflective verse. In him balance and contrast are the instruments of analytical definition with a steady forward drive of thought; and on these forms he builds up, on the simple basic units we have defined, a verse-movement with the subtlety and variety necessary to scope and progression.

Professor Schelling in the article already referred to has so fully defined the position of Ben Jonson as the founder of "classicism" as a whole that I shall for the most part simply summarize his argument and refer the reader to his article for more ample consideration. As to substance, Mr. Schelling points out, Jonson was the first poet to give occasional verse that variety, and that power and finish, which made it for nearly two centuries the most important form of poetical expression. As to style, drawing his conclusions from several tables, Mr. Schelling shows that in the matter of run-on couplets, Jonson falls somewhat nearer than Spenser and Sandys to Dryden and Pope, though not so near as Waller to these masters; and in the matter of medial caesura, Jonson, Waller, Dryden, and Pope fall into one group. In regard to the caesura, Jonson had a distinct theory that "couplets be the bravest sort of verses, especially when they are broken like hexameters";<sup>50</sup> i.e., exhibit a regular caesural pause. Next Mr. Schelling states that although Pope names Sandys's *Paraphrase upon Job* as one of the sources of Waller's versification, more significant in the formation of Waller's style is the classical manner, with the crisp diction, set figures, parallel

<sup>48</sup> Giambattista Marino, *Poesie Varie*, a cura di Benedetto Croce (Bari, 1913), p. 104.

<sup>49</sup> Drummond, *op. cit.*, I, 7.—I have considered the effects of these tendencies in the work of Drummond in an article on Drummond of Hawthornden, *PMLA*, XLVIII, 1090-1107.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted by Professor Schelling from *Discoveries*, ed. Schelling, p. 28.

constructions, contrasted clauses, and inversions, all of which he found in Jonson. Jonson uses the couplet in the epigram tersely, in the epistle more fluently.

We have already seen how bound together are the "classical manner" or rhetoric of the couplet and its characteristic musical form. It is essential to our study to go into Jonson's musical form, which Professor Schelling does not touch upon. The relation between the rhetoric and the musical pattern we may see by a glance at epigram xxv, To King James<sup>51</sup> which Professor Schelling especially notes as characteristic of Jonson's rhetoric and at the lines on Shakespeare.<sup>52</sup> In the epigram the first two lines contain double parallelism; first between the two lines; then between the two halves of the second line.

Who would not be thy *subject*, || James t' *obey*  
A *Prince* that rules by *example*, || more than *sway*?

In the first line, the key words of the parallel receive emphasis by position just before the cæsure and at the close in the rhyme word. In the second line the antithetic words receive the same emphasis. The third catches up and states more explicitly the idea of the preceding line.

Whose *manners draw*, || more than thy *powers constrain*,

This development is focused by being carried on a sharper musical pattern; not only do the key words of the antithesis come on cæsure and rhyme, but they repeat musical pattern, *manners* <sup>2</sup> *draw*, <sup>1</sup> *powers* <sup>1</sup> *constrain* <sup>2</sup> with reversal of verbal rhythm in the repetition to give variety. The effect of the three lines taken together is akin to that achieved in musical composition when a composer tries out and suggests the melodic phrase with variations before he states it fully. The result is important. For in it Jonson not only uses the terse and epigrammatic power of the couplet, but also supplies forward movement beyond the couplet. Within the closed couplet, the half-line becomes the basic unit of design, and patterns built up on these half-lines preserve and give definition to the couplet form even when the actual stop at line-end and couplet-end is for the moment slight. This form is highly characteristic of Jonson's music and seems to have exerted a strong influence on Falkland and Denham. In the next line the balance of the adjective-noun rhetoric is given musical emphasis again by cæsure and end position and then by clustered beats and clustered unstressed syllables, secured through the trochaic foot in the third place.

<sup>51</sup> Ben Jonson, *Poems* (London, 1910), p. 294.—Italics in quotation are mine.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398.

\*   \*   '   '   || \*   \*   '   \*   '  
And in this short time of thy happiest reign,

The whole of the lines on Shakespeare offers interesting patterns, both musical and rhetorical. Lines 7-12 are typical and will serve our study.

For silliest ignorance on these may light,  
Which, when it sounds at best, but echoes right;  
Or blind affection, which doth ne'er advance  
The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by chance;  
Or crafty malice might pretend this praise,  
And think to ruin, where it seemed to raise.

These three couplets contain three parallel clauses beautifully varied. Each of the three begins with the subject: "silliest ignorance," "blind affection," "crafty malice"; and in each the adjective contains the germ of the idea of the whole. In each this idea is developed by antithesis. But among the three the detail of the rhetoric and the music varies. The first couplet states the antithesis in the second line, not sharply, but still using the two half-lines to make the contrast. The second couplet sharpens the rhetoric: *gropes* reiterates *blind* more distinctly than the idea is formally pursued in the preceding couplet, and the antithesis is more explicit. In this couplet the first line is run-on. The consequent loss of sharpness in line-pattern, however, is more than compensated by the effect of the antithetic *truth* and *chance* at the beginning and end of their line. More, the run-on line in the middle of the three couplets saves the balanced movement of the whole from monotony. The third couplet is completely definite in both rhetoric and musical pattern. The whole idea is stated in the first line, and with rhetorical sharpness underscored by musical secondary-pattern, \* ' ' ' (\*) ' ' '. Finally, the antithesis already defined in "pretend this praise," and underscored by the secondary-pattern and by alliteration, is completed by the perfectly balanced syntax and musical phrase of the second line:

\*   '   \*   '   \*   || (\*)   \*   '   \*   '  
And think to ruin, where it seems to raise.

Thus again Jonson builds up to a musical and a rhetorical climax that are mutual. His strength lies in the fact that the perfected pattern of half-line, line, couplet, balance, antithesis, repeated musical phrase, is always suggested, but actually realized only often enough to create form without imposing rigidity. Although such effects are not as continuous in him as they are in later men, they are what give character to his couplets.



## 2. THE RELATION OF WALLER AND THE SANDYS GROUP. THE COUPLET OF SANDYS AND THE SANDYS COMPLIMENTARY VERSE

The dates of Waller's work and of that of Sandys and of the Sandys complimentary verse overlap. And doubtless these poets influenced each other, as the following analysis of dates will show. Waller was an intimate of the Falkland circle at Great Tew, where he presumably showed his verse and would be likely to have read that of Sandys and Falkland even before publication. Sandys's *Ovid* was probably first published in 1626, though written in part by 1623;<sup>53</sup> the second edition revised came out in 1632. I have not seen the first edition, and my comment will therefore be based on the second edition. As to the relation of the two editions, Hooper in his edition of Sandys says that the alteration is not great; the first lines which he quotes from the original edition suggest that the changes were in the direction of smoothness. Thus "Of formes, to other bodies changed, I sing," becomes "Of bodies changed to other shapes I sing."<sup>54</sup> The *Paraphrase upon the Psalms* was published in 1636, the *Paraphrase upon Job* in 1638, and *Christ's Passion* in 1640. These give the dates of both Sandys and Falkland, for the last three volumes all contain complimentary poems by Falkland.

Waller's first collected publication, including most of the occasional verse we are to consider, came in 1645. But much of the verse was written and read many years before. The poems of Waller that we shall consider are: *Of the danger His Majesty (being Prince) escaped in the road at St. Andrews*, *Of His Majesty's receiving the news of the Duke of Buckingham's death*, *Upon His Majesty's repairing of St. Paul's*, *At Penshurst* (While in the park I sing), *The battle of the Summer Islands*, *A Panegyric to my Lord Protector*. The first occasion of the St. Andrews poem was 1623, and Mr. Thorn Drury inclined to place it at that date.<sup>55</sup> Mr. Henry Wood has shown, however, that the lines containing the reference to Henrietta Maria at least cannot have been written before early in 1625.<sup>56</sup> The occasion of the Buckingham poem was 1628, of the St. Paul's poem 1633. The lines on Penshurst were written during the Sacharissa episode, 1635-39; *The battle of the Summer Islands* is placed by tradition at the close of that episode, that is, late 1639 or after, although the late Professor Alden 1638.<sup>57</sup> The Cromwell lines were written in 1652 or 1654.

The style of the poems offers some further evidence as to dates.

<sup>53</sup> On the dates of Sandys's *Ovid*, see George Sandys, *The Poetical Works, with an Introduction and Notes by the Rev. Richard Hooper* (London, 1872) I, xxvii.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxiv.

<sup>55</sup> Edmund Waller, *The Poems*, ed. G. Thorn Drury (London, n.d.), Intro. p. lxxiv.

<sup>56</sup> Henry Wood, "The Beginning of the Classical Heroic Couplet," *AJP*, XI (1890), 554-579.

<sup>57</sup> Raymond M. Alden, *English Verse* (New York) 1903, p. 187.

Although these poems are written in the closed couplet, only the St. Andrews poem in some lines, *To Penshurst* in some lines, *The Summer Islands* and the Cromwell poem are distinguished by strongly developed contrast and balance and by such distinctive music as we have previously defined. The following table is interesting to study.

	% closed couplets	% closed first line	% cæsure	% medial cæsure
St. Andrews (1623?)	84 75	61 2	61 2	53.53
Buckingham (1628)	89 47	58.	52.6	42 1
St. Paul's ll. 1-26 (1633)	77.	46 15	42 3	42.3
Penshurst (1635-39)	66 67	25.	66 67	54.16
Summer Is (ca. 1639)	89.18	73.	74 32	64.86
Cromwell (1652-54)	95 75	70.21	66.	52.66

Although due allowance must be made for different effects aimed at in different poems, the figures in columns 2, 3, and 4, especially the last two, taken in conjunction with the general rhetorical qualities of the poems, suggest that the St. Andrews poem may have been revised when Waller's style was maturing, some years after it was first written, and while Waller was part of the circle at Great Tew. Thus no priority can be assigned, and we must, as we have already said, think of the work of Sandys, Waller, and Falkland as interactive.

We shall take up first Sandys and the Sandys volumes. In the work of Sandys himself we return to narrative verse and directly to the roots of the closed couplet in the Latin elegiac distich. In the complimentary verse of his volumes we see, in the verse of one distinguished writer and a number of minor versifiers, the first standardization of the couplet in occasional verse. In the detailed study of the relation of Sandys's *Metamorphosis* to Ovid we shall see that Sandys in his whole verse and not merely in sententious passages, with a deliberate technique translated the rhetoric of Ovid into forms suited to the idiom of English speech and built upon the structure of the closed and epigrammatic couplet. He shows an advance over Drayton then in a system of closed couplets with prevaillingly closed lines and medial cæsure. And much more completely than Drayton, and more simply, obviously, and constantly than Jonson, he moves his rhetorical expression in close lock-step with the metrical units. In the development of this style he is highly original, for although he found in Ovid many suggestions for this rhetoric and design, what is in Ovid a general method of thought, Sandys has

stylized into a pattern of rhetorical and musical expression. In music, he is less fertile in patterns than Ben Jonson, but makes these patterns the basic pattern of his verse; and as compared to Drayton's narrative, he shows a gain in evenness.

The *Paraphrase upon Job* has fewer closed couplets and fewer rhetorical lines than the Ovid. Its style varies widely with the substance of particular passages, the passages of general reflection such as the wail of Job's wife in Chapter II, or Job's own lament in Chapter III containing a large number of terse epigrammatic lines and more balance and contrast, together with more medial cæsura and more metrical design within the line and couplet, than do narrative passages. Professor Schelling suggests in his article on Jonson that there is no more antithesis than would naturally arise from the metrical parallelism of the Hebrew; but so far as one can gauge by the Authorized Version or the Vulgate—the Latin from which Sandys appears to have translated I have not seen—Sandys has increased the antithesis and made it more external and explicit, just as he did with his Ovid. And for us the important fact is that the antithesis *is* there, with all that it implies of both rhetorical and metrical structure. In a somewhat low-pitched style, it is the outstanding characteristic, and is more emphatic than would appear in any table of the proportion of lines with parallelism or antithesis. The types of pattern are less varied than in the Ovid, and in their often purely formal development they carry on and enlarge the technique of Fairfax.

In the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, we shall consider as typical passages the introduction and the incident of Apollo and Daphne. Here we must deal, we have already said, not merely with the character of Sandys's style, but with his relation to his source. His translation keeps close to its text; thus the first twenty lines of Ovid are rendered in the first eighteen of Sandys, and in general each of Sandys's couplets renders approximately the two corresponding lines in Ovid. Occasionally but not commonly, Sandys expands by floriate decoration, as in the account of the winds:

His quoque non passim mundi fabricator habendum  
aera permissit; vix nunc obsistitur illis,  
cum sua quisque regat diverso flumina tractu,  
quin lanient mundum; tanta est discordia fratrum.  
Eurus ad Auroram Nabataeaeque regna recessit  
Persidaeque et radiis iuga subdita matutini

Yet not permitted every way to blow;  
Who hardly now to teare the World refrain

<sup>58</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, with an English Translation by Frank Justus Miller (London and New York, 1916), Book I, ll. 57-62, 6.

(So Brothers jarrel) though they divided raigne,  
To Persis and Sabbaea, Eurus flies;  
*Whose gums perfume the blushing Mornes up-rise.*<sup>59</sup>

Occasionally he fills out with a general, intellectualized, abstract, expression inclined toward periphrasis.

Quae, diversa locis, partim sorbentur ab ipsa,  
in mare perveniunt partim campoque recepta  
liberioris aquae pro ripis litora pulsant.<sup>60</sup>

Of these not few *Earth's thirsty jawes devoure:*  
The rest, their streams into the Ocean poure;  
When, in that *liquid plaine* with *freer wawe*,  
The *foamie* cliffes, instead of Banks, they lave.<sup>61</sup>

This expansion is also not common. He is in general more literal.

Sandys's couplets are closed and rhetorical in structure. Of forty-one couplets in a characteristic passage of the Daphne episode, thirty-seven are strongly end-stopped; moreover twenty-six first lines are stopped, or sixty-three lines in all out of eighty-two. Of balance and antithesis there are seven instances where line balances line; five more where there is balance within a couplet although not in line parallels; nine very sharply defined instances of balance and contrast within a line, and a number of further instances of implicit antithesis.

How is this style related to the original? The style of Ovid is rhetorical and balanced and in that characteristic had much to suggest to Sandys, but the character of its rhetoric in relation to the form of its line is somewhat different from that of Sandys. In the description of the origin of the world, where Ovid describes how the distinct elements take their places, he inclines to closed lines, and in naming the antithetic pairs of elements he balances the elements in antithetic half-lines. Here Sandys follows him closely.

Nulli sua forma manebat,  
obstatque aliis aliud, quia corpore in uno  
frigida pugnabant calidis, umentia siccis,  
mollia cum duris, sine pondere, habentia pondus.<sup>62</sup>

No certaine forme to any one assign'd:  
This, that resists. For, in one body joyn'd,  
The Cold and Hot, The Drie and Humid fight;  
The Soft and Hard, the Heavie with the Light.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Ovid's *Metamorphosis. Englished Mythologiz'd and Represented in figures* by G. S. (Oxford, 1632), p. 3.—The italics are mine.

<sup>60</sup> Ovid, *op. cit.*, ll. 40–43, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>62</sup> Ovid, *op. cit.*, ll. 17–20, p. 2.

<sup>63</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

Often, however, the Latin style characteristically halves the line musically by *cæsura* and then binds the two halves together by noun-adjective or noun-verb phrase or phrases suspended between the halves (often, because of inflectional endings, with rhyme effect).

*Nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe,  
nec circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus.*<sup>64</sup>

This type of balance is unsuited to the idiom of English, since English is an analytical and not an inflectional language, and in its place Sandys substitutes the balance of separated half-line units with antithesis.

Nor waxing *Phoebe* fill'd her wained *hornes*:  
Nor hung the *self-poiz'd Earth* in *thin Ayre* plac'd;<sup>65</sup>

In lines 44 and 45 of the description of the shaping of the earth, Ovid gives rapidity to his narrative by the four stoccatto phrases of the four parallel half-lines.

Iussit et (1) *extendi* campos, (2) *subsidere* valles,  
(3) *fronde tegi* silvas, (4) *lpidosos surgere* montes,<sup>66</sup>

The rhetoric is further enhanced by a suggestion of cross-line parallel in verbal rhythm between the active and passive verbs, an arrangement which makes the two lines parallel each other, and this effect is again increased by the antithesis of units two and four. Sandys cannot, because of the English verb-forms, use the actives and passives for balance; instead, he shifts the phrases in these two lines, with the result that he makes the antithesis more obvious.

Bid's Trees increase to Woods, the Plaines extend,  
The rocky *Mountaines* rise, the *Vales* descend.<sup>67</sup>

Through these passages, explicit contrast is characteristic of Sandys's translation. For this contrast certain suggestions lie in the original, but not nearly so many nor such obvious instances. Finally whereas Ovid, though he tends to the line unit, uses the run-on line frequently, Sandys very definitely uses the stopped line. In general where Ovid uses two, three, or four line periods, Sandys levels these first to line units and then to couplet units. One further example, with the passages already cited, will make this very clear.

Principio terram, ne non aequalis ab omni  
parte foret, magni speciem glomeravit in orbis.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Ovid, *op. cit.*, ll. 11-12, p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 3.—Italics mine.

<sup>66</sup> Ovid, *op. cit.*, p. 4.—Italics and figures mine.

<sup>67</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 3.—Italics mine.

<sup>68</sup> Ovid, *op. cit.*, ll. 34-35, p. 4.

First, least the Earth vnequall should appeare,  
He turn'd it round, in figure of a Spheare,<sup>69</sup>

A few further examples from the Daphne episode will show, in a different type of material, the same insistence upon antithesis, the same line-movement.

Primus amor Phoebi Daphne Peneia, quem non  
fors ignara dedit, sed saeva Cupidinis ira.

“quid” que “tibi, lascivi puer, cum fortibus armis?”  
dixerat: “ista decent umeros gestamina nostros,

“quantoque animalia cedunt  
cuncta deo, tanto minor est tua gloria nostra.”

ille quidem obsequitur, sed te decor iste quod optas  
esse vetat, votoque tuo tua forma repugnat:<sup>70</sup>

*Peneian* Daphne was his first belou'd,  
Not Chance, but *Cupid's* wrath that fury mou'd.

And said: Lasciuious Boy, how ill agree  
Thou and these Armes! too Manly far for thee.

So farre as Gods exceed all earthlie powr's:  
So much thy glorie is exceld by ours.

But thee, thy excellencie countermands:  
And thy owne beautie thy desire with-stands.<sup>71</sup>

In the development of the couplet melodies, the chief contribution of Sandys's Ovid is his evenness, varied by the shift of *cæsura*. Of other counter-pattern, we find occasionally such emphasis as is given by parallel phrase rhythm:

Nor *waxing Phoebe* fill'd her *wained hornes*:

When in that *liquid Plaine* with *freer wave*,

This emphasis is sometimes strengthened by alliteration; sometimes, but rarely, there is a pattern between line and half-line through varied beat, as in

<sup>69</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>70</sup> Ovid, *op. cit.*, ll. 452-453, 456-457, 464-465, 488-489, pp. 34 and 36.

<sup>71</sup> Sandys, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

'       ' \*   ' \*       \*       '   ' \*   '  
 Bright Constellations, and faire-figured Gods.<sup>72</sup>

a line in which the effect of the polysyllables (uncommon in Sandys) increases that of the varied beat. Of the suppressed beat there is very little effective use.

In the *Paraphrase upon Job*, as we have suggested, the balances and contrasts are worked out in a few very obvious and very definite patterns. Sandys frequently states a thought or action in two parallel elements or defines a thought by contrast, with detailed balance of the contrasting units.

Th' invited sisters with their graces blest  
 Their festivals, and were themselves a feast.<sup>73</sup>

. . . . .

*Shot through the spheres, and stood before His throne.*<sup>74</sup>

. . . . .

   much people won  
 From Thy strict rule to my indulgent reign;<sup>75</sup>

. . . . .

"Is this the purchase of thy innocence?  
 O fool, *thy piety is thy offence.*  
 He whom thou serv'st hath us all bereft,  
 Our children slain, and thee to torments left. . . .<sup>76</sup>

Else had I an eternal requiem kept,  
 And in the arms of peace forever slept:  
 With kings and princes rank'd, who. lofty frames  
 In deserts raised, t' immortalize their names;  
 Who made the *wealth* of provinces their *prey*;  
 In death as *mighty*, and as *rich* as they;<sup>77</sup>

Another type of parallelism is the more purely verbal sort in which the line is built on the double adjective structure.

Three *beauteous* daughters and sev'n *hopeful* boys<sup>78</sup>

With *sober* banquets and *unpurchas'd* food.

. . . . .

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>73</sup> Sandys, ed. Hooper, Vol. I, *A Paraphrase upon Job*, Chap. II, p. 2.

<sup>74</sup> *Idem.* Italics in these quotations mine.

<sup>75</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. II, p. 6.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. III, p. 8.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap I, p. 1.

Like *sweet* perfumes from *golden* censers rise;

From *bleating* flocks *unblemish'd* fatlings chose,<sup>79</sup>

In the development of rhythm, the *Job* stands about with the Ovid, although there is more variation and perhaps somewhat more frequent realization of pattern in the variation. But perhaps it just misses pattern as often as it achieves it. Thus in "Affected virtue more, vice more abhorr'd."<sup>80</sup> *vice*, by force of the antithesis and alliteration, tries to take the stress and make the pattern, but as the second *more* is also part of the contrast, the normal line pattern prevails, and metre blurs rhetoric. In the line

Sev'n thousand broad-tail'd sheep graz'd on his downs;<sup>81</sup>

the clustered beat in *broad-tailed* is lost because casual, and the line really compels a sing-song reading by the violation of normal word-rhythm, as does also the slightly wrenched accent of *un-purchased* in the line.

\* ' \* ' \* (·) \* ' \* '  
With sober banquets and unpurchas'd food.

although in this line the structural parallel gains metrical emphasis from the suppressed beat. Sandys is less casual than Drayton and more vigorously even, but his chief metrical strength here as in the Ovid lies in the emphatic units of verbal parallel repeated in two halves of a divided line.

Sandys's *Paraphrase upon the Psalms* and his Ovid were both dedicated to the King, with dedicatory verse in heroic couplets. The verse in the first volume is end-stopped, but with little rhetoric; that in the second decidedly end-stopped in line and couplet, and with medial cæsura. A few lines will show the rhetorical quality.

Love, whose transcendent Acts the Poets sing  
By men made more then Man, is found a King:  
Whose Thunder and Inevitable Flame,  
His Iustice and maiestick Awe proclaime.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.—The double-adjective-substantive line is in itself no new thing; indeed it is common in Spenser. It is differentiated here, however, both by substance and form. Spenser's adjectives are either directly sensuous adjectives or qualifying adjectives of sentiment, in either case wrought into his picture as a whole. These adjectives, on the other hand, incline to become words of intellectual or sententious definition, or in some cases hardly more than empty adjectives or fillers. And on the formal side, the end-stopped line, and even more when it is joined with the medial cæsura, throws them into a perspective and gives them an insistent balance which they did not have in the run-on line of Spenser.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>82</sup> Sandys, *Ovid*, etc., "A Panegyricke to the King."



We come now to the occasional verse which accompanied the Sandys volumes. The *Paraphrase upon the Psalms* has two sets of commendatory verse, one in closed couplets by Falkland, and one in alternate rhyming tetrameters and dimeters by Dudley Digges. There are nine sets of commendatory verse prefixed to the *Paraphrase upon Job* of which six are in closed couplets, one by Falkland, one by Henry King, one by Dudley Digges, one by Francis Wiatt, one by Henry Rainsford, and one anonymous; one by Carew in run-on couplets; one by Waller in lyric measure; one by Wintour Grant in heroic quatrain; and one in triplets by Sidney Godolphin. And finally, there is another poem by Falkland prefixed to *Christ's Passion*.

Of these thirteen poems, the most important are the three by Falkland, the first of seventy-four couplets written by 1636, the second twenty-two couplets written by 1638, the third of fifty-four written in 1639 or 1640, one hundred and fifty couplets in all. They are bold, vigorous, and artistically mature work. Their balance and contrast are much less simple than the rhetoric in most of the work we have been looking at, with the exception of Jonson; they are the incisive instrument of definition. As compared with the 6-11 per cent in Drayton, about 50 per cent of his lines show counter-pattern; and there is a continuous forward movement of the verses. He is free of his pattern.

First as to the formal outlines of his couplet. In the whole body of verse, 82 per cent of the couplets are end-stopped. In the first 104 lines of the poem on the Psalms,<sup>83</sup> 90.4 per cent of the couplets are closed, 51.9 per cent of the first lines are closed, 62.5 per cent of the lines have cæsuras, and 52.9 per cent medial cæsuras. But the figures, once more, reveal little. We must look at the deeper aspects of form to see the true power of Falkland's verse. Let us note first the terse energy of the expression, the tough, condensed, penetrating wit of the images, to which line and couplet frame add cleanliness of outline.

And need I say more than my thoughts indite,  
Nothing were easier then not to write;

. . . . .

And more a wonder, scorns at large to show  
What were indifferent if true or no:

. . . . .

Doth each land's laws, belief, beginnings show;  
Which of the natives but the curious know:

. . . . .

<sup>83</sup> Falkland, "To my noble Friend, MR. GEORGE SANDYS, upon his Excellent Paraphrase of the Psalms," in Sandys, ed. Hooper, I, 83-87.

What state than theirs can more unhappy be,  
Threaten'd with hell, and sure of poverty?

. . . . .

Business and war, ill midwives to produce  
The happy offspring of so sweet a Muse:

The energetic condensed definition flashes upon us in balance and contrast in line after line. The variety in forms of these balances and contrasts is remarkable, and all are clear-cut and sure. Amid the variety, certain types are repeated, as the line with complete parallel of syntax marked by repetition of words and scored by medial cæsura.

Where Theseus govern'd, and where Plato taught;  
. . . . .  
Owes all her arts and her civility,  
. . . . .  
Whom the west damns, and whom the east devours.  
. . . . .  
. . . . . whatsoever most they raise  
In private, that they most in throngs dispraise.

This complete balance of syntax is varied, as in the last example, by the form in which the contrast is suspended in the whole couplet, instead of being equally poised in two half-lines, a form which is strengthened by focusing the antithesis in the two rhyme words; and again in other cases it is varied by stating the contrast in two brief elements pivoting sharply around a grammatical center.

*Their fortunes* not more slavish than *their souls*  
. . . . .  
Though *scarce a part*; yet *to be all* doth claim  
. . . . .  
Or thinks it fit we should not leave obtain  
*To learn with pleasure* what we *act with pain*.

The modes are so varied that instead of a sense of monotony arising from the oft-repeated balance and contrast, there springs up a sense of design that gives forward movement. Just as great verse must always suggest its pattern, yet avoid rigidity, so it is manifest as we read over these illustrations that a rhetoric of this sort, which is to give intellectual order and not a mere formal verbal pattern, must likewise have constant design moving in constant variety.

Besides this variation of parallelism, another source of continuous movement in Falkland is the way in which the second line grows out of

the first and often completes the contrast begun by it, yet does this without blurring the independent terse vigor of each separate line. Thus,

We know that town is but with fishers fraught  
Where Theseus governed and where Plato taught.  
. . . . .  
Lie now distress'd between two enemy pow'rs  
Whom the west damns and whom the east devours.

What state than theirs can more unhappy be,  
Threaten'd with hell and sure of poverty?

Contrast between line and line is present in illustrations already given. Falkland makes each individual phrase, half-line, or line, terse and finished and yet constructs each with a periodic forward drive to the larger unit of line or couplet. So too he has the art of finished and epigrammatic couplets which, however, in their turn do not break the whole apart into two-line units of thought, but are integral elements in a larger whole. The balance and contrast building steadily up to larger units of thought are well illustrated in the following passages:

That spring of knowledge to which Italy  
Owes all her arts and her civility,  
In vice and barbarism supinely rolls,  
Their fortunes not more slavish than their souls.

Next Ovid called me; which, though I admire  
For equalling the author's quick'ning fire,  
And his pure phrase; yet more, remem'bring it  
Was by a mind so much distracted writ:  
Business and war, ill mid-wives to produce  
The happy offspring of so sweet a muse:

In the second passage it is interesting to note how the couplet is, for the moment, lost, but how the general pattern is sustained by the half-line movement, and how this form of variation adds to the forward drive. Another interesting example of the same movement is found in the following from the lines prefatory to *Christ's Passion*.<sup>84</sup>

*Ulysses*, if we trust the *Grecian* song,  
Travell'd not far, but was a prisoner long,  
To that by tempest forc'd; nor did his voice  
Relate his fate: his travels were his choice,  
And all these numerous realms, return'd again,  
Anew he travell'd over with his pen,

<sup>84</sup> Falkland, "To the Author," in Sandys, ed. Hooper, II, 412-415.

In melodic handling Falkland shows the same power. The secondary patterns which we have seen in Drayton and Sandys, present in them, however, infrequently and uncertainly, are in him sustained and sure. A few types of pattern will illustrate this. For suppressed beat giving metrical balance to parallel elements,

\* ' \* ' \* (\*) \* ' \* '

A lofty poet and a deep divine

\* ' \* ' \* (\*) \* ' \* '

Correct an author and uphold a state<sup>85</sup>

\* ' \* ' \* (\*) \* ' \* '

To learn with *pleasure* what we act with *pain*<sup>86</sup>

\* ' \* ' \* (\*) \* ' \* '

The happy offspring of so sweet a muse<sup>87</sup>

It will be noted here and anywhere that we look that Falkland's repetition is close enough to make constant pattern and yet not exact enough to dull pattern to monotony.

' \* ' \* ' \* ' \*

learn with *pleasure* act with *pain*

\* ' \* ' \* \* ' \* ' \*

Where Theseus govern'd where Plato taught

A slight shift to secure clustered beat is also well handled by him.

' \* ' \* \* ' ' \* '

*Sharp-sighted Envy* and *blind Ignorance*:

\* ' \* ' \*

*The small beginning* of the Turkish Kings,

\* \* ' '

*And their large growth*, show us that diff'rent things<sup>88</sup>

Common is the trochaic inversion in the first place by virtue of which both the balanced elements start with a strong beat

' '

*Nothing* were easier than *not* to write

' \* \* ' ' \* ' \* '

*Threat'nd with hell* and *sure of poverty*<sup>89</sup>

2 1 1 1 1 3

In the last example the variety secured both in the phrase as a whole and between word-rhythms in the two balanced elements is notable. Finally, Falkland uses rhyme very pithily, a fact which needs no further illustration than that supplied in the couplets already quoted. Each of

<sup>85</sup> Falkland, "To My Noble Friend, MR GEORGE SANDYS," *Ibid.*, I, 83-87.

<sup>86</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>87</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>88</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>89</sup> *Idem.*

these devices gains firmness and interest because while some one of them is always present, they are yet constantly varied and juxtaposed in new ways. The reader may refer to almost any continuous passage to illustrate this fact more fully. In sum, Falkland has less smoothness than Waller or than Denham, but he has both in basic pattern and in secondary-pattern a full and unflagging hold of the closed couplet design and of the integration of its rhetoric and music, and rapid energy and freedom.

The other commendatory couplets, though they have not so much to say as Falkland, or anything like his firm mastery of design, show that the essential form of the reflective couplet is well established by this date. The first, unsigned, lines upon *Job* have less vigor and variety than Falkland's verse but the use of balance, of line and half-line units, of counter-pattern, is clearly established, as a few lines will show.

Even I (no yielding matter) who till then  
Am chief of sinners and the worst of men,  
(Though it be hard a soul's health to procure,  
Unless the patient do assist the cure)  
Suffer a rape by virtue, whilst thy lines  
Destroy my old, and build me new designs.<sup>90</sup>

King's couplets have many more run-on lines and much less definite neatness in balance and contrast than these. They often, when they come close to the characteristic couplet rhetoric, yet just miss or just refrain from it. But it is evident that they tend to clothe their clear-cut distinctness of definition in neat rhetorical and metrical patterns.

Or in this service that 'twas my intent  
T' exclude your person from your argument.  
. . . . .  
Whose choice acquits you from the common sin  
Of such who finish worse than they begin.<sup>91</sup>

Dudley Digges has not distinction, but in him too the formed couplet of Falkland is seen to be well established. Of his twenty couplets, sixteen are closed and almost all have balance and contrast, for which they often employ the epigrammatic single stopped line and frequently the half-line, half-line balance. He has less variety of detail of pattern within the couplet than Falkland and less strength in the whole because many lines lack distinctive form. He also lacks continuity. But where his thought is clearly focused and succinct it falls into just such couplets and lines as we have been describing.

<sup>90</sup> "To my noble Friend Mr. Sandys, Upon His *Job* . . .," in Sandys, ed. Hooper, pp. lxxxv-lxxxviii.

<sup>91</sup> Henry King, "To My Much Honoured Friend Mr. George Sandys," *ibid.*, pp. xc-xciv.

Francis Wiatt also writes in closed couplets. He is less succinct even than Digges, and to secure the couplet he sometimes slurs his syntax.

Thy living works since oft have pass'd the test,  
And every last (to wonder) prov'd the best.<sup>92</sup>

He also rarely succeeds in single epigrammatic lines. Metrically he is characterless, and not either smooth or strong. But, once more, it is clear that he aims throughout at the couplet we have defined, and the passages which strike us as strongest are those in which he achieves it.

Henry Rainsford's eighteen lines are the last in closed couplets with balance and antithesis. They are, however, hardly reflective verse, but merely an argument of the volume. Being such, it is notable that they too are invaded by balance and antithesis.<sup>93</sup>

### 3. WALLER AND DENHAM

Of Waller we may take the St. Andrews lines, the Buckingham lines, the lines on St. Paul's, *To Penshurst*, and the Cromwell panegyric as representative of Waller both in the type of subject for which they were used, and in his style from its beginning till the time it had reached its maturity and was widely enough known to exert its full influence. Denham is adequately represented by *Cooper's Hill*, his chief work, and that in which he had most to say. Waller's "smoothness" is on the whole an evenness of tension beyond what we have seen in any one else. Floating on the level surface of this, his rhetorical and musical patterns are the perfection and systematization of the basically simple and formal units created by Fairfax and Sandys. His development is the progress of this systematization until the whole ground is filled with design. In his mature work, as in Falkland's verse, 50 per cent of the lines have perfected counter-pattern. His basic line rhythm is smooth and even. For counter-pattern he depends principally on the play of line, half-

<sup>92</sup> Francis Wiatt, "To My Honoured Kinsman MR. GEORGE SANDYS, On His Admirable Paraphrases." *ibid.*, pp. c-ciii.

<sup>93</sup> Waller's lines to Sandys are in lyric measure and so they must not be compared with the others. But in neat rhetoric, succinctness, and strong rhymes they surpass all the others except Falkland, and in smoothness they excell him. Obviously in making a study of this sort, we must keep to the body of material which can be defined in common terms, namely, poems in pentameter in two line units. But we have seen how much the development of the special and distinctive music of the closed couplet depends upon the formation of a rhetoric lucid in expression, and of a verse-system even in texture, and one which uses small elements as the basic units of its design. The lyric measures of Ben Jonson, Waller, and Sandys may well have been as influential upon the metrics of their successors as were their couplets. We can here only suggest that a study of this lyric verse must form part of any complete history of the heroic couplet in the seventeenth century.

line, couplet, with the variation of melody found in the varied length and phrasing of half-lines, a variation produced by the shifting cæsura, together with the indivisibility of the line into two equal halves, which causes the two-beat half to play against the three beat. Some slight further musical pattern results from the increased emphasis upon the balanced words. More subtle melodic phrasing and variation than this are rare. Musically, Waller has nothing like the scope and force of design of Falkland. In rhetorical design he is somewhat richer and more varied than in metrical mode, but still he is monotonous and has nothing like the fecundity and range of Falkland. Of Jonson's neat and flexible phrase he seems to have learned much; of his boldness and scope nothing. Of Falkland's secret of perfectly establishing the closed couplet in the reader's ear and then varying this basic unit itself while still suggesting it firmly in the half-lines, he is not possessed. The secret is Denham's. So much of Denham's mature work in *Cooper's Hill* is descriptive or narrative that percentage figures are not useful. In the sententious and reflective passages the classical couplet in both music and syntax strides forward on the bold and keen-edged lines laid down by Jonson and Falkland. He is "strong" because more subtle and more free than Waller.

The first three of Waller's poems may be grouped together without much differentiation. Their oft-noted smoothness is dependent first upon the almost constant repetition of the twenty-syllable unit in the closed couplet, and upon the prevalent repetition of the half-line pattern with medial cæsura (an element present also in Drayton and Sandys, and typical of Jonson and Falkland) and upon the flexible syllabization<sup>94</sup> and the little variation in stress. All this is sustained in a way not quite found in any previous case we have been considering, by the unemphatic, direct, smooth-flowing, conversational ease of the expression, deliberate and perfectly neatly defined, which makes every word duly weighty, though it prevents any word from attaining a thrilling emphasis. This type of expression is truly the base in which the color of the melody is mixed. More condensation of feeling, more rapidity of movement from concept to concept, would create points of energy in the rhetoric which must sweep the music with them. But Waller's music has no such impetuosity. It finds its emphasis rather in the just neatness of its analysis. And this in turn seeks its own becoming decoration in metrical patterns which are low-pitched, but very neat and definite. The perceptions,

<sup>94</sup> On this point of flexible syllabization, see the anonymous preface to the edition of 1690 conveniently available in Alden's *English Verse*. See also the discussion of this preface by Canon Beeching in "A Note upon Waller's Distich" in *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnival* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 4-9. Waller has, in fact, fewer monosyllables than Spenser, but much less variation as to syllabization in successive lines.

which are without emotional shade or complexity, fall into simply moulded syntax that easily leaves neat, balanced centers of thought to form the centers of interest in line and half-line. Indeed, in these three poems on the whole the balances and antitheses are as simple in expression and in musical pattern as those of Sandys and Drayton, though the effect is stronger because more sustained.

He rent the crown / from vanquished Henry's head,  
 Raised the White Rose, / and trampled on the Red;  
 Till love, / triumphing o'er the victor's pride,  
 Brought Mars and Warrick / to the conquered side;  
 . . . . .  
 Proud with the burden / of so brave a charge,  
 . . . . .  
 These surges ruin, / those our safety bring.  
 . . . . .  
 But that their wonder / did divert their care.<sup>95</sup>  
 . . . . .  
 At once it threatens / and obliges Heaven!  
 . . . . .  
 To frame no new church, / but the old refine;<sup>96</sup>

A very common form of rhetoric is the mere verbal balance we have already noted in Sandys and Fairfax. This is the line built on two centers in the double-substantive-adjective.

With the *sweet sound* of this *harmonious lay*  
 . . . . .  
 On the *smooth back* of *silver Thames* to ride  
 . . . . .  
 The *hated relics* of *confounded Troy*;  
 . . . . .  
 And *dear remembrance* of *that fatal glance*,<sup>97</sup>

These simple turns are much more common in the St. Andrew's lines than in the other two. The reader will observe how the last two examples emphasize thought and structure by the suppressed beat. Metrical variation is, however, rare in these early poems. The whole tone is so low-pitched that the balance itself rises to the force of emphasis, as a bit of red paint here and there might pick out certain lines in a set of smooth silver whorls without adding any new element of form. The lines which are balanced stand out distinctly, but on the whole the lines do not form notable units, and most of the couplets are closed by sheer

<sup>95</sup> Waller, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 4, "Of the Danger . . ." ll. 15-18; 40; 72; 78.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 18, "Upon His Majesty's repairing of Paul's," l. 56.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 2-5, "Of the Danger," ll. 34; 62; 88; 101. Italics mine.



pause for intellectual breath, rather than by any organic structure. Then too the couplets stand apart and rarely build up a continuous effect of style, though the narrative moves forward with ease.

The lines to Penshurst are less reflective in substance than these first three and more pensive. Yet in these lines the style is more terse, and Waller builds a simple but definitive syntactic structure more organically constructed on the pattern of half-line, line, and couplet than in the earlier poems. For this reason he is also able to mass his units to a larger whole.

- a) While in the park I sing, b) the listening deer
- c) Attend my passion, and forget to fear.
- a) When to the beeches I report my flame,
- b) They c) bow their heads, as if they felt the same.
- b) To gods appealing, a) when I reach their bowers
- With loud complaints, c) they answer me in showers.
- To thee a wild and cruel soul is given,
- More deaf than trees, and prouder than the heaven!<sup>98</sup>

Numbers "a," "b," and "c" suggest the repeated elements in the first three couplets and their variation. In the third couplet there is also a parallelism of elements between the two first half-lines and the two second. Couplet four catches up and applies the ideas of the first three, thereby securing forward movement; further, it emphasizes the fact that it gathers up the meaning, in that it makes an explicit statement of the parallelism which the other lines only suggest, and shapes this statement to an epigram. As to musical pattern, the first six lines have half-line movement with the *cæsura* varied in position to 6, 5, 5, 4, 5, 4. Line 2 creates secondary-pattern by the suppressed beat between the parallel units. Then in couplet 4, the unbroken first line, with its double key-elements in the center, *wild* and *cruel*, forms a pattern with the emphatic half-lines of the second line into which the key thought spreads. Line 8 sets syntactical variation against metrical variation in repetition.

*	'	*	'	'	*	*	*	*	'
More deaf than trees and prouder than the heaven!									
1	1	1	2	1	2				

This is richer in design and ampler in movement than anything in the earlier three poems.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 64, "At Penshurst," ll. 1-8.—If the reader wishes to see both how far formalization had progressed, and how purely formal Waller is, he may compare this with Grimald's "The Lover asketh pardon of his dere . . ." from Beza (Tottel, ed. Rollins, I, 94), which may have been in Waller's memory.

In *The battle of the Summer Islands* Waller exploits to the full this ampler skill. The lines and half-lines are distinct units, and there is much cross-patterning between the lines. Lines 31 and 32 of Canto I offer an interesting example of variation worked up into greater complexity of pattern.

Such is the mould, that the blest tenant feeds  
On precious fruits, and pays his rent in weeds.<sup>99</sup>

Here for repetition the order of balanced parts in verb, preposition, object is repeated, but for variation the rhyme falls first on part "a" and then on part "c," thus giving an effect of transposition which is further enlarged by syllabic weight.

a	b	c	a	b	c
feeds	on	<i>precious fruit</i> ;	<i>pays his rent</i>	in	weeds
1	1	3	3	1	1

In general by inversion and by other kindred sharpenings of outline, Waller in this poem achieves more strength and variation of the sort we find in Falkland. Lines 42-45 will give a further example.

Ripe fruits and blossoms on the same trees live;  
At once they promise what at once they give.  
So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,  
None sickly lives, or dies before his time.

The chief technical metrical variation is the suppressed beat falling after cæsura and compensated by cæsural pause, which leaves the parallel elements very distinct, or which in one case moulds a phrase into an organic unit by leaving the first and last beats very emphatic.

' \* (\*) \* '  
The prince of trees! is fuel to their fires,<sup>100</sup>

But in the sixteen typical lines beginning "Bermuda walled with rocks," there are only three instances of this variation. In the same lines there are two examples of the trochaic first beat, one example of trochaic beat after cæsura, and one instance of suspended beat in line 10.

\* \* ' '  
On the rich shore, of ambergris is found.

This last seems to strengthen the effect of the suspended rhetoric. These metrical variations altogether are of the sort used by Drayton and Sandys and established by Falkland. They are less frequent than in Falkland, and hence they give to the whole less sustained energy of design, but they are handled very deftly and neatly.

<sup>99</sup> Waller, *op. cit.*, I, 66 ff.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, I. 12.

The Cromwell poem is more vigorously reflective in substance than any of the other poems of Waller we are considering except the St. Andrews lines, and also stronger in style and music. It is almost wholly in end-stopped couplets, an effect greatly sharpened by the quatrain arrangement with full period at the end of every quatrain but one; the lines, too, are very sharply closed, and the medial cæsura a fixed rule; the table on page 34, indicating cæsura in 66 per cent of the lines, takes account only of very heavy pauses; there is some pause in practically every line, usually medial. In mode of development the definition proceeds almost wholly in terms of moral sentiment and epigram, and there is hardly a line without balance or balance and contrast. These devices are artfully used to give the forward movement sometimes lacking in Waller's earlier work. The two couplets of the quatrain are integrated; the first may give a figure which is applied in the second, or the second expands and particularizes a general truth stated in the first. The dance of the balanced phrases of repetition is varied by cross-patterning between phrases and from line to line.

- a, 1) Your drooping country 2) torn with civil hate,
- b, 1) Restored by you, 2) is made a glorious state,
- c, 1) The seat of empire, 2) where the Irish come,
- d, 1) And the unwilling Scotch, 2) to fetch their doom.<sup>101</sup>

Here line "a" parallels line "b" as a whole. Half-line "a, 2" explains "a, 1," "b, 2" explains "b, 1"; but "a, 2" also crosses to "b, 1" and "b, 2" crosses to "a, 1." "C, 1" as an appositive gathers up "b, 2." Then the cross-patterning of idea is repeated between "c, 1" and "d, 2," and "c, 2" and "d, 1."

The influence of Waller and Denham, as Mr. T. H. Banks points out in his edition of Denham,<sup>102</sup> was interactive. To this interaction, as we have seen, should be added that of other poets writing contemporaneously. Denham's style, like Waller's, was a gradual growth. Mr. Banks states<sup>103</sup> that the original version (1636) of Denham's Virgil abounds in run-on lines. One example which he cites indicates how the development of the closed couplet and of the antithetic rhetoric went hand in hand. "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*" was translated in 1636, "The Grecians most when bringing gifts I fear." But in 1653 this was revised to, "Their swords less danger carry than their gifts." *Cooper's Hill* was written in 1643, although the famous Thames lines were not added until 1655.<sup>104</sup> But Denham's manner is pretty well formed in even the early version of

<sup>101</sup> Waller, *op. cit.*, I, 10, "A Panegyric to My Lord Protector," ll. 13-16.

<sup>102</sup> John Denham, *Poetical Works*, ed. T. H. Banks Jr., (New Haven, 1928), p. 35.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

*On the Earl of Strafford's Tryal and Death* though less chiseled than later.<sup>106</sup> If, as seems natural, we may suppose that poem written just after the event in 1641, Denham had the technique in hand by 1641.

To examine *Cooper's Hill* in some detail we may select a few outstanding passages, lines 1-88, lines 125-134, and the Thames lines.<sup>106</sup> He has more run-on lines than Waller, not because of less fixity of aim and method but because he is, like Falkland, more free of his technique. The half-line is the basic unit of design, through which the couplet may be always suggested so that it may also be formally broken. We have noted in Waller the occasional play of an unbroken line against a line with two sharply marked halves. Denham sometimes extends this form to give the unbroken line effect in the end of one line and the beginning of the next,<sup>107</sup> instead of line by line, an effect used twice in the first lines.

Which did never dream  
Upon *Parnassus*, || Nor did tast the stream  
Of *Helicon*, ||

The effect is the stronger because the two syncopated lines (end-stopped, if I may use the phrase) are themselves balanced; and yet we feel the basic original pattern very distinctly because the two rhyme words, the true line ends, are strongly emphasized in being the centers of the balanced phrases. Line 7 is again run on. Here the parallel structure bridges the line, but a new metrical parallelism in a new stopped line effect, arises in the two tetrameter units thus created.

*Parnassus* stands; || if I can be to thee  
A Poet, || thou *Parnassus* art to me.

The variety is carried further by inversion. Lines 11 and 12 have more regularized balance, but 11 in the two halves, 12 within the second half. Such variation in the particular form of balance is common, although simple half-line parallelism is also frequent. Of further melodic phrase,

we find in the parallel phrases *Upon Parnassus* and *in Helicon* reversal of metrical pattern in the two names thus balanced. In lines 4 and 5 there is inversion; in 4 suppressed beat and repeated-varied pattern; and in 5, repeated-varied pattern:

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc} & / & * & * & / & * & & * & / & * & / \\ \hline \text{Those made not Poets, but the Poets those,} \\ & * & * & & / & / & * & / & * & & / \\ \hline \text{And as Courts make not Kings, but Kings the Court} \end{array}$$

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153-154.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63-87.

<sup>107</sup> Compare this with the examples of counter-pattern from Milton and Chaucer *ante* p. 171 and note 11.

In 11 the parallel repeats the pattern exactly, *un<sup>‘</sup>trac<sup>\*</sup>’t ways*, and *a<sup>‘</sup>ery<sup>\*</sup> paths<sup>\*</sup>*; but 12, continuing the same parallel, varies the phrase, *in my<sup>\*</sup> fancy: than my eye.*

Lines 125–134 are more regular in their form of balance, with almost exact balance in lines 128, 129, 130, 132, 134, strengthened by alliteration; yet with cæsura and varied stress, no two lines are alike. Line 130 emphasizes the antithesis by the suppressed medial beat and the repeated initial heavy beat in both phrases, and then introduces variation by the alliteration inverted from adjective to noun, an alliteration which further marks off the beginning and end of the phrase and ties together what other devices have separated.

I would not rashly endeavor to explain the secret of the Thames lines where Dryden refrained. Yet certain points are worth noting. In line 190 the two balanced elements are set off by the suppressed beat and the secondary stress.

\*   ‘   \*   ‘   \* || (\*)\*   \   \*   ‘  
My great example, as it is my theme

Lines 190 and 192 have sharp cæsuras and distinctly molded half-lines; line 191, set between these, doubles the effect by four almost distinct quarter-lines.

Though deep, || yet clear; || though gentle || yet not dull

Lines 191 and 192 both contain two balanced halves within which there is again balanced antithesis; but in this reiterated design, 191 repeats syntax exactly, 192 inverts it. The lines are also rich in metrical variety. In 191 the second half-line repeats the pattern of the first but doubles the proportion,

‘   \*   ‘   ‘   \*   \   \*   ‘  
deep yet clear   gentle yet not dull  
1                    1                    2                    2

and binds the whole together by initial-final alliteration; 192 offers the same kind of repetition with variation, but dies down to the smaller pattern where 191 rises to the larger.

‘   \*   \*   ‘   (\*   \*   \*)   ‘   \*   ‘  
Strong without rage, without o’erflowing full

Put the two lines together, and you get a swelling and receding wave.

(\*)   ‘   ‘   ‘ / (\*)   ‘   ‘   ‘   ‘  
‘   ‘   ‘   ‘ / (\*\*\* )   ‘   ‘   ‘

Denham's substance and expression have more boldness and edge than Waller's. A similar sweep is given to his form, too, by these devices and elements of form, although in truth they do not explain his music any more than a course in harmony accounts for Purcell.

One more little collection of occasional verse written at about the same date will show, finally, how widely the couplet had established itself by this time. In 1646, the year after Waller's first volume, and between the two versions of *Cooper's Hill*, appeared *Men-miracles with other Poemes* by M.LL.St. of Ch. Ch. in Oxon.<sup>108</sup> Lluelyn's chief power in this sort of verse lies in the intellectual vigor of his condensed definitions and sententious observations, and his form accordingly is fittingly that of the couplet we have now defined, with balance and contrast built on the two halves of the divided line, and with frequent metrical shift that gives emphasis to the essential point of the analysis. The best lines are perhaps these from the *Elegie on the Death of Sir Horatio Vere*.

Valour's not borne of *Nature*, but the *Will*,  
They only conquer that with *Judgement* kill.

. . . . .  
The *mind*, not the *tough* flesh was his defence,  
He lost the *feare* of Wounds, but not the *Sence*;<sup>109</sup>

They show maturity in the variety with which they use the formula. Another interesting example is his *Elegie. On the death of Master H. C.*

As Clouds of Incense 'bove the Altars come,  
Yet all those Clouds lay treasur'd up ith' Gumme.

. . . . .  
So was thy life, it might gaine breadth, and rise,  
And purchase more *Extent*, but not more prise.  
Good parts in *Youth* and *Manhood* are the same,  
They're the same Picture in a smaller frame.<sup>110</sup>

Metaphysical in its analysis of its thought through scientific image, this poem is in form classical; epigrammatic and terse in statement, with balance and contrast as its instruments of definition, phrased in closed couplets.

<sup>108</sup> This M. LL. is Martin Lluelyn. His volume contains among other things, ranging from comic folksongs to religious lyrics, a number of occasional poems and elegies. Of these the majority of the occasional poems and all the elegies are in closed couplets. It is not remarkable poetry—not at all Lluelyn's greatest—but it is firm and clear-cut in movement, and it takes the classical couplet for granted.

<sup>109</sup> Lluelyn, *op. cit.*, p. 122.—Italics in the original.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.—Italics in the original.

The work which accompanies Lluelyn's verse shows even more emphatically how widely the couplet was established. His poems were introduced, as was customary, by sets of complimentary verse, seven in number, from his friends, men unknown to us, and presumably very minor authors. Of these seven poems, five are in closed couplets. One, by J. F., is so assured in its form that it is worth illustrating at some length. Indeed, one wonders whether Denham had not seen it between 1642 and 1655.

A poet's then exact in every part  
That is borne one from *Nature*, nurst by *Art*.  
Whose happy mixture both of *skill* and *fate*,  
Makes the most suddaine thought *Elaborate*.  
Whose easie straines a flowing sense doth fit,  
*Unforc'd* expression, and *unravisht* wit.  
Words Fill'd with *equall* subject such as brings  
To *chosen* Language high and *chosen* Things.  
Harsh reason *cleare* as day, as *smooth* as *steepe*.  
Glide here like Rivers, even *still* though *deepe*.  
. . . . .  
Those wretched soules, whose *Cold* and *Hunger* writes,  
That in their *Inke-hornes* weare their *Appetites*.  
Whose labours still *ride Post*, and for their Toile,  
Receive the *Hackney hire*, a *groate a Mile*.<sup>111</sup>

This verse lacks even tension between unstressed syllable and beat; but it is terse and pungent, and it uses line and medial pause and pithy rhyme very effectively to give sharp emphasis to its balance and contrast. The placing of the pause is, too, skilfully varied. It is classical, also, in the force given to each syllable by the terse beat of the half-line units in the couplet. Note particularly the sixth couplet of those cited. This musical definiteness is as apparent as the weight of meaning given to each word by the epigrammatic compression. Then both in this couplet and in the following one, the way in which the second line grows out of the first into a stinging lash-tip is remarkable. And this effect again is dependent on the condensed definiteness of the couplet form with its neat regular parts tied together in organic formality. As was plain in Waller, the inevitable rhetorical weight of the words, too, in such a style focuses the sharpest beat of the music on the balancing elements. This work of an unknown J. F. in 1646, thus, at its best, contemporaneously with the mature work of Waller and Denham, speaks with almost the weight of Dryden; speaks so chiefly as the result of a

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A 5 verso,—Italics in the original.

steady process of growth since *Tottel's Miscellany*, through the mastered technique of the didactic and satiric couplet.

I put down my pen to read with a class the close of *Lycidas*.

In solemn troops, and sweet Societies  
That sing, and singing in their glory move, . . .

The difference here is not that between skilled poets and a supreme musician. Nor is it merely one of technique. It is a difference of modes, of the fundamental nature of the experience aimed at. Melodic phrasing in verse is, in the very nature of the case, conditioned by syntactic development; but even if we could secure with the terse and formalized epigram of this poetry the liquid flow of Milton's music, or with the Miltonic period, the neat tunes of Waller, we should experience from the result a psychological confusion. The effects which we have described sprang from no mere loss of skill or failure of musical ideas. Even those who feel most keenly the narrowing of horizons, and the loss of emotional power in the music of this period will feel, too, that the new expression and the new metrical form have as much an organic imaginative harmony with the substance they embody as has the sublimity of Milton's music with his vision. The Greeks, with their lucid sense of fact, recognized, without explaining, the absolutely fundamental differences in æsthetic and ethical effect of the several modes of music. So here we see the formal mode changing with the change in spirit. It was because they were artists that these craftsmen strove, consciously and unconsciously, as they formed a new standard of expression, to create new metrical designs both technically realizable within the new medium and æsthetically harmonious with its meaning.

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### XIII

#### THE SATIRIC BACKGROUND OF THE ATTACK ON THE PURITANS IN SWIFT'S *A TALE OF A TUB*

IN a previous article<sup>1</sup> I pointed out that Swift's analysis of Jack the Dissenter had been in part anticipated by earlier satirists. Some references to plays, poems, and prose attacks were then given to substantiate my contention. In this brief bibliography of non-dramatic satire from the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, to Tom Brown, *ca.* 1700, further evidence will be presented that before Swift's time there was a long tradition of satire of the Puritans, and one which in many ways was much like his own attack. Since the work of presenting the dramatic satire of the Puritans has, in part at least, been done,<sup>2</sup> no titles of plays will be included. The bibliography will also confine itself to citation of satires on the Puritans. The year 1621 was chosen as a starting point, for I believe that with the *Anatomy of Melancholy* there began a new era of satire, and especially of analysis of cause and effect in the problems of religious enthusiasm, a subject upon which Swift wrote some of his best passages. That this bibliography is in any way complete is not claimed; it is hoped, however, that it will present some satires which have been neglected by students of the strife between the Puritans and their satirists, and will also help to clarify the problems of the literary background of *A Tale of a Tub* and the *Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*

*The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Robert Burton, 1621. (Part 3, "Religious Melancholy," contains a very interesting analysis of religious enthusiasm, with special reference to the Puritans. Burton was one of the first seventeenth-century students of the causes of religious zeal.)

*The Interpreter*, Rev. Thomas Scott. 1622.—in Stuart Tracts, 1603–1693, An English Garner, ed. C. H. Firth. (A rather peculiar reaction to the religious parties of the day is found in this poem. Scott, one of the chaplains of James I, reviles the Puritan, i.e., the Brownist, Separatist, or Independent, less than the "Protestant" who is pictured as even more hypocritical, seditious, and dishonest than the hated Papists.)

<sup>1</sup> "Swift's *Tale of a Tub* compared with Earlier Satires of Puritans," *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 171.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, E. N. S., *Controversy Between the Puritans and the Stage*; Wright, Rose A., *The Political Play of the Restoration*; "The Quakers in English Stage Plays before 1800," Maxfield, E. M., *PMLA* (March, 1930); "Political Satire in London Stage Plays, 1680–83," Whiting, George W., *Mod. Phil.*, xxviii.

- A Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists*, Edmond Jessop. 1623. (One of the first, if not the first, of a long line of exposés of the hated Anabaptists who made themselves famous in the Munster uprising.)
- The Art of Thriving, or the Plaine Path-Way to Preferment*. Tho. Powell. 1635.—in Somers Tracts, vii, 187–208. (Advice is given for advancement in all professions. Unambitious piety and study are discounted as aids to ecclesiastical advancement, for one must use servility and flattery. Swift, in his *Letter to a Young Clergyman*, expressed much the same cynicism.)
- A True Subject's Wish*. Martin Parker. 1640.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*.
- The Poet's Blind mans bough, or Have among you my blind Harpers*. Martin Parker. 1640.—in Ashbee Reprints. (Both of Parker's poems satirize the men who make a show of zeal and conscience while they are really working against the Church and State.)
- Vox Borealis: or, The Northern Discoverie*. 1641.—in Harleian Miscellany, iii, 219–232. (If no explanatory note is given, it may be assumed that the satires are merely statements of the Puritans' combined hypocrisy, sedition, and heresy, with perhaps a few side glances at their morality.)
- English Puritanisme, containing the maine opinions of the rigidest sort of those that are called Puritans*. Williams Ames. 1641.—in Stuart Tracts, vol. xv. (This is another of the early collections of Puritan heresies and is very much like Jessop's *Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists*.)
- A Warning for England, especially for London; in the famous History of the frantick Anabaptists, their Wild Preachings and Practices in Germany*. 1642.—in Harl. Misc., vol. vii. (The title is explanatory of this, one of the most complete of all the histories of the Anabaptists.)
- A Description of the Sect called the Family of Love*. 1641.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. iii. (This is an unique account of the Family, here pictured as a group of licentious intellectuals, headed by a magnetic genius who quotes the classics, leads the revels, and seduces country girls. The meetings are semi-public, and no pious excuses are made for the debauchery. The plot deals with the story of an innocent girl led astray by the leader. It is hard to explain this tract, unless it were written for the story's sake, rather than as a satire of the real Family of Love. Cf. Middleton's *Family of Love*.)
- A Tract of Puritans*. William Sheeres. 1641.
- Heads of All Fashions, Being a Plaine Desection or definition of diverse, and sundry sorts of heads*. 1642.—in Ashbee Reprints. (Of course the "roundheads" are stressed.)
- Madfashions, od Fashions, all out of Fashions, or, the Emblems of these Distracted times*. John Taylor. 1642. (This poem has the popular ridicule of the lowly social status and ignoble occupations of the Puritans.)
- A Three-fold Discourse betweene three Neighbours, Algate, Bishopgate, and John Heyden the late cobbler of Hounsditch, a professed Brownist*. 1642.—in Ashbee Reprints. (John, the Brownist, distorts Bible passages, preaches absurd sermons, and has foolish and violent scruples. The satire emphasizes the Puritans' hatred of all forms and ceremonies relating, however remotely, to Catholicism.)

*A Godly Exhortation to this Distressed Nation.* Humphrey Crouch. 1642.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*. (Mr. Rollins says of this poem: "It is difficult from this sheet to determine Humphrey Crouch's political affiliations. Perhaps his poem is a fair reflection of the state of mind of ordinary men in the street. Such persons always find themselves vaguely disturbed by wars, which interrupt their business and happiness for causes that are obscure and inexplicable." *Cavalier and Puritan*, p. 144. Crouch was, however, very much convinced that the Puritans were hypocritical.

("When people stumble at a straw,  
An make their own self will a law.  
When people maketh Sanctity  
A cloak to hide hypocrisie.")

*The Puritan and Papist, A Satyr, by Mr. Abraham Cowley.* 1643.—in Stuart Tracts. Vol. v. (Both sects are reviled for being holy cheats, for publishing false news, and for conducting unintelligible services. Included here is "The Character of a Holy Sister," which is most vulgar mockery of Puritan Women.)

*The Rebel's Catechism.* 1643.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. vii.

*Mock-Majesty: or, the Seige of Munster.* 1644.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. viii. (Another of the tales of the atrocities of the Anabaptists.)

*A Nest of perfidious vipers: or, the Second Part of the Parliament's Calendar of black Saints.* 1644.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. v.

*The Souldiers Catechism.* 1644.—in Stuart Tracts. Vol. iv. (Chiefly political propaganda among the soldiers of the Puritans, but it contains some religious satire.)

*The Dippers Dipt: or, the Anabaptists Duck'd and Plung'd over Head and Ears.* Dr. Daniel Featly. 1645. (This book was published in January of 1645 and was undoubtedly the inspiration for the later works of Edwards, Baillie, Paget, and Prynne, all of which appeared in 1645. The first part of *The Dippers Dipt* was a reprint of the 1642 *A Warning for England*. Other sections told a complete history of present Anabaptist practices and theories. The book also contained some rather good passages dealing with the causes of religious fanaticism. Featly was a rather half-hearted Presbyterian, but he was like the more ardent of his fellow-churchmen in hating and despising all Independents.)

*Gangrena: or, a catalogue and discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this time.* Thomas Edwards. 1645. (The *Gangrena* is a dull listing of the "Errours" of the Sectaries. Edwards was a staunch Presbyterian.)

*Dissuasive from the Errours of the time.* Robert Baillie. 1645.

*Heresiography; or, A Description of the Hereticks and Sectaries of these latter times.* Ephraim Paget. 1645.

*A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious new Wandering-Blazing-Stars and Fire-brands, styling themselves New Lights, firing Our Church and State into new combustions.* Wm. Prynne. 1645. (The books of Baillie, Paget, and Prynne are mere continuations of Featly or Edwards. The five 1645 attacks on the

- Independents by Presbyterians are part of a very interesting chapter in the religious history of the period )
- The World is Turned Upside Down.* 1646.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan.*
- The Anabaptists out of order.* 1646.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan.*
- Pseudodoxia Epidemica: or, Enquiries into very many received Tenents and Commonly presumed Truths.* Thomas Browne. 1646. (Browne gives a very uncomplimentary estimate of the intelligence of the common people.)
- Two Humble Petitions of the Apprentices of London and parts Adjacent, for Lawfull Recreations.* 1646 and 1647; printed 1647. (These petitions show a vigorous reaction against the Puritan scruples which banned "honest recreation." The apprentices ask for the annual festivals once more or the granting of one more day each month for recreation. These petitions are non-satiric but significant.)
- Anabaptism, the True Fountaine of Independency, Antinomy, Brownisme, Familisme and most of the Errours which for the time doe trouble the Church of England.* Robert Baillie. 1647. (This tract is a continuation of Baillie's 1645 *Dissuasive*. It contains many quotations from Edward's *Gangrena*.)
- The Old Protestant's Library.* 1647.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*, Vol. I.
- The Cities Welcome to Colonel Rich and Colonel Baxter.* 1647.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*, Vol. I.
- The Character of a London Diurnall: With severall select Poems.* 1647.—in English Historical Tracts, Vol. xxvi. (One of the poems, "A New Letanie for our New Lent," is in some lines much like Crouch's "A Godly Exhortation." Another poem mentions the "wrought-cap" of the Puritans, cf. the quilted caps in the *Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, p. 201, T. Scott edition.)
- The Dominion of the Sword.* 1649.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*, Vol. I.
- The Fame, Wit and Glory of the West.* 1649.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan.*
- The Credit of Yorkshire, or the Glory of the North.* 1649.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan.* (The two last-named poems use the old substituted-bride theme. The poor Puritan is in each case the victim of a conspiracy to rob him of a bride who prefers the gallant Cavalier.)
- Hosanna: or, a Song of Thanksgiving, sung by the Children of Zion, and set forth in three notable speeches at Grocers-Hall, on the late solemn Day of Thanksgiving, Thursday, June 7, 1649.* (The mock speeches represent the Puritans as uttering the most seditious remarks. Hugh Peters is one of the speakers. This is, as far as I can discover, one of the first satires to employ the method of the mock Puritan sermon. It is also one of the first appearances of Peters, who was to become the "typical Puritan" in the eyes of Royalists.)
- Gallant News from Ireland.* 1649.
- A Hymne to Cromwell.* 1649. (Both these poems are from Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*, and are insults to Cromwell.)
- A brief Relation of an Atheisticall creature, living at Lambert.* 1649.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan.*
- The Wiltshire Rant: or, a Narrative . . . of Thomas Webbe.* 1652. (An exposé of a hypocritical Puritan preacher and his affairs with the Sisters. It is rather

unique because it presents a new type of preacher—the rather clever and partially educated evangelist who today would be more easily recognized than would many of the other Puritans who had been pictured.)

*The Character of a Time-Serving Saint.* 1652.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan.*

*The Life and Death of Stephen Marshall.* 1653. (Marshall, like Webbe, was the product of the new opportunities for popular preachers who had little or no religion but who could sway rural audiences. Miss Richardson, *English Preachers and Preaching, 1640-1676*, quotes references to Marshall in Cleveland's *Rebel Scot* and in Fuller's *Worthies*; both references are highly uncomplimentary.)

*Bibliotheca Parliamenti.* 1653.—in Somers Tracts, Vol. VII. (This is the first of the mock libraries which I have found. Some of the titles of books are: 17. "The Ginger-bread Prophet, or the Akharan of Oliver Mahomet, explained and expounded by Hugh Peters, late pastor to a hunger-starved Flock at Salem, in New England." A note explains—"Hugh Peters was for a time a preacher in New England; the general country of refuge for the wilder Fanatics in the earlier part of Charles I's reign." 39. "Carnis Resurrection, or the Exaltation of the Flesh by the Power of the Spirit to the Comfort of the Dejected. . . by Hugh Peters." Most of the titles indicate that the Puritans were lustful, hypocritical, and utterly depraved. Certain "Acts and Orders" of the Puritan Parliament were added, most of them as coarse as the titles of books.)

*A Free Parliament Litany.* 1655.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*, Vol. I.

*A Treatise Concerning Enthusiasme as it is an Effect of Nature; but is mistaken by many for either Inspiration, or Diabolical Possession.* Meric Casaubon 1655. (This is a rather important analysis of Enthusiasm and may have influenced Swift. See *Notes & Queries* (June 6, 1931) CLX, 405, for my brief note calling attention to the fact that Sir William Temple admired this work. He may have called Swift's attention to it.)

*Enthusiasmus Triumphatus; or, A Brief Discourse of the Nature, Causes, Kinds and Cure of Enthusiasme.* Henry More. 1656. (This little-known analysis of religious enthusiasm was probably the best seventeenth century work on the subject. The usual ridicule of the Puritans is found here, but there is also a clear statement that religious zeal and ecstasy are caused by natural forces, chief in importance of which is the sexual excitation to which the Puritans were supposed to be peculiarly prone. Swift's *Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* seems to owe much to this work of More.)

*The Grand Impostor examined: or, the Life Trial, and Examination of James Naylor, the seduced and seducing Quaker; with the manner of his Riding into Bristol.* 1656.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. VI. (Hume, *Hist. of Eng.*, VII, 336, has a very good account of this Quaker, who, impersonating Christ, rode into Bristol, accompanied by worshipping followers. See also Gooch and Laski, *English Democratic Ideas in the XVII Century*, 1927, pp. 237-238. Naylor, with Hugh Peters, became a standard type of Puritan. Swift mentions him in one of his last poems, "The Yahoo's Overthrow." See *L.T.L.S.* (May, 14, 1931) for my brief study of this poem.)

- The Quakers Catechism*. Richard Baxter. 1656.—in *English Historical Tracts*, Vol. xxxix. (Baxter wrote very leniently of the Quakers, although he accused them of too great spiritual pride. Their "proud, scornful, ranting language" also offended him.)
- The Quakers Fear*. Laurence Price. 1656.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*. (This is the account of the hunger strike of a Quaker, James Parnel. Evelyn mentions this man in his entry for July 10, 1656, *Diary*.)
- A New Prophetie*. 1657.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*.
- The Protecting Brewer*. 1657.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*, Vol. i. (An attack on Cromwell and the hypocrisy of the Saints.)
- Fast and Loose; or, the Armies Figgaries*. 1659.—in *Stuart Tracts*, Vol. xli.
- James Nailor's Recantation*. 1659.—in *Somers Tracts*, Vol. vi. (Satire is achieved by quotation of the recantation. The apology is so fantastic and absurd that one wonders if it were not composed by some satirist of the Puritans. If the text is authentic—then the scoffers were justified in their ridicule of Puritan rhetoric.)
- Peters Pattern: or, the Perfect Path to Worldly Happiness: as it was delivered in a Funeral Sermon, preached at the Interment of Mr. Hugh Peters, lately deceased*. By I. C. [Joseph Caryl.] 1659.—in *Harl. Misc.*, Vol. vi. (A neglected masterpiece of presentation of a most complete Puritan. The entire mock sermon is delivered in the "Language of the Saints.")
- Democritus turned Statesman*. 1659.—in *Harl. Misc.*, Vol. vi.
- A Copie of Quarries, or, a Comment upon the Life, and actions of the Grand Tyrant and his Complices: Oliver the first and last of that name*. 1659.—in *Stuart Tracts*, Vol. xli.
- The Leveller*. 1659.—in *Harl. Misc.*, Vol. iv.
- A Character of England, as it was lately presented in a Letter to a nobleman of France*. 1659.—in *Somers Tracts*, Vol. vii. (This purported translation from a French letter is devoted almost entirely to ridicule of the service, sermons, and "canting" of the Puritans.)
- The Interest of England stated: or, a faithful and just account of the Aimes of all Parties now Pretending*. 1659.—in *Stuart Tracts*, Vol. xli.
- Sir Harry Vane's Last Sigh for the Committee of Safety*. 1659.—in *Stuart Tracts*, Vol. xli.
- Decrees and Orders of the Committee of Safety of the Commonwealth of Oceana*. John Harrington, Clerk to the Committee. 1659.—in *Stuart Tracts*, Vol. xli. (Here is found a mention of the "flatuosities" of the Puritans, a theme used by Swift in the *Aeolist* section of *A Tale of a Tub*.)
- Bibliotheca Militum: or, the Souldiers Publick Library*. 1659.—in *Harl. Misc.*, Vol. vii. (This tract is a little less coarse than the similar mock library previously mentioned. Hugh Peters is again ridiculed.)
- The Lamentation of a Sinner, or Bradshaw's horrid Farewel, together with his last Will and Testament*. 1659.—in *Stuart Tracts*, Vol. xli. (This tract includes another hit at *Oceana*.)
- A New King anointed*. 1659.—in *Stuart Tracts*, Vol. xli.

- An Alarum to Corporations.* 1659.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xli. (A belated retelling of the Anabaptist practices.)
- A Review and Further Discovery of the late Disorderly and Rude carriage of some persons at the meeting of Quakers at Sabridgeworth.* 1659 —in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xli. (After mild reproof of the people who broke up the Quakers' meeting, the tract accuses the Quakers of sedition, rebellion, vain pride, and practicing witchcraft. James Naylor is mentioned.)
- Questions Propounded to George Whitehead and George Fox, who disputed by turns against one University-man at Cambridge.* 1659.—in Cromwellian Tracts, Vol. ii. (The two Quakers were of course defeated in argument. Some most embarrassing questions were asked. One concerns lewdness, another sex perversion, and the 94th is "Can you name any sin either of omission or commission, that one eminent Quaker or other hath not been notoriously guilty of?")
- Gagg for the Quakers.* 1659.—in Cromwellian Tracts, Vol. xli. (As in an earlier tract, the Quakers are here accused of witchcraft.)
- England's Joyfull Holiday.* 1660. (Another attack on Hugh Peters.)
- Englands Object: or, Good and true newes to all True-hearted Subjects, for the taking and apprehending of that horrid deluding Sower of Sedition Hugh Peters.* 1660.—in Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan*. (Swift's Jack may not be Hugh Peters, but the task of creating a Puritan was made easier for Swift by the repeated specific attacks on Peters, who was chosen to be the scapegoat for the Puritans. Naylor represented the crazed Independents or more erratic sectaries; Peters the seditious leader of the Cromwellian party's religious activities. Here, in one man, the satirists often pictured all the despicable traits they found in the Puritans.)
- Win at First and Lose at Last.* 1660.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*, Vol. i.
- Physician Cure thy Self: or, an Answer to a seditious Pamphlet Entitled Eye Salve for the English Army, etc.* 1660.—in English Historical Tracts, Vol. xlv.
- No Blinde Guides: In answer to a seditious Pamphlet of J. Milton's.* Roger L'Estrange. 1660.—in English Historical Tracts, Vol. xlv. (Milton is grossly insulted in this tract.)
- Bradshaws Ultimum Vale. Being the Last Words that are ever intended to be spoke of him. As they were delivered in a Sermon preach'd at his Interment.* 1660.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xli. (Another mock sermon preached by some Puritan. The influence of Caryl's *Peters Pattern*, 1659, is evident.)
- The Acts and Monuments of the Late Rump.* 1660.—in Somers Tracts, Vol. vii.
- A Ballad.* 1660.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*, Vol. i. (Jack Presbyter, talking through his nose, is one of the characters.)
- The qualifications of Persons, declared capable by the Rump Parliament, to elect, or be elected, members to supply their House.* 1660.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. v. (A clever satire of the uses and profits of Godliness. The Puritans are also accused of gross immorality.)
- Don Juan Lamberto; or, a Comical History of the late times.* 1661.—in Somers Tracts, Vol. vii. (This satire is in the form of a mock romance, telling of the activities of public men in the period between the death of Cromwell and

the Restoration. Religious satire is introduced through the almost inevitable attack on Hugh Peters.)

*A Short History of the English Rebellion. Compiled in Verse, by Marchamont Nedham, author of Mercurius Pragmaticus.* 1661.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. II.

*Semper Eidem; or, a Parallel betwixt the ancient and modern Fanaticks.* 1661.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. VII. (This tract was written primarily to discuss a disturbance made in London by the "fanatics." After telling of the occurrence, the author gives a history of fanaticism from the days of Oldcastle. The Quakers, and especially James Naylor, are fiercely attacked. The writer shows some historical ability, makes an attempt to explain the causes of fanaticism, and seems to have a partial realization of the abnormal character of some of the fanatics. It is one of the good minor studies of religious enthusiasm.)

*The History of the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell.* J. H. Gent 1663.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. I

*The Old Cloak.* 1663.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*, Vol. I. (The "Old Cloak" is the hypocritical and vicious Presbyterian party.)

*Cabala, or an Impartial account of the non-conformists Private Designs, actings and wayes. From Aug. 24, 1662 to Dec 25, 1662.* 1663.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. XLI.—Note in pencil—"Sir John Birkenhead." (This tract is in the form of the minutes of a secret committee of ejected ministers who have met to draw up plans for a history of the sufferings of the faithful. The stock phrases of the Puritans, the senseless sermons, the foolish scruples, the hypocritical excuses for lapses from virtue, and, of course, the immorality of the Puritans are all mocked.)

*A Proposal Humbly Offered for the Farming of Liberty of Conscience.* 1663.—in Somers Tracts, Vol. V. (This tract gives an elaborate system, with tables of rates, by which the Dissenters may sell the right to believe. Swift also proposed a swearers' bank, and the attention to detail and the general plan of this *Proposal* may have caught his eye.)

*Hudibras.* Samuel Butler. Part 1, 1663. (Parts 2 and 3, 1664 and 1679, will not be listed separately. The problem of Swift's indebtedness to *Hudibras* is too complicated a one to be even attempted here. It should, however, be stated that Butler clearly distinguished between the Presbyterians and the Independents and gave definite characteristics to each. I have noted attacks on either Presbyterians alone or Independents alone, but the average satire made little or no pretense to separate the various groups of Dissenters. Of course the Quakers were almost outside the pale of even the Independents; i.e. the Brownists, etc., and were given special and detailed attention.)

*The Life and Death of Ralph Wallis the cobbler of Gloucester: together with some inquiring into the mystery of Conventiclistism.* 1670.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. LXXX. (This tract contains a rather good account of why women flock to the conventicle, and also attempts to find the causes of religious zeal.)

Some undated tracts will be listed here as they seem to be closely related to others of the dates of cir. 1670.



- A Catalogue of Books, of the Newest Fashion, to be sold by Auction, at the Whigs Coffee-House, at the Sign of the Jackanapes, in Prating-Alley.*
- The Last Will and Testament of Fathers Peters, as it was found quilled into my Lord Chancellor's Cap.*—in Harl. Misc., Vol. v.
- Some small and simple Reasons, . . . By Aminadab Blower, a devout Bellowsman-der of Pimlico.*—in Harl. Misc., Vol. vii.
- The Old Pharisee, with the New Phylacteries of Presbytery.*—in Harl. Misc., viii.
- The Last Will of George Fox, the Quakers Great Apostlc.*—in Harl. Misc., Vol. ix.
- The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Enquired into, in a letter written to R.L. [Roger L'Estrange.] John Eachard. 1670.* (This was a very popular work, as the ninth edition came in 1685. Swift mentions this book twice: in the 1710 *Apology to A Tale of a Tub*; in *Thoughts on Various Subjects*. Eachard wrote wittily of the methods by which the clergy of the Dissenters aroused zeal in their hearers.)
- The character of a Quaker, in his true and proper Colours; or the Clownish Hypocrite Anatomized.* By R. H. 1671.
- An Assembly Lecture, or a Sermon held forth at a Conventicle.* 1674.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. XLVIII. (This is clearly a poor imitation of Caryl's *Peters Pattern*. The same text is used, and the same points of satire are made.)
- The Character of a Fanatic. By a Person of Quality.* 1675.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. vii. (Here the fanatic mistakes the maggots in his brain for inspiration. Cf. same idea in *Tale of a Tub*, p. 52; *Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, p. 201, T. Scott edition.)
- A Modest account of the Wicked Life of that Grand Impostor, Lodowick Muggleton.* 1676.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. i. (Swift mentions Muggleton in his poem, "The Yahoo's Overthrow.")
- Geneva and Rome; or, the Zeal of Both Boiling over.* 1679.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*. (Inspired by the Popish Plot of 1678 and the feared combination of the Catholics and Puritans.)
- A True and exact copy of a treasonable and bloody paper, Called the Fanaticks New Covenant.* 1680.—in Somers Tracts, Vol. vii. (This tract tells of the plans of the Scottish sect called the Cameronians. If quoted accurately, the paper is certainly piously seditious.)
- The last Speech and dying words of Thomas Lord, alias Colonel Pride; being touched in Conscience for his inhuman murder of the Bears in the Bear-garden.* 1680.—in Harl. Misc., Vol. iii.
- The Casuist uncas'd in a Dialogue betwixt Richard and Baxter, . . .* 1680. Roger L'Estrange. Stuart Tracts, Vol. iv. (In this tract L'Estrange began his work of compiling and publishing the idiocies spoken and written by the Puritans. Mixed with the quotations are satirical comments on Baxter and all Dissenters. It is here that the term "Holy Dialect" is used to characterize the language of the Saints. L'Estrange borrowed many phrases from Edwards' *Gangrena*, another compilation of Puritan, but only Independent, idiocies.)
- A Dialogue betwixt Sam. the Ferriman at Docket, Will, a Waterman of London, and*

- Tom, a bargeman of Oxford upon the Kings calling a Parliament to meet at Oxford.* 1681.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. iv.
- Presbytery Truly Displayed: or, an Impartial Character of the Presbyterian. To which is annexed the Ballad of the Cloak.* 1681.—in English Historical Tracts, Vol. XLVI.
- The Character of a modern Whig or an alamode True Loyal Protestant.* 1681.—in English Historical Tracts, Vol. XLVI.
- A Dialogue between the Pope and a Phanatick, concerning affairs in England.* 1681. A Second Dialogue was also published in 1681.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. iv.
- The Dissenter's Sayings, in Requital for L'Estrange's Sayings. Published in their own words, for the Information of the people.* Roger L'Estrange. Second Edition. 1681.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. iv. (The Puritans had apparently published a tract called *L'Estrange's Sayings*. As in the *Casuist Uncas'd*, L'Estrange makes many quotations from Edward's *Gangrena*.)
- The Dissenter's Sayings The Second Part.* Roger L'Estrange. 1681.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. iv.
- The Shammer Shamm'd.* Roger L'Estrange. 1681.
- Vox Lachrymae, A Sermon Newly Held Forth at Weavers-hall upon the funeral of the Famous T. O. Doctor of Salamanca. By Elephant Smith, Clasp-maker, an unworthy Labourer in the affairs of the Good old Cause.* 1681.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. iv. (The text for this sermon is taken from *Hudibras*. Canto. 1; 1, 2, 3, 4. The tract is another imitation of the Puritan Holy Dialect.)
- Remarks on the Growth and Progress of Non-conformity.* Roger L'Estrange. 1682.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xcii.
- A most learned, conscientious and devout Exercise, or Sermon of Self-Denyal, Preached or Held forth—by Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell.* 1682.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. iv. (Cromwell is represented as making very obscene remarks about the women of "the flock of Saints.")
- The Roundheads Resolution.* 1682.—in Somers Tracts, Vol. v.
- Mercurius Menippeus, The Loyal Satirist; or, Hudibras in Prose, written by an unknown hand in the time of the late Rebellion, but never till now published.* 1682.—in Somers Tracts, Vol. vii. (A note says: "This tract was probably written either by Butler or Birkenhead." This tract has the usual themes of satire of the lowly positions of the Puritans, pious hypocrisy, sexual irregularities.) Cf. Lamar's ed. of Butler, *Satires and Misc. Poetry and Prose*, (1928).
- Religio Laici.* John Dryden. 1682. (This poem is too well-known to need more than the comment that it contributed few new themes to the attack on the Dissenters.)
- Sphinx Lugduno—Genevensis Sive Reformatore Proteus containing the True Character of Sanctified Legion.* 1682.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xvii.
- Beaufrons: or, a New Discovery of Treason under the Fair-face and Mask of Religion and of Liberty of Conscience.* David Jenner. 1682.
- Considerations upon a Printed Sheet Entitled the Speech of the Late Lord Russell to the Sheriffs.* Roger L'Estrange. 1683.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. iv.

- The Character of an Honest Man; whether stiled Whig or Tory, and his opposite, the Knave* 1683.—in Somers Tracts, Vol. iv.
- Vox Clamantis; or, a cry to Protestant Dissenters, calling them from unwarrantable ways.* 1683.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xcii.
- Third Dialogue Between the Pope and A Phanatick.* 1684.—Stuart Tracts, xcii.
- An Awakening Work in Season to the Grand-Jury-Men of the Nation.* 1684.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xcii.
- A Christian Caveat to all Loyal Subjects: or, a Looking-Glass Displaying the foul face of Phanaticism.* 1684.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xcii.
- The Hind and the Panther.* John Dryden. 1687. (Unlike the *Religio Laici* and most of the satires, this poem differentiates between the various groups of Puritans.)
- A Letter to a Dissenter, upon occasion of his majesty's late gracious Declaration of Indulgence.* By George, Marquis of Halifax. 1687.—Somers Tracts, Vol. ix.
- A Short Litany.* 1687.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*.
- A Litany Recommended to the Ecclesiastical Commisioners.* 1689.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*.
- An account of the Design of the late Narrative: Entitled, the Dissenters New Plots.* 1689.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xcii.
- Pandora's Box; or, the Mischievous Effects of the word "Abdicate."* 1689.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*. (In the years 1687 and 1689 there was an increasing number of political tracts. However, these also said that the Puritans were using religion as a cloak hiding the most treasonable schemes. This later period lost some of the earlier interest in the heresies and evil practices of the religious bodies, although we shall soon see that Tom Brown brought back the old traditional type of attack. Unifying the religious and political attack on the Puritans is the emphasis placed by the Royalists and Anglicans upon the supposed utter hypocrisy of the Saints. As we approach the time of Swift we must keep in mind the varying changes in the convention of attack on the Dissenters. Certainly we can say that it was becoming more political in most instances.)
- Brethren in Iniquity; or, the Confederacy of Papists with Sectaries.* 1690.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xcii.
- The Trimmer.* D'Urfey. 1690.—in Wilkins, *Political Ballads*.
- A True and Impartial Narrative of the Dissenters New Plot, with a large and exact Relation of all their old ones.* 1690.—in Stuart Tracts, Vol. xcii.
- The Character of the Wisest Man.* 1696.—in Somers Tracts, Vol. ix.

It is rather fitting to close the bibliography with the works of Thomas Brown, since, as has been said, he marks a singularly reactionary tendency in satire of the Puritans. A contemporary of Swift, he may have had an important bearing upon the latter's ideas.<sup>3</sup> With Brown we have once more, except in one poem perhaps, the old ridicule of a people who

<sup>3</sup> See E. N. S. Thompson, "Tom Brown and the Eighteenth Century Satirists," *MLN*. xxxii; "Tom Brown and Gulliver," *MLN*, xxxiii.

must have changed greatly since the days of Peters and the Quaker Christ, James Naylor. Although satire of the Puritans was becoming political in nature, the presence and popularity of Brown's traditional attacks may point to a firm conviction in some English minds that the Dissenters were the same lustful hypocrites as of old. Therefore, the satires of Brown are presented here, for, although there is no clear proof that all of them antedate *A Tale of a Tub*, at least some of them are part of the English scene in the last years of seventeenth century and were undoubtedly available to Swift.

*Novus Reformator Vapulans; or, the Welch Levite Tossed in a Blanket.* 1691 (Here is shown a new Puritan—David J—nes, the burly, blustering evangelist who is ready to reform anyone and fight against any sin. The old insults are hurled against him, but Brown cleverly represents him as better educated than the old-type zealot; in fact, he is quite a recognizable figure. But I must emphasize the fact that he still has the old faults )

*The Moralist: or, a Satyr upon the Sects* 1691 By the author of the *Weesil*. (The tract is undoubtedly Brown's. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* gives Brown as he author of the *Weesil*. *The Moralist* is an attack on all the clergy. To the "moralist" a "hypocrite in black" means Vicar as well as Priest, Presbyter, or Independent Preacher. A better and broader type of religious satire was here promised by Brown—but his early promise was not kept.)

*From J. Naylor, to his Friends at the Bull and Mouth.* From *Letters from the Dead to the Living*. (Writing from Hell, Naylor sends greetings to his Brothers. It is reasonable to assume that Quakers had changed since the days of Naylor, but Brown assumes that they as fanatic as ever. Those critics who believe that Swift was coarse are invited to read many of the satires previously cited and then the attacks of Brown. After this course in reading, they will perhaps realize the background which created the undeniably coarse poems and prose satires of the Dean.)

*The Quakers Answer to James Naylor.* From the *Letters*.

*Mr. Brown's Sermon at a Quaker Meeting.*

*The Continuation of the Quaker's Sermon.* (In this tract is found the mock Puritan blessing: "Water us, young shrubs, with the Dew of thy Blessing, that we may grow up into tall oaks, and may live to be saw'd out into Deal-boards, to wainscoat thy New Jerusalem." *The Family of Love*, Middleton, 1608, has somewhat the same prayer: "men of his coat might grow up like cedars to make good wainscoat in the House of Sincerity." It is obvious that Brown is often drawing upon a long-established tradition of satire.)

*Quaker's Meeting.* From *A Walk round London and Westminster*. (In his *Amusements Serious and Comical* Brown tells of visits to the Quakers and to the Presbyterians. The latter are accused of using the repute of religion and holiness to get them business credit and trust. The adoration of God, sincere and humble prayers, and grateful Thanksgiving are the least of the business of the church. At times Brown had a keen insight and serious thought that made his satires almost the equal of Swift's.)

*Letter of News from Mr. Joseph Haines of Merry Memory, to his Friends at Will's Coffee-House.* From the *Letters*.

*Second Letter from Mr. Haines.*

*Alsop's State of Conformity; or, an account of a Conversation between a Gentleman of Oxford, and Mr. Alsop, the Great Rabbi of the Dissenting Party, about his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in the year 1687.* (Mr. E. N. S. Thompson (see references to articles in note 3) believes that this tract "resembles in all respects the story of the will in *A Tale of a Tub*.")

*A Dialogue betwixt Sir Roger L'Estrange, Harry Carr, and a Dissenter.*

*Jo. Haine's 3rd Letter to Will's Coffee-house.*

*Madam Creswell to Moll Quarles.* From the *Letters*. (Madam Creswell, decreased keeper of bawdy-houses, advises Moll, still a proprietor, to keep an atmosphere of deep piety. The Puritans are satirized for their carnality and equally pious excuses.)

*Answer of Moll Quarles to Madam Creswell.*

*The Widow's Wedding: or, a True account of Dr. Oat's Marriage with a Muggletonian Widow.*

*From Hugh Peters to D——l, B——s, of Covent-Garden.* (James Naylor is mentioned. Certainly Brown went far back into the history of fanaticism.)

It may be said in concluding that with Tom Brown we are faced with a problem. Was he alone in his reversion to the old type of satire, and the calling to life of the figures of Peters and Naylor, or had this tradition never died and the enemies of Puritanism never forgotten these men? The Dissenters had most assuredly become less fanatic than in the days of the Rebellion; but had the people of England forgotten their old concepts of the seditious, hypocritical, and lustful Puritans? If Brown were but catering to the public taste, then we have established one important phase of the immediate background of Swift's treatment of Jack. If the satires of Brown did not reflect the public reaction, then Swift's background will be quite different. This question can never be solved until we are sure we have examined *all* the religious satires of the last two, at least, decades of the seventeenth century. It has been proven, I believe,<sup>4</sup> that parts of Swift's *Tale of a Tub* were very much in keeping with earlier traditions of satire; it is, therefore, possible that Brown was the spokesman for a large group of English people who looked upon the Puritans in much the same way as had their fathers and grandfathers in the days when Dissenters were really quite fanatic.

No startling deductions can be drawn from this bibliography. It has been proven that in the seventeenth century there was a very active attack on the Puritans, but we knew that before. However, certain interesting aspects of the satire can be pointed out.

<sup>4</sup> See reference to article, note 1.

The attack changed gradually in so far as Puritan sedition and rebellion sometimes took the place of heresy as a favorite theme for denunciation, but certain fundamental concepts of the Dissenters were apparently consistently held by their enemies.<sup>5</sup> The scoffers were at all times convinced that almost utter hypocrisy motivated the actions and thinking of the less stupid Puritans. At times Puritanism was active in political rebellion; at others in heretical and blasphemous practices, but at no time was it sincere—it always sought for personal gain and glory, or so said the majority of the satirists. It is true that a few men indirectly freed the Puritans from the stigma of conscious hypocrisy when their studies led them to believe that physiological forces caused fanaticism, but such men, however great their influence may have been on Swift, were in the vast minority. There was also a firm conviction that the common people were incurably stupid. Upon these two basic ideas of Puritans: (1) their hypocrisy and relative cunning; (2) their abysmal stupidity and irrationality, was built a century of satire. Along with these themes of attack was the almost universal<sup>6</sup> accusation that the Puritans were grossly immoral and, furthermore, sinned even more grievously in hypocritically excusing their lust.

This then is what Swift inherited. Coarse though most of the satires were, many were hard-hitting, clever, and witty, and the developing satirist must have read them with joy. We can better understand the coarse humor of Swift, his many themes of attack, and the figures of Jack from the *Tale of a Tub* and the sex-ridden enthusiasts of the *Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* by realizing how powerful and traditional was the satiric background from which he developed.

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<sup>5</sup> It scarcely need be pointed out that they still exist in many writings about modern zealots. <sup>6</sup> Butler, Eachard, and Dryden seem exceptions.

## XIV

### THE RELATION OF COLERIDGE'S *ODE ON DEJECTION* TO WORDSWORTH'S *ODE ON INTIMATIONS* OF IMMORTALITY

IT is well known that Coleridge had Wordsworth in mind when he wrote his *Ode on Dejection*<sup>1</sup>—the poem is addressed to Wordsworth,<sup>2</sup> mentions Wordsworth's *Lucy Gray*, and was first published on the day of Wordsworth's wedding; but that Coleridge's *Ode* may have been influenced by Wordsworth's great *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* has been generally overlooked.<sup>3</sup> If the date of Wordsworth's *Ode* is 1803–1806, as it is often given in the anthologies and histories, such influence is impossible, because we know Coleridge's *Dejection* was composed April 4, 1802.<sup>4</sup> The date 1803–1806, however, is not accepted by most scholars;<sup>5</sup> Professor John D. Rea emphatically states, "It is known that the date 1803 is wrong; the *Ode* was begun 1802."<sup>6</sup> The passage in Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journal*, written March 27, 1802, "At breakfast William wrote part of an ode,"<sup>7</sup> refers, it is now believed, to the *Ode: Intimations of Immortality*. On March 27, 1802, Wordsworth was writing his great *Ode*; and a week later, on April 4, 1802, Coleridge wrote his.

Some interesting contrasts occur in the two odes. In Wordsworth's *Ode* grief finds relief and ends in joy; in Coleridge's, grief finds no relief and ends in dejection. It is morning in Wordsworth's *Ode*, midnight in Coleridge's. In the former it is May and the "sun shines warm"; in the

<sup>1</sup> See Alfred Ainger's article in *Macmillan's Magazine* (June, 1887) called "Coleridge's *Ode* to Wordsworth."

<sup>2</sup> See Coleridge's letter to W. Sotheby, written July 19, 1802. This letter contains the earliest version of the *Dejection Ode*, but omits parts of the poem. *The Letters of S. T. Coleridge*, ed. by E. H. Coleridge (Boston, 1895), I, 376–384.

<sup>3</sup> John D. Rea, in an article "Coleridge's *Intimations of Immortality* from Proclus," *Mod. Phil.*, xxvi, 201 ff., noticing a similarity between the two poems calls them "twin odes." Professor Rea, however, is concerned with pointing out not Wordsworth's influence upon Coleridge, but Coleridge's influence upon Wordsworth. He shows that the idealism in Wordsworth's *Ode* is derived from Coleridge.

<sup>4</sup> It was printed in the *Morning Post*, Oct. 4, 1802, with the title, *Dejection: An Ode, Written April 4, 1802*.

<sup>5</sup> George M. Harper, *William Wordsworth: His Life, Works, and Influence* (New York, 1916), p. 122; H. W. Garrod, *Wordsworth: Lectures and Essays* (Oxford, 1922), p. 112; Arthur Beatty, *William Wordsworth: His Doctrine and Art* (Madison, 1927), p. 82; Ernest Bernbaum, *Guide and Anthology of Romanticism* (New York, 1930), III, 174.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by William Knight (London, 1897), I, 104.

latter it is the "month of showers." Wordsworth hears the happy shouts of children; Coleridge hears the wind raving and "screaming of agony."

Notice the following parallel passages:<sup>8</sup>

There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,  
 . . . . .  
 To me did seem  
 Apparelled in celestial light,  
 . . . . .  
 It is not now as it hath been of yore (*Immortality*, 1-6).

There was a time when, tho' my path was rough,  
 . . . . .  
 . . . Hope grew round me, . . .  
 But now afflictions bow me down to earth (*Dejection*, 77-83).

In both poems the passage begins, "There was a time when," and in both there is a contrast between what was and is. Wordsworth says:

*The earth* . . . . .  
 . . . . . did seem  
*Apparelled in celestial light,*  
 The glory and the freshness of a dream (*Immortality*, 2-5),

and Coleridge:

Ah! from the soul itself must issue forth,  
 A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud  
 Enveloping the earth (*Dejection*, 54-56).

In both poems "the earth" is apparelled or enveloped in a "light" and "glory." Coleridge's "luminous cloud" may be compared to the "celestial light" or the "clouds of glory" of Wordsworth's *Ode* (65).

Wordsworth describes the moon when the "heavens are bare" and "the waters on a starry night" as "beautiful" and "fair" (*Immortality*, 12-15). Coleridge uses the same adjectives when he describes the stars and the moon "in its own cloudless, starless lake of blue" as "fair" and "beautiful" (*Dejection*, 33-39). Wordsworth says:

The things which I have seen I now can see no more (*Immortality*, 9),  
 but he adds a little later:

The fulness of your bliss, I feel—I feel it all (*Immortality*, 42),

<sup>8</sup> Quotations from Coleridge's poem are from the *Morning Post* version of Oct. 4, 1802, the first published version. It may be found in *The Poetical Works of Coleridge*, ed. by J. D. Campbell (Macmillan, 1893), pp. 522-524; and in *Coleridge's Poems*, ed. by E. H. Coleridge (Oxford, 1912), II, 1076-1081.



He can see no more, but he can feel; and now notice that Coleridge says (the italics are his):

I *see*, not *feel* how beautiful they are (*Dejection*, 39).

Wordsworth:

To me alone there came a thought of grief:  
A timely utterance gave that thought relief (*Immortality*, 22-23),

but there is no relief for Coleridge:

A stifled, drowsy, unimpassion'd grief,  
Which finds no nat'ral outlet, no relief (*Dejection*, 22-23).

It is a curious coincidence that these lines, so alike in wording, and catching as they do the essential moods of the two poets, should in both poems be lines 22-23.

These lines have a similar sound:

The sunshine is a glorious birth (*Immortality*, 16).  
And may this storm be but a mountain-birth (*Dejection*, 123).

The following parallel passages when taken separately have little value, but when taken together, in conjunction with the parallelisms noted above, all of them found in 58 lines of Wordsworth's *Ode* and 139 lines of the *Dejection Ode*, they merit consideration:

*The Immortality Ode*

"Doth the same tale repeat" (56).  
"I hear the echoes" (27).  
"The freshness of a dream" (5).  
"Fields of sleep" (28).  
"The cataracts blow their trumpets"  
(25).<sup>9</sup>

*The Dejection Ode*

"It tells another tale" (111).  
"The echoes of that voice" (74).  
"Dark distressful dream" (89).  
"The sleeping earth" (126).  
The wind a "Mad Lutanist" (98).

The motto at the head of Wordsworth's *Ode* is taken from his poem, *The Rainbow*, and there is mention of the rainbow in the tenth line of the *Ode*. Coleridge has as his motto four lines from *Sir Patrick Spence* about the "new moon with the old moon in her arms," and the first twenty lines of his poem deal with this sign and the storm it portends. The rainbow is a sign in the heavens that the rain is over and the sun will shine—a symbol of hope. The "new moon with the old moon in her arms" is a sign in the heavens indicating a storm, a "deadly storm." True, the motto of Wordsworth's *Ode* was not added until 1815, but we believe that in the spring of 1802 *The Rainbow* was closely connected

<sup>9</sup> Compare also "This sweet May-morning" (*Immortality*, 45) with "this sweet primrose-month," in the poem as sent to W. Sotheby, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

with the *Ode*. It was written, according to Dorothy Wordsworth, on March 26,<sup>10</sup> and on March 27 "William wrote part of an ode." Harper says, "The ode was probably conceived in the spring of 1802, immediately after he had written the nine lines which are its germ, and of which he used the last three as its motto."<sup>11</sup> Garrod, too, closely associates the *Ode* and *The Rainbow*: "When in lines 22-23 of the *Ode* Wordsworth says:

To me alone there came a thought of grief:  
A timely utterance gave that thought relief,

the timely utterance may very well be the *Rainbow* poem itself."<sup>12</sup> Rea believes the two poems "are really part of one poem."<sup>13</sup> So Coleridge may have regarded them when he composed his *Dejection*.

I consider these parallelisms too numerous to be mere coincidences, and I think there has been imitation, conscious or unconscious, on the part of one of the two poets. I think Coleridge was the borrower for the following reasons: first, we have Dorothy Wordsworth's statement to the effect that Wordsworth was writing an ode, now considered the *Immortality Ode*, a week before Coleridge wrote his; secondly, it is well known that Coleridge was the more imitative of the two poets. Lowes has shown in *The Road to Xanadu*<sup>14</sup> that *Kubla Khan* and *The Ancient Mariner* are full of phrases Coleridge had read or heard. In Coleridge "we have to do," says Lowes, "with one of the most extraordinary memories of which there is record."<sup>15</sup> Dykes Campbell says "there are more distinct traces of Wordsworth's influence on Coleridge's poetry than of the converse, for Coleridge by virtue of his quicker sense, was the more imitative."<sup>16</sup> When Wordsworth read to Coleridge the *Ode*, the phrases probably struck deep.<sup>17</sup>

These parallelisms occur in the 139 lines of Coleridge's ode and the first four stanzas (fifty-eight lines) of Wordsworth's. According to the Fenwick note, "two years at least passed between the writing of the first four stanzas and the remaining part" of Wordsworth's *Ode*. With regard, however, to the accuracy of the notes Miss Fenwick took down from Wordsworth's dictation, most scholars agree with Harper when he says that "they should not be too unquestioningly depended upon."<sup>18</sup> Wordsworth was seventy-three when he dictated the notes, many years

<sup>10</sup> D. W. *Journals*, I, 104.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 122.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu*, (Boston, 1927).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxxvii

<sup>17</sup> Lowes quotes C. V. Le Grice, one of Coleridge's fellow-students at Cambridge. According to Le Grice, Coleridge could read a book in the morning, and in the evening repeat whole pages verbatim. *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 408.

had passed since the poems were written, and Miss Fenwick was an "overexcitable lady."<sup>19</sup> Perhaps all that Wordsworth said, or intended to say, was that at least two years passed between the writing of the first and the last parts of the Ode. Rea<sup>20</sup> gives reasons for thinking that Wordsworth wrote the first 129 lines in 1802. Let us look, therefore, for echoes in the *Dejection Ode* of lines in Wordsworth's *Ode* after the fourth stanza.

Wordsworth tells of a "little child,"<sup>21</sup> a boy, so happy he seems in Heaven; and this child is, according to the usual interpretation of the poem, Coleridge's own child, Hartley. Coleridge tells of a "little child,"<sup>22</sup> a girl who "hath lost her way" and "now moans low in utter grief"; this child is Wordsworth's—that is to say, a child of his imagination, the Lucy Gray of his poem.

Wordsworth speaks of the child as "The little actor" (103), addressing him as "Thou best philosopher" (111) and "Mighty Prophet! Seer blest!" (115). Coleridge addresses the wind as "Thou Actor" (102). "Thou mighty Poet" (103).

In his *Biographia Literaria* Coleridge objects to Wordsworth's regarding a "six years' darling" as a philosopher. "In what sense," Coleridge asks, "is a child of that age a *philosopher*? . . . or so inspired as to deserve the splendid title of a *mighty prophet*, a *blessed seer*?"<sup>23</sup> Is he in the *Dejection Ode* saying that the wind is a better actor and more deserving of the splendid title "mighty prophet," because it speaks the truth, telling of the "groans of men"? It tells a tale of a child, not so happy as the child in the *Immortality Ode*, an unhappy child who "hath lost her way."

Observe that the child in Wordsworth's poem acts his part on a "humorous stage," but the wind is a tragic actor, "perfect in all tragic sounds." Observe also that these passages, in which child and wind are called actors, philosophers, poets, and prophets, occur at the same places in the poems, ll. 100–115.

Wordsworth thinks of life in terms of weddings and funerals; Coleridge in terms of wedding-garments and shrouds.

A wedding or a festival,  
A mourning or a funeral (*Immortality*, 94–95).

And in our life alone does Nature live:  
Ours is her wedding-garment, ours her shroud (*Dejection*, 49–50).

But he beholds the *light*, and whence it flows (*Immortality*, 70).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 408.

<sup>21</sup> *Intimations of Immortality*, 122.

<sup>23</sup> *Biographia Literaria*, ch. XXII.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> *Dejection*, 115.

And *thence flows* all that charms or ear or sight,  
 . . . . .  
 All colours a suffusion from that *light* (*Dejection*, 73-75).  
 Thou best philosopher, who yet dost keep  
 Thy heritage, thou eye among the blind (*Immortality*, 111-112).  
 And still I gaze—and with how blank an eye (*Dejection*, 30).  
 Full soon thy soul shall have her earthly freight,  
 And custom lie upon thee with a weight  
 Heavy as frost (*Immortality*, 127-129).  
 And what can these avail,  
 To lift the smoth'ring weight from off my breast (*Dejection*,  
 41-42).

If we accept the Fenwick note as authentic, then we must say that since lines 59-129 of Wordsworth's *Ode* were written after April 4, 1802, whatever resemblances we have found between this part of the *Ode* and Coleridge's *Dejection Ode* are due rather to Coleridge's influence upon Wordsworth. The accuracy of the Fenwick notes, however, is questioned, and if we reject the date 1803, given by Wordsworth, as inaccurate for the first four stanzas, perhaps we can reject as inaccurate, also, the statement with reference to the break coming after the fourth stanza. These parallels, I believe, show that on April 4, 1802, Coleridge had become acquainted with a good part of the first 129 lines of Wordsworth's *Ode*. I say "a good part," for Wordsworth may have added or changed a few lines during the summer.<sup>24</sup> I find no resemblances between Coleridge's *Dejection* and lines 130-204 of Wordsworth's *Ode*.

We can only conjecture with regard to the reason for the similarity between the two odes, but let us turn to the lives of the two poets in the spring of 1802. Wordsworth was then doing some of his best work; he had entered upon what has been called his "second period of productive energy."<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, he was carrying on a courtship with Mary Hutchinson, which was to end during the year in a marriage that "completed the circle of his felicity."<sup>26</sup> All was well with Wordsworth in the spring of 1802. But it was otherwise with Coleridge. On account of poor health he had become a slave to the opium habit; he had lost his self-respect as well as "the shaping spirit of Imagination." He was unhappily married and therefore not free to marry Sarah Hutchinson, Mary's sister, whom he loved.<sup>27</sup> He had gone to London in November

<sup>24</sup> D. W. *Journals*, I, 132; and see Rea, *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Hutchinson, *Wordsworth's Poetical Works* (Oxford, 1904).

<sup>26</sup> John Morley's introduction to the *Works of Wordsworth* (Macmillan, 1898), p. LVI.

<sup>27</sup> For an account of Coleridge's love for Sarah Hutchinson see Thomas M. Raysor, "Coleridge and 'Asra,'" *SP*, xxvi, 305 ff.

hoping a change would do him good, but returned in low spirits to the Lake District on March 18 and spent the next two days with the Wordsworths.<sup>28</sup> The week after Coleridge returned to Keswick, Wordsworth worked upon some of his happiest poems, *The Cuckoo*, *To a Butterfly*, *The Rainbow*, and an ode which we believe was the *Immortality Ode*.<sup>29</sup> On April 4, the date of the *Dejection Ode*, Dorothy and her brother visited Coleridge, and "William repeated his verses to them."<sup>30</sup> The verses must have been those Wordsworth had been recently writing, and as Coleridge listened, he heard numerous phrases testifying to Wordsworth's joy in life—"I hear thee and rejoice" (*The Cuckoo*), "my heart leaps up" (*The Rainbow*), "with joy I hear" (*Immortality Ode*). Happy Wordsworth, unhappy Coleridge! Perhaps Wordsworth talked about his approaching marriage, for he was leaving next day for Yorkshire to spend a week with the Hutchinsons.<sup>31</sup> How Coleridge would have liked to go with him to visit Sarah.

After Dorothy and her brother depart, Coleridge cannot help contrasting his own condition with that of his friend. Once they were both writing poems; those were happy days when they planned the *Lyrical Ballads*. Now Wordsworth is composing one good poem after another, experimenting with new verse forms, writing his first ode; but Coleridge's best work is behind him.<sup>32</sup> Happy love and marriage are for Wordsworth, but Coleridge's domestic life is a failure. If only he were free to marry Sarah! Certainly to him alone come many thoughts of grief, but unlike Wordsworth's experience as described in the *Ode* to which he has been listening, he cannot find relief. Let us suppose that Coleridge in this mood reviews the poems he has heard Wordsworth recite, and as he does so a poem begins to take form.<sup>33</sup> The following account of Coleridge's mental processes is, of course, conjectural, and is offered merely as a suggestion as to what may have occurred, while at the same time it points out parallels. Let us suppose, then, that Coleridge with the contrast between his own situation and that of Wordsworth in mind and with the phrases from the poems Wordsworth had recited resounding in his ears, meditated thus:

My heart does not leap up [*The Rainbow*] whether I contemplate a rainbow or a storm. Would that the storm now on its way might "raise me" and "send my

<sup>28</sup> D. W. *Journals*, I, 103.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 103-104.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 105.

<sup>31</sup> Harper, *op. cit.*, II, 22.

<sup>32</sup> "I think it may be said Coleridge the creative poet died about 1802."—William Knight, *The Life of William Wordsworth* (Edinburgh, 1889), II, 165.

<sup>33</sup> As several years later, after Wordsworth had read to him *The Prelude*, Coleridge wrote the poem called *To a Gentleman, Composed on the Night after his Recitation of a Poem on the Growth of an Individual Mind*.

soul abroad" [Dej. 17-18] as it once did. In my case the child has not been "father of the man" [*The Rainbow*], for once I could feel these things. Wordsworth, too, says that "it is not now as it hath been of yore" [Im. 6], that nature is less "fair" and "beautiful," that there are things which he "can see no more" [Im. 9]. I can *see* they are "fair" and "beautiful," but I can not *feel* as he does [Dej. 39]. When such a thought of grief comes to Wordsworth he can find relief. He hears the cuckoo and rejoices because it brings him "a tale of visionary hours," it begets "that golden time again," he hears it and rejoices [*The Cuckoo*]; "while the birds thus sing a joyous song" [Im. 19] he can find relief. "Yonder thristle" has been trying to woo *me* to happier thoughts [Dej. 26], but in vain. "A timely utterance" gives Wordsworth relief, and again he is strong [Im. 23-24], but I find no relief, "in word, or sigh, or tear" [Dej. 24]. I can not from "outward forms" [Dej. 46]—from the rainbow, the cuckoo, the butterfly, the happy shouts of children—win the passion and the life whose fountains are within [Dej. 47]. Whether nature wears for us a wedding-garment or a shroud [Dej. 50] depends upon one's soul. For Wordsworth nature wears a wedding-garment, for me a shroud. "In our life alone does Nature live" [Dej. 49]. If the child is happy, if to him the earth seems "apparelled in celestial light and glory" [Im. 4-5], it is because there is joy in his heart, because his soul is right. If Wordsworth can share the joy of children, it is because he is "pure of heart" [Dej. 60], he has the "simple spirit" [Dej. 136] of the child, there is joy in his heart. If a thought of grief comes to him, he can become "strong" again [Im. 24], because there is "strong music" [Dej. 61] in his soul. Wordsworth has much to say of joy in his ode: "the birds sing a joyous song" [Im. 19], "thou child of joy" [Im. 34], "with joy I hear" [Im. 51], ["he sees it in his joy," Im. 71]<sup>34</sup> ["with new joy and pride"—Im. 102]. Joy is the "beauty-making power," Wordsworth. "Joy, blameless poet! Joy that never was given save to the pure" [Dej. 65-66]. "If the earth we pace, again appears to be an unsubstantial, faery place" [*The Cuckoo*], ["if Heaven lies about us in our infancy"—Im. 67], "Joy, William, is the spirit and the power that gives in dower a new Earth and a new Heaven" [Dej. 67-69]. If the birds sing "a joyous song" [Im. 19], if the "wandering voice" of the cuckoo makes one rejoice [*The Cuckoo*], if the earth seems "apparelled in celestial light" [Im. 4], if the heart leaps up when one beholds a "rainbow in the sky" [*The Rainbow*], "Joy is the sweet voice, Joy the luminous cloud—we, we ourselves rejoice" [Dej. 71-72].

And if Coleridge had become acquainted with more than the first four stanzas of Wordsworth's *Ode*, he might have proceeded:

Wordsworth says, "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting—trailing clouds of glory do we come—the growing Boy beholds the light—at length the Man perceives it die away and fade into the light of common day" [Im. 59-77]. Rather say, "each visitation of afflictions suspends what nature gave me at my birth, my shaping spirit of Imagination" [Dej. 85-87]. Wordsworth says that because "Earth fills her lap with pleasures of her own" [Im. 78] man forgets the glories

<sup>34</sup> Bracketed, to show that it is not included in the first four stanzas.

he has known [Im. 83-84]; rather say that because earth fills her lap with afflictions, I have lost that early glory. "Afflictions bow me down to earth" [Dej. 83]. "There was a time when" I, too, out of misfortunes could make dreams of happiness [Dej. 79-80] as Wordsworth shows he can in his ode. Wordsworth says, "Heaven lies about us in our infancy" [Im. 67]. "Hope grew round me" [Dej. 81], too, when I was a boy. Wordsworth says that the child because he keeps his heritage is an "eye among the blind" [Im. 112]; I have lost my heritage and now "I gaze—and with how blank an eye" [Dej. 30]. Because of inner joy, that beauty-making power, Wordsworth sees a "little child" [Im. 122] happy in his "mother's kisses" [Im. 89]. The "little actor" [Im. 103] on the stage of life is to him a "mighty prophet, seer blest" [Im. 115] because on him rest truths "which we are toiling all our lives to find" [Im. 117]. Thus Fancy makes for Wordsworth a dream of happiness [Dej. 80], but viper thoughts "haunt my mind" [Dej. 88-89]. Instead of rainbows I see signs of storm. The raving wind outside is my "actor" [Dej. 102], my "Mighty poet" [Dej. 103], and speaks not of immortality but of the "groans of men" [Dej. 106]. It tells a tale not of a little child happy in his mother's kisses but of a "little child" [Dej. 115]—Wordsworth knows her—who has lost her way and screaming "hopes to make her mother hear" [Dej. 119]. Wordsworth *does* warn the child that as he grows older his soul shall have her earthly freight and custom lie upon him with a weight heavy as frost" [Im. 128-129]. And Wordsworth can point to the boy's father as an example, for what can there avail "to lift the smothering weight from off my breast"? [Dej. 41-42]. Seldom does Wordsworth feel this weight, but if he does, may he rise with "light heart" [Dej. 126] and "gay fancy" [Dej. 127] to join the children who when "all the earth is gay" [Im. 29] "give themselves up to jollity with the heart of May" [Im. 31-32]. "Joy lifts his spirit, joy attunes his voice" [Dej. 135].

In some such way Coleridge's poem may have outlined itself in his mind. He would compose an Ode on Dejection. It was late, but Coleridge found night the best time for composition.<sup>35</sup> He would write a companion piece<sup>36</sup> to Wordsworth's "L'Allegro."

There is nothing to show that Wordsworth recognized in Coleridge's *Ode* a companion piece to his own. We are not told when he first became acquainted with it. Dorothy writes on April 21, "Coleridge came to us, and repeated the verses he wrote to Sara. I was affected with them, and in miserable spirits."<sup>37</sup> Knight<sup>38</sup> thinks these verses may have been the *Dejection Ode* even though the earliest known version shows the poem was addressed to Wordsworth. The poem was inspired, let us say, by Wordsworth's *Ode* and the contrast between Wordsworth's success and Coleridge's failure; but the mood of dejection was inspired in part

<sup>35</sup> Lowes, *op. cit.*, 176.

<sup>36</sup> Both odes are irregular. The closest resemblance in structure is found in the second section of Wordsworth's ode and the third section of Coleridge's.

<sup>37</sup> D. W. *Journals*, I, 110.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 110, footnote.

by Coleridge's hopeless love for Sarah. Therefore, he had the choice of addressing the poem to Wordsworth or to Sarah; and perhaps he addressed the poem to both in two different versions.<sup>39</sup> An explanation somewhat like this is suggested by Raysor when he says that the verses repeated to Wordsworth and his sister "may in reality be a second draft developing the poem and adapting it to a different purpose in order to conceal its original application."<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps Coleridge did not wish his friend to feel that the contrast between Wordsworth's success and his own failure was a cause of his dejection; it would look as if he were begrudging Wordsworth his happiness. In reading the poem to the Wordsworths, therefore, Coleridge decided to address the poem to Sarah, as the great reason for his unhappiness.

Wordsworth may have felt, nevertheless, that the contrast was troubling Coleridge, and therefore decided to write a poem giving his friend some advice in regard to success and happiness. *The Leech Gatherer* was begun on May 3,<sup>41</sup> when the new moon appeared again with the old moon in her arms; if Wordsworth had become acquainted with Coleridge's *Dejection Ode*, he must have thought of it at this time. *The Leech Gatherer*, sometimes called *Resolution and Independence*, could have been written as a reply to the *Dejection Ode*:

As high as we have mounted in delight  
In our dejection do we sink as low (24-25)

We Poets in our youth begin in gladness;  
But thereof come in the end despondency and madness (48-49).

Yet Coleridge himself is to blame; what he needs is some of the resolution and independence of the old leech gatherer.

But how can he expect that others should  
Build for him, sow for him, and at his call  
Love him, who for himself will take no heed at all? (40-42)

And what if there is a storm as the new moon foretells, and what if the wind does rave as Coleridge says in the *Dejection Ode*, tomorrow the sun will shine again,

There was a roaring in the wind all night;  
The rain came heavily and fell in floods;  
But now the sun is rising calm and bright (1-3).

<sup>39</sup> Could the version published in the *Sibylline Leaves*, 1817, with its "Dear Lady" in the place of "Wordsworth," be the "verses to Sara"?

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> D. W. *Journals*, I, 116.



This poem was started by Wordsworth on May 3. Two days later Dorothy writes: "The moon had the old moon in her arms, but not so plain to be seen as the night before. When we went to bed it was a boat without the circle."<sup>42</sup> Lowes<sup>43</sup> thinks that Dorothy must have become acquainted with Coleridge's poem, for there is reference not only to the new moon with the old moon in her arms, but also to Coleridge's comparison of the moon to a "sky-canoe."<sup>44</sup>

Why did Coleridge publish his ode in the *Morning Post* on Wordsworth's wedding day? Harper says, "He doubtless chose that date out of compliment to his friend."<sup>45</sup> It was a sort of wedding gift. Dykes Campbell calls it "a sad enough Epithalamium."<sup>46</sup> I believe it was Coleridge's way of emphasizing his own great disappointment. When Wordsworth was bound for the Hutchinsons, probably to make arrangements for his marriage, Coleridge wrote the poem; when the marriage took place he published it. Wordsworth was marrying Mary Hutchinson, but Coleridge, alas, was not marrying Mary's sister. Nevertheless, "he rejoiced," Harper thinks, "that what he lacked his friend possessed,"<sup>47</sup> and ended his poem with the lines in praise of Wordsworth:

O lofty Poet, full of life and love,  
Brother and friend of my devoutest choice,  
Thus may'st thou ever, evermore rejoice!

Along with his rejoicing at Wordsworth's happiness there was, I believe, a feeling of "It might have been,"<sup>48</sup> and just a little envy because his friend through marriage to Mary will be closer to Sarah than he can ever hope to be.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 118.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, 175.

<sup>44</sup> In the *Morning Post* version. The line is omitted in the 1817 version.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 39.

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. lxii, footnote.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 39.

<sup>48</sup> As in a letter written in 1819 to a friend about to be married, Coleridge wrote: "O! that you could appreciate by the light of other men's experience the anguish which prompted the ejaculation, Why was I made for love, yet love denied to me?" [Coleridge's poem, *The Blossoming of the Solitary Date Tree*.] See Campbell's note, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

<sup>49</sup> By 1807 judging from his notebook for that year Coleridge has become "jealous of Sarah's admiration and affection for Wordsworth"—Raysor, *op. cit.* Coleridge writes in his notebook, "He [Wordsworth] does not, he does not pretend, he does not wish to love you, as I love you.—I alone love you so devotedly, and therefore love me!"—quoted from Raysor's article.

SCOTT'S THEORY AND PRACTICE CONCERNING THE USE  
OF THE SUPERNATURAL IN PROSE FICTION IN  
RELATION TO THE CHRONOLOGY OF  
THE WAVERLEY NOVELS

THE question has recently been raised as to whether or not the order of the publication of the *Waverley Novels* is also, as Lockhart implies, the order of writing. Dame Una Pope-Hennessy, writing in the New York *Saturday Review of Literature* for April 23, 1932, (p. 686), appeals to lovers of Scott for help in the solution of the problem of the chronology of his novels. She states her reasons for believing that *St. Ronan's Well*, though later revised, was written seventeen years before *Waverley*. In a similar communication published in the London *Times Literary Supplement* for April 28, 1932, Dame Una Pope-Hennessy outlines the genesis of her skepticism as to the usually accepted chronology of Scott's novels:

Hitherto it has been assumed that novels issued from Scott's head much as Athena issued from the head of Zeus, full-panoplied for action. . . . Now, after re-reading and consideration, I incline to think that in Scott we have a novelist from boyhood, temporarily diverted by the study of ballads and the fashions of the hour to writing poetry, and then, when the poetic vein had been sufficiently worked, going back to his first love, prose.

The writer goes on to reiterate her argument concerning the early composition of *St. Ronan's Well*, and also asserts that *Redgauntlet* and *Guy Mannering* show signs of immaturity, and that they must have been written early and reworked not long before publication. She closes her communication with the following statement by Havelock Ellis:<sup>1</sup>

The novelist only attains skill in his work after failure, perhaps a long series of failures like Balzac and Zola, rarely indeed at a bound. The novelists whose force has developed in a night have perished in a night.

Also Mr. Donald Carswell<sup>2</sup> "accepts and extends" without stating his reasons the conclusions of Dame Una Pope-Hennessy. He writes:

[Scott's] first essay seems to have been *The Black Dwarf*. Next came—though in what order it is hard to say—*Guy Mannering*, *St. Ronan's Well*, *Redgauntlet*, and *The Monastery*. All that can be conjectured is that *The Monastery* was the latest of the 'prentice works and was written about the same time as *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

<sup>1</sup> *Views and Reviews*, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> "The Legend of Abbotsford," *The Nineteenth Century and After* (1932) cxii, 374-384.

An approach to the study of Scott's chronology, employed by neither Dame Una Pope-Hennessy nor Mr. Carswell lies in an examination of his use of the supernatural. Scott tells us in the general preface to *Waverley Novels* (dated 1829):

About this time (now alas! thirty years since) I had nourished the ambitious desire of composing a tale of chivalry, which was to be in the style of *The Castle of Otranto*, with plenty of Border characters and supernatural incident.

In 1799, therefore, Scott must have been in sympathy with the aims and practices of the Gothic romancers. Yet, before he had published any of the *Waverley Novels*, he had shown dissatisfaction with the products of this school of fiction; and in his critical writing from 1805 onwards, he set up his own theories concerning the use of the supernatural in prose fiction—theories in some respects at sharp variance with the practices of the Gothacists. If then, as seems probable, there are novels earlier than *Waverley*,<sup>3</sup> we should be able to detect them by the manner in which the supernatural is handled. It is conceivable, of course, that an author might in practice revert to a mode which he in theory had repudiated, but it would be simpler and more plausible to assume that those novels which are near the Gothic tradition, or in which Scott violates his own rules concerning the use of the supernatural, are early compositions, reworked, perhaps, at a later date. It is not claimed that the method of investigation which I propose can, in itself, lead to certainty. As will be pointed out later, minor infractions of Scott's rules occur in novels known to be late. Yet, as the infractions in these novels differ in kind from those found in the books which are probably early, an examination of Scott's use of the supernatural cannot be without bearing on the question of the chronology of the *Waverley Novels*.

At no one place has Scott treated exhaustively the subject of the technique appropriate to the use of the supernatural in prose fiction; but it is a subject to which he gave considerable thought, and he has touched upon it several times in his critical writings from 1805 to 1828. I find in his expressions of theory five principles, not delivered with dogmatic assurance, but with sufficient clearness to admit of restatement.

The first of these is that *The Supernatural must be accompanied with an appropriate and continuous atmosphere*.<sup>4</sup> In the essay on Horace Walpole,

<sup>3</sup> The probability of such an assumption is increased by the facts that *Waverley*, though begun in 1805, did not reach its final form until 1813 or 1814; and that *The Bridal of Triermain*, though begun in 1797, as has been shown by Dame Pope-Hennessy in her book, *The Laird of Abbotsford*, pp. 52 ff., was not completed until shortly before publication in 1813.

<sup>4</sup> I use here the phraseology of Charles Edward Whitmore in *The Supernatural in Tragedy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915), p. 9.

in *Biographical Notices of Eminent Novelists* (1820)<sup>5</sup> Scott writes:<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, to produce, in a well-cultivated mind any portion of that surprise and fear which are founded on supernatural events, the frame and tenor of the whole story must be adjusted in perfect harmony with this mainspring of interest. He who, in early youth, has happened to pass a solitary night in one of the few ancient mansions which the fashion of more modern times has left undespoiled of their original furniture, has probably experienced, that the gigantic and preposterous figures dimly visible in the defaced tapestry,—the remote clang of the distant doors which divide him from living society,—the deep darkness which involves the high and fretted roof of the apartment,—the dimly-seen pictures of ancient knights, renowned for their valor, and perhaps for their crimes,—the varied and indistinct sounds of a half-deserted mansion,—and to crown all, the feeling that carries us back to ages of feudal power and papal superstition, join together to excite a corresponding sensation of supernatural awe, if not of terror. It is in such situations, when superstition becomes contagious, that we listen with respect, and even with dread, to the legends which are our sport in the garish light of sunshine, and amid the dissipating sights and sounds of everyday life.

Scott goes on to say that it is almost impossible to build a modern Gothic structure that will impress us in the way described above, and gives Walpole credit for "attaining in composition what, as an architect, he must have felt beyond the power of his art."<sup>7</sup> He continues:<sup>8</sup>

It was, therefore, the author's object, not merely to excite surprise and terror, by the introduction of supernatural agency, but to wind up the feelings of his reader till they became for a moment identified with those of a ruder age, which "Held each strange tale devoutly true."

A second principle which Scott states is that the *Phenomena that have been presented to the reader as supernatural in the first part of the story, should not be explained by natural causes in the later chapters*. It was chiefly on this point that Scott found fault with the Radcliffian school. He says as early as 1810, in his review of Maturin's *Fatal Revenge*:<sup>9</sup>

... we disapprove of the mode introduced by Mrs. Radcliffe, and followed by Mr. Murphy and her other imitators, of winding up their story with a solution by which all the incidents, appearing to partake of the mystic and marvellous, are resolved by very simple and natural causes. This seems, to us, to savour of the precaution of Snug the Joiner; or, rather, it is as if the mechanist, when the pantomime was over, should turn his scenes "the seamy side without," and ex-

<sup>5</sup> I have not had access to the 1820 edition. My references are to the edition entitled *Lives of Eminent Novelists and Dramatists* (London, n. d.).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 539, 540.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 540.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 540. In the same work (p. 556) Scott praises Ann Radcliffe for her effective use of setting in *The Italian*.

<sup>9</sup> *Miscellaneous Works*, xviii, 166-168.

pose the mechanical aids by which the delusions were accomplished. In one respect, indeed, it is worse mismanagement; because the understanding spectator might be in some degree gratified by the view of the engines which, however rude, were well adapted to produce the effects which he had witnessed. But the machinery of the *Castle of Montorio*, when exhibited, is wholly inadequate to the gigantic operations ascribed to it. There is a total disproportion between the cause and effect, which must disgust every reader much more than if he were left under the delusion of ascribing the whole to supernatural agency. . . . We can . . . allow of supernatural agency to a certain extent and for an appropriate purpose, but we can never consent that the effect of such agency shall finally be attributable to natural causes totally inadequate to its production. We can believe, for example, in Macbeth's witches, and tremble at their spells; but had we been informed, in the conclusion of the piece, that they were only three of his wife's chamber-maids disguised for the purpose of imposing on the Thane's credulity, it would have added little to the credibility of the story, and entirely deprived it of interest. In like manner we fling back upon the Radcliffe school their flat and ridiculous explanations, and plainly tell them that they must either confine themselves to ordinary and natural events, or find adequate causes for those horrors and mysteries in which they love to involve us.

A more systematic statement of Scott's objections to explanations of phenomena that have been presented to the reader as supernatural is found in the essay on Walpole, where Scott compares the methods of Walpole with those of Mrs. Radcliffe:<sup>10</sup>

In the first place, the reader feels indignant at discovering that he has been cheated into sympathy with terrors, which are finally explained as having proceeded from some very simple cause; and the interest of a second reading is entirely destroyed by his having been admitted behind the scenes at the conclusion of the first. Secondly. The precaution of relieving our spirits from the influence of supposed supernatural terror, seems as unnecessary in the work of professed fiction, as that of the prudent Bottom, who proposed that the human face of the representative of his lion should appear under his mask, and acquaint the audience plainly that he was a man as other men, and nothing more than Snug the joiner. Lastly, These substitutes for supernatural agency are frequently to the full as improbable as the machinery which they are introduced to explain away and support. The reader, who is required to admit the belief of supernatural interference, understands precisely what is required of him; and, if he be truly a gentle reader, throws his mind into the attitude best adapted to humour the deceit which is presented for his entertainment, and grants, for the time of perusal, the premises on which the fable depends. But if the author voluntarily binds himself to account for all the wondrous occurrences which he introduces, we are entitled to exact that the explanation shall be natural, easy, ingenious, and complete.

<sup>10</sup> *Lives of Eminent Novelists and Dramatists*, p. 541.

If the novelist does not wish boldly to avow the supernatural, he may present his phenomenon without committing himself as to its objective reality. This advice Scott gives in his essay on Ann Radcliffe:<sup>11</sup>

There are some modern authors, indeed, who have endeavoured, ingeniously enough, to compound betwixt ancient faith and modern incredulity. They have exhibited phantoms, and narrated prophecies strangely accomplished, without giving a defined or absolute opinion, whether the apparitions were produced (no uncommon case) by an overheated imagination, and the presages apparently verified by a casual, though singular, coincidence of circumstances. This, however, is an evasion of the difficulty, not a solution; besides, it would be leading us too far from the present subject, to consider to what point the author of a fictitious narrative is bound by his charter to gratify the curiosity of the public, and whether, as a painter of actual life, he is not entitled to leave something in shade, when the natural course of events conceals so many incidents in total darkness. Perhaps upon the whole, this is the most artful mode of terminating such a tale of wonder, as it forms the means of compounding with the taste of two different classes of readers; those who, like children, demand that each particular circumstance and incident of the narrative shall be fully accounted for; and the more imaginative class, who, resembling men that walk for pleasure through a moonlight landscape, are more teased than edified by the intrusive minuteness with which some wellmeaning companion disturbs their reveries, divesting stock and stone of the shadowy semblance in which fancy has dressed them, and pertinaciously restoring to them the ordinary forms and commonplace meanness of reality.

As a third principle, Scott held that *The incidents involving supernatural agency must be relatively brief and infrequent*. In his review of *The Fatal Revenge* (1810), he writes:<sup>12</sup>

The taste for the marvellous has been indeed compared to the habit of drinking ardent liquors. But it fortunately differs in having its limits: he upon whom one dram does not produce the effect, can attain the desired degree of inebriation by doubling the dose. But when we have ceased to start at one ghost, we are callous to the exhibition of a whole Pandemonium. In short, the sensation is generally as transient as it is powerful, and commonly depends upon some slight circumstance which cannot be repeated.

Similarly, in his essay on Hoffmann, Scott notes that "the marvellous, more than any other attribute of fictitious narrative, loses its effect by being brought into view."<sup>13</sup> He maintains that "the exhibition of supernatural appearances in fictitious narrative ought to be rare, brief, indistinct, and such as may become a being to us incomprehensible, and so different from ourselves, of whom he cannot justly conjecture whence

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 568, 569.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

<sup>12</sup> *Miscellaneous Works*, XVIII, 170.

he comes, or for what purpose, and of whose attributes we can have no regular or distinct perception."<sup>14</sup> The second entrance of the ghost in *Hamlet* he thinks less impressive than the first.

The machinery of *The Castle of Otranto*, Scott thought, was open to the objection that it placed the wonderful too often before the reader:<sup>15</sup>

Its action and interference is rather too frequent, and presses too hard and constantly upon the same feelings in the reader's mind, to the hazard of diminishing the elasticity of the spring upon which it should operate. The fund of fearful wonder is much diminished by the present habits of life and modes of education. Our ancestors could wonder and thrill through all the mazes of an interminable metrical romance of fairyland, and of an enchantment, the work perhaps of some "Prevailing poet, whose undoubting mind/Believed the magic wonders which he sung." But our own habits and feeling and belief are different, and a transient, though vivid impression, is all that can be excited by a tale of wonder, even in the most fanciful mind of the present day. By the too frequent recurrence of his prodigies, Mr. Walpole ran, perhaps, his greatest risk of awakening *la raison froide*, that "cold common sense," which he justly deemed the greatest enemy of the effect which he hoped to produce.

A fourth canon, closely akin to the principle that the supernatural must be briefly and infrequently exhibited, is that *The manifestation of the supernatural force must not be made too definite*. Scott observes in his essay on Hoffman:<sup>16</sup>

The incidents of a supernatural character are usually those of a dark and undefinable nature, such as arise in the mind of the Lady in the *Masque of Comus*,—incidents to which our fears attach more consequence, as we cannot exactly tell what it is we behold, or what is to be apprehended from it. . . . Burke observes upon obscurity, that it is necessary to make any thing terrible, and notices "how much the notions of ghosts and goblins, of which none can form clear ideas, affect minds which give credit to the popular tales concerning such sorts of beings."

The detailed account of the self-education of the monster in *Frankenstein* Scott finds:<sup>17</sup>

not only highly improbable . . . but injudicious, as its unnecessary minuteness tends rather too much to familiarize us with the being whom it regards, and loses, by this *lengthy* oration, some part of the mysterious sublimity annexed to his first appearance.

Walpole's ghost would have been more effective if less definite:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, xviii, 273.

<sup>15</sup> *Lives of Eminent Novelists and Dramatists*, p. 542.

<sup>16</sup> *Miscellaneous Works*, xviii, 274.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>18</sup> *Lives of Eminent Novelists and Dramatists*, p. 542.

A mysterious obscurity seems congenial at least, if not essential, to our ideas of disembodied spirits, and the gigantic limbs of the ghost of Alphonso, as described by his terrified domestics, are somewhat too distinct and too corporeal to produce the feelings which their appearance is intended to excite.

The point is further developed in the essay on Mrs. Radcliffe:<sup>19</sup>

In working upon the sensations of natural and supernatural fear, Mrs. Radcliffe has made much use of obscurity and suspense, the most fertile source, perhaps, of sublime emotion; for there are few dangers that do not become familiar to the firm mind, if they are presented to consideration in all their open and declared character; whilst, on the other hand, the bravest have shrunk from the dark and doubtful.

Supernatural powers, then, must be made relatively indefinite.

The fifth principle can be stated negatively: *Although the human characters are bound by the ordinary laws of probability, the supernatural realm is not fettered by the laws of the physical universe, by the rules of human conduct, nor by popular superstitions.* In narratives making use of the supernatural for the purpose of exhibiting its effects upon the characters:<sup>20</sup>

the author opens a sort of account-current with the reader, drawing upon him, in the first place, for credit to that degree of the marvellous which he proposes to employ; and becoming virtually bound, in consequence of this indulgence, that his personages shall conduct themselves, in the extraordinary circumstances in which they are placed, according to the rules of probability, and the nature of the human heart. In this view, the *probable* is far from being laid out of sight even amid the wildest freaks of imagination; on the contrary, we grant the extraordinary postulates which the author demands as the foundation of his narrative, only on condition of his deducing the consequences with logical precision.

It would follow, however, from principles three and four that the supernatural beings themselves are not to be so fettered; for if such beings were bound by the laws of human probability, or by the reader's or character's preconceived ideas, they would lose their indefiniteness, and hence their literary appeal. The judicious author will be cautious in putting speeches into the mouths of ghosts, lest the spirit creatures become commonplace and familiar. "We have indeed," said Scott, "grave doubts whether an author acts wisely in permitting his goblin to speak at all, if at the same time he renders him subject to human sight."<sup>21</sup> But if the ghost is allowed to speak, the author is not obliged to have him speak in any definite, preconceived manner.

Scott's point may be illustrated by his comment on a case tried in the

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 567.

<sup>20</sup> Review of *Frankenstein*, *Miscellaneous Works*, xviii, 253, 254.

<sup>21</sup> *Miscellaneous Works*, xviii, 276.



Scottish courts in 1754. One of the witnesses testified that the ghost of a murdered man had asked him to bury his body and had revealed to him the names of his murderers. When asked what language the ghost spoke, the prisoner, who was a Highlander ignorant of English, replied, "As good Gaelic as I ever heard in Lochaber."—"Pretty well for the ghost of an English sergeant," answered the counsel.—"The inference," says Scott, "was rather smart and plausible than sound, for, the apparition of the ghost being admitted, we know too little of the other world to judge whether all languages may not be alike familiar to those who belong to it."<sup>22</sup>

Scott's most extended comment on the conduct of other-world creatures was called forth by the statement of Clara Reeve:<sup>23</sup>

a ghost . . . to be admitted as an ingredient in romance, must behave himself like ghosts of sober demeanor, and subject himself to the common rules still preserved in the grange and hall as circumscribing beings of his description.

Scott does not insist that the supernatural appearance should violate the rules of conduct traditionally laid down for it. He praises Miss Reeve for confining her flight "within those limits on which her pinions could support her";<sup>24</sup> but declares that her rule need not be followed by writers of bolder imagination and greater skill. He asks:<sup>25</sup>

Where then . . . is the line to be drawn? or what are the limits to be placed on the reader's credulity, when those of common sense and ordinary nature are once exceeded? The question admits of only one answer, namely, that the author himself, being in fact a magician, shall evoke no spirits whom he is not capable of endowing with manners and language corresponding to their supernatural character. Thus Shakespeare, drawing such characters as Caliban and Ariel, gave them reality, not by appealing to actual opinions which his audience might entertain respecting the possibility or impossibility of their existence, but by inventing them with such attributes as all readers and spectators recognize as those which must have corresponded to such extraordinary beings, had their existence been possible. If he had pleased to put into language the "squeaking and gibberings" of those disembodied phantoms which haunted the streets of Rome, no doubt his wonderful imagination could have filled up the sketch, which, marked by these two emphatic and singularly felicitous expressions, he has left as characteristic of the language of the dead.

There is, then, no external rule governing the behavior of supernatural beings introduced into fiction, but the writer must endow them with

<sup>22</sup> *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 372.

<sup>23</sup> *Lives of Eminent Novelists and Dramatists*, p. 547.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 548.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 547, 548.—In his essay on Hoffmann (*Miscellaneous Works*, xviii, 276) Scott again praises Shakespeare's skill in finding appropriate speeches for ghosts, but notes that the attempts "would probably have been ridiculous in any meaner hand."

speech (if he has them talk) and with action appropriate to the nature of the beings he has conjured up.

These, then, are the theoretical principles concerning the literary use of the supernatural which Scott expresses in his critical writings:

1. *There must be an appropriate and continuous atmosphere.*
2. *What is presented to the reader in the first part of the plot as supernatural must not be explained away at the end of the story.*
3. *The incidents involving the supernatural must be relatively brief and few.*
4. *The manifestation of the supernatural force must be relatively indefinite.*
5. *Although the human beings in a tale of the supernatural are bound by the ordinary rules of probability, and the supernatural appearances must be self-consistent, the latter need not follow traditional modes of conduct.*

Let us now turn to those novels which have been thought to antedate *Waverley*. Our present method of investigation is hardly applicable to *St. Ronan's Well*. In that story several characters think themselves in contact with supernatural beings, but the marvelous plays too slight a part in the story to throw any light on our present problem.

*The Black Dwarf*, on the other hand, suffers greatly from the author's inconsistent handling of the supernatural. Scott's original purpose seems to have called for a Gothic novel,<sup>26</sup> and an analysis of the story indicates that the supernatural was to be one of the sources of terror in the work as it was originally planned:

The introductory chapter prepares the reader for prodigious events. The second chapter is designed to build up an atmosphere of supernaturalism. Mucklestane Moor, the principal scene of the action, was "in extremely bad fame as haunted by supernatural appearances" (pp. 32, 33).<sup>27</sup> A witch legend gives the place its name. Elshie, who builds his hut upon this ill-famed moor, is immediately associated with sorcery. His appearance is conducive to the awe with which the natives regard him. He is less than four feet tall; he is deformed in body, his voice is harsh and grating. His strength seems preternatural, for the walls of his hut contain stones which it would have required two men's strength to move. He gives advice on diseases of men and cattle, and he even answers queries upon matters "beyond bodily complaints." When Hobbie Elliot goes to Elshie for help, the dwarf offers him gold, an offer which to the farmer resembles a satanic compact. Elshie's language is equivocal. When he tells Earnescliff, "and my

<sup>26</sup> In the 1830 introduction Scott says: "The story was intended to be longer, and the catastrophe more artificially brought out; but a friendly critic, to whose opinion I subjected the work in its progress, was of the opinion that the idea of the *Solitary* was of a kind too revolting, and more likely to disgust than interest the reader."

<sup>27</sup> All references to the *Waverley Novels* are to the edition published by P. F. Collier and Sons, New York, n.d. The text of the Collier edition is that of the *Dryburgh Edition*, published by A. and C. Black, London, 1892.

blood be on yours [head], if you touch the skirt of my garments, to infect them with the taint of mortality" (p. 41), his speech may be nothing more than an expression of his mean opinion of humanity; or it may imply that the speaker belongs to a superhuman world.

It is obvious both from the introduction<sup>28</sup> and from the handling of Elshie (or Sir Edward Mauley, as he turns out to be) in the first few chapters, that Scott originally intended the character to be an agent of terror. As the book now stands, Mauley is, in the latter part of the story, made the instrument of good upon which the action depends. Scott's revision must not have extended to the pages earlier than page 70, for there Elshie refrains from warning Elliot for no other reason than his delight in human suffering. Yet later, notwithstanding an altercation at which angry words are exchanged, Elshie restores Hobbie's loss, saves the heroine from a repulsive marriage, and otherwise arranges the awards at the end of the tale.<sup>29</sup> Thus the wizard-like misanthrope, without adequate reformation, plays the rôle of providence.

In his treatment of the character of Ratcliffe, Scott remains even nearer the Gothic tradition, and does greater violence to his rules.

The people believed that Elshie was in league with the devil. They reported "that from the heights which commanded the moor at a distance, passengers often discovered a person at work along with this dweller of the desert, who regularly disappeared as soon as they approached closer to the cottage. Such a figure was also occasionally seen sitting beside him at the door, walking with him on the moor, or assisting him in fetching water from the fountain" (p. 53). When it is suggested that the figure is the dwarf's shadow, it is remarked that the person is taller than Elshie, and that he has been seen to come between the dwarf and the sun.

At one point the reader is allowed a view of the mysterious companion:

Two human figures (if that of the Dwarf could be termed such) issued from the solitary abode of the Recluse, and stood as if in converse in the open air. The taller form then stooped, as if taking something up which lay beside the door of the hut, then moved forward a little way, and again halted, as in deep conference. All Hobbie's superstitious terrors revived on witnessing this spectacle.

<sup>28</sup> Writing of David Ritchie, the original of Elshie, Scott says: "He did not altogether discourage the idea [that he commanded supernatural powers;] it enlarged his very limited circle of power, and in so far gratified his means of giving terror or pain."

<sup>29</sup> Professor Wilmon Brewer, in *Shakespeare's Influence on Sir Walter Scott* (Boston, 1925), pp. 258-261, argues that the character of the dwarf is modeled upon that of Timon of Athens. There is, however, this essential difference: Timon dies in his misanthropy, and gives his gold only with the object of increasing human misery, whereas Mauley aids both Hobbie and Isabella Vere from motives of humanity. Scott's original plan must have called for Mauley's playing the rôle of Timon to the end.

That the Dwarf would open his dwelling to a mortal guest was as improbable as that any one would choose voluntarily to be his nocturnal visitor; and, under full conviction that he beheld a wizard holding intercourse with his familiar spirit, Hobbie pulled in at once his breath and his bridle, and resolved not to incur the indignation of either by a hasty intrusion on their conference. They were probably aware of his approach, for he had not halted for a moment before the Dwarf returned to his cottage; and the taller figure . . . glided round the inclosure of the garden, and seemed to disappear from the eyes of the admiring Hobbie (p 105).

Whether Scott meant for his reader to share in Hobbie's conjecture is not clear. In the first sentence quoted above he refers to both figures as *human*, and in the qualifying clause eliminates the dwarf; but as the visitor disappears, he is said to have *glided*, a mode of locomotion usually thought to be peculiar to inhabitants of the spirit world. Notwithstanding Scott's theory, clearly set forth in 1810, that explanations of prodigious phenomena should not be deferred until the later chapters, the figure is not identified until the end of the story, where we learn that the man is Ratcliffe, and that near the pillar is a subterranean passage which served to conceal him when anyone approached his master.

It seems probable, therefore, that in the first version of *The Black Dwarf* Scott created a tale of terror in the tradition of Ann Radcliffe. He reworked the manuscript, but was not thorough enough in his revision to rid the tale of all vestiges of the original version. I know of no external evidence to contradict this conjecture. According to Lockhart (I, 235)<sup>80</sup> Scott held his first and only interview with David Ritchie, the original of Elshie, in the summer of 1797. The book, therefore, could have been written at any time after that date.

*Guy Mannering* is another novel which, according to Scott, underwent considerable alteration in design during the course of its composition. The source of the plot, he tells us in the 1828 introduction, was an old legend he had heard told by a servant in his father's family. The legend as told by Scott is essentially as follows:

An astrologer is by chance present at a country seat when an heir is born. He casts the nativity of the son, and foresees a boyhood fraught with danger, and an extreme crisis at twenty-one. That crisis safely past, a happy life is in store for the infant. The dangers seem to be of a spiritual kind, and the astrologer recommends that great care be exercised in the religious education of the boy, and that he be sent to pass his twenty-first birthday with the astrologer himself. After an excessively gloomy youth, the heir goes to the astrologer's. There, on

<sup>80</sup> All references of Lockhart are to the five-volume edition published by Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston, 1901.

his twenty-first birthday, he is left alone in a room and is tormented by a host of fiends, among whom the Prince of Darkness is bodily present. Because of his Christian training and his consequent firm reliance on truth and prayer, the young man comes off victorious, and afterwards marries a beautiful maiden and is "consigned over at the last of the story to domestic happiness."

Scott continues:

The Author of *Waverley* had imagined a possibility of framing an interesting, and perhaps not unedifying tale out of the incidents of the life of a doomed individual, whose efforts at good and virtuous conduct were to be for ever disappointed by the intervention, as it were, of some malevolent being, and who was at last to come off victorious from the fearful struggle. In short, something was meditated upon a plan resembling the imaginative tale of *Sintram and His Companions*, by Mons. de la Motte-Fouque, although if it then existed, the Author had not seen it.

The fact that astrology was no longer accredited, doubts of his own talents, and the desire to avoid "doctrines and discussions of a nature too serious for the purpose and for the character of the narrative" induced Scott to abandon the plan. To quote Scott further: "In changing his plan, however, which was done in the course of printing, the early sheets retained the vestiges of the original tenor of the story, although they now hang upon it as an unnecessary and unnatural incumbrance."

In mere incident, however, Scott's departure from his first plan is not so wide as his language implies. Guy Mannering is by chance present when the hero, Bertrem, is born. He casts the infant's nativity, and observes that three periods will be "particularly hazardous,—his fifth, his tenth, and his twenty-first year" (p. 49). In accordance with the prophecy, young Bertrem is in his fifth year kidnapped by smugglers; in his tenth year he attempts with another boy to escape on the open sea in a stolen skiff; he is then befriended and educated, and after numerous hardships, at the age of twenty-one, regains the sequestered estate of his fathers, and is rewarded with domestic happiness. Ten short chapters get the hero over the first crisis; the second is only casually mentioned in retrospect. It is about the third that the plot is constructed.

The plot is so constructed, however, that the hero is not of prime importance. The intrigues carried on for and against him are the work of others, and they chiefly furnish a narrative thread for the pictures of Scotch life and characters which give the book its charm. Yet the hero is not entirely forgotten, nor is the fact that astrology has predicted a severe crisis for him at the age he has now reached. References or allusions to the prophecy occur at intervals throughout the story (pp. 106, 107, 109, 115, 116, 229, 319, 376, 399, 465).

It is not, then, that Scott eliminates astrology from all but the earlier chapters of the book. It is that he has changed his attitude toward it, and does not allow his readers to take it seriously. Sampson, although afraid of ghosts and witches, looks upon astrology as "altogether vain, frivolous, and unsatisfactory" (p. 44); Guy Mannering calls it "foolery" (p. 59), and ever afterwards he refers to it in a spirit of banter. Malignant stellar influence is thus kept from being felt as potent in the action.

Scott, however, does not avoid the question of destiny. He merely conceals it. The fate of Bertrem is as fully determined as ever. The most significant change which Scott makes is to shift the emphasis from the all-pervasive, supernatural force implied in the original plan to the merely natural force of circumstance and environment, which may be supposed to be the instruments of the all-pervasive power. Bertrem's struggle, in so far as he struggles at all, is an external one. He is apparently unaware of the fate predicted for him. He is passive to circumstances. As he wandered into Cumberland in search of his sweetheart—

The first three of four miles were rather melancholy, for want of the society to which he had been accustomed. But this unusual mood of mind soon gave way to the influence of his natural good spirits, excited by the exercise and the bracing effects of the frosty air. He whistled as he went along, not "from want of thought," but to give vent to those buoyant feelings which he had no other mode of expressing (p. 172).

After he was lodged in jail—

The strangeness of his destiny, and the mysteries which appeared to thicken around him, while he seemed alike to be persecuted and protected by secret enemies and friends, arising out of a class of people with whom he had no previous connection, for some time occupied his thoughts. Fatigue, however, gradually composed his mind, and in a short time he was as fast asleep as his companion (p. 368).

The reader can have no great dread for an unknown power whose worst decree can only deprive the hero of a few minutes' sleep.

Thus, by belittling astrology and by throwing the emphasis upon circumstance and environment as the determining forces in Bertrem's life, Scott was enabled to fill the book with superb pictures of Scottish life and character, and to make it more nearly like *Waverley*. That Scott should have planned a work on the order of *Sintram and His Companions* so soon after the success of his first published novel is unlikely. He did not have at this time a host of imitators forcing him to seek "novelty."

Although Scott does not tell us what part Meg Merrilies was to play in the plot of *Guy Mannering* as the work was originally planned, it seems clear that the supernaturalism of her rôle, like that of Guy Man-

nering, has been toned down. She has many characteristics suggestive of witches. She "spaes" the fortune of the hero at birth, making a prophecy in substantial agreement with that of the astrologer. Later, in a moment of wrath, she curses the house of Ellangowan, and looks upon the subsequent misfortunes of the hero as a fulfillment of her malediction. Repentant of her words, she dedicates her life to the restoration of the heir. She is able to be the instrument of his restoration primarily because she is in possession of the secret of his kidnapping and has the means of identifying him, but her reputation for witchcraft stands her in good stead. Smugglers send for her to bless their ships. She is greatly feared by the commonalty because of her reputed league with the devil (pp. 104, 105, 106, 107, 177, 269, 365, 373).

Her means of extricating the hero, however, are purely natural, and Scott does not even for purposes of suspense suggest that they are not. Being under a sentence of banishment, she must of necessity move in secret, but her movements are accounted for. There is little of the conventional mystification, such as we have noticed in *The Black Dwarf*. She makes a prophecy, and it is fulfilled; she curses a house, and it falls. She is a demented gypsy wife who thinks herself an instrument of Weird. She may be the instrument she believes herself to be; but if so, the fate whose tool she is employs only natural means. The rôle of Meg Merrilies has been brought into harmony with Scott's theories relative to the use of the supernatural in fiction. The chief evidence of the early composition of *Guy Mannering*, as revealed by our present investigation, lies in the obvious toning down of the supernatural.

The conjecture that *Redgauntlet* belongs to the 'prentice period of Scott's career as a novelist is based, I suppose, upon the chaotic structure of the novel,<sup>21</sup> despite which the plot does hang together. The book, however, associates itself with *Guy Mannering* in the metaphysical implication of its theme as well as in its execution. Fate is again prominent, but the implications of that fate are again obscured. The prophecy takes the form of a curse which is reinforced by a birthmark placed upon the fated members of a family.

Long before the action opens, the first Redgauntlet to bear the name, in one of the civil broils of Scotland, was the unwitting slayer of a rebellious son, whom he had cursed. Redgauntlet had pursued his enemy into a narrow pass, when a youth threw himself between the pursuer and

<sup>21</sup> As a contributor to the *London Times Literary Supplement* (April 14, 1928), pp. 529-530, has pointed out, the story is made up of thirteen private letters, plus two chapters of author's narrative, plus seven chapters from a journal, plus eleven chapters of author's narrative, plus a two-chapter epilogue.

his intended victim, and was unhorsed. Redgauntlet recognized his son and attempted to leap over him. The horse's hoof struck the youth's head and killed him instantly. On the forehead of an infant son, born prematurely immediately after the misfortune, there appeared a birth-mark in the form of a miniature horseshoe. The father did penance and confessed himself to a holy monk. Then (p. 259):

It was foretold to Redgauntlet that, on account of his unshaken patriotism, his family should continue to be powerful amid the changes of future times; but that, in detestation of his unrelenting cruelty to his own issue, Heaven had decreed that the valour of his race should always be fruitless, and that the cause which they espoused should never prosper.

The Redgauntlet of the novel is a leader in a foredoomed attempt, in 1766, to place Charles Edward upon the throne. The hero of the story is Redgauntlet's young nephew, known as Darsie Latimer, heir of the house. Latimer is loyal to the Hanoverian prince, and after the collapse of the rebellion, the leader is in some measure consoled with the hope that, now since a Redgauntlet has espoused the winning side, the curse is lifted and the sin of his ancestor expiated.

Both characters bear the fatal mark, though their attitudes toward it differ. To Redgauntlet the symbol has a mysterious solemnity, if not sacredness, as is evidenced by the following speech to Darsie (p. 420):

The spirit of Sir Alberick is alive within me at this moment [he continued], drawing up his stately form and sitting erect in his saddle, while he pressed his finger against his forehead; "and if you yourself crossed my path in opposition, I swear by the mark that darkens my brow, that a new deed should be done—a new doom should be deserved."

It is clear, then, that, though Redgauntlet's fate has been thrust upon him, he does not rebel against it, but rather accepts it with pride; nay, announces that it is the fate he would choose if choice were possible to him. Darsie discovers the mark on his brow by catching a reflection of his countenance in a large antique mirror, and concludes that, "Surely my fate is somehow strangely interwoven with that of this mysterious individual" (i.e., Redgauntlet) (p. 246).

The theme of *Redgauntlet* is one of exquisite metaphysical possibilities. Hawthorne would have reveled in it. The sin of an ancestor brings upon his descendants a curse, announced by prophecy, which extends over centuries, subverting their highest resolutions and endeavors, and branding their foreheads with the symbol of their progenitor's guilt. It is the *House of Seven Gables* motif, with a hereditary scarlet letter. What should be the feelings of a member of this fated family who knows its



history and is conscious of sharing its doom? In Scott's novel he accepts his fate and loses himself in political intrigue. Perhaps, without being profound, he chances upon a profound solution. What should be the feelings of a young man reared in ignorance of his birth and family connections, who suddenly learns that he is a member of the doomed race, by glancing into an antique mirror and seeing the mark upon his own forehead? Scott makes little attempt to answer the question. *Redgauntlet* is not interested in the expiation of sin. Darsie is more concerned with the identity of a mysterious lady with a green mantle (his sister she turns out to be) than with the implications of the fatal mark upon his forehead. Because of the externality of Scott's treatment of character, the question of fate does not assume the importance in *Redgauntlet* that the theme would lead us to expect. In this respect *Redgauntlet* is to be associated with *Guy Mannering*, rather than with *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *A Legend of Montrose*.

If, however, as seems probable, the first conception and perhaps a first draft of *Redgauntlet* belong to the pre-*Waverley* period of Scott's career, "Wandering Willie's Tale," inserted in the narrative, is a late addition or has been carefully revised. Andrew Lang, in his *Border Edition of Redgauntlet* notes four additions to the tale made by Scott on the proofsheets, and according to the present owner of the sheets, Lang has not enumerated all the changes.<sup>32</sup> This external evidence, however, is hardly necessary to prove the late writing or careful reworking of the tale. Not only is it in complete harmony with Scott's theories, but it is managed with such skillful attention to detail that as late as 1925 a critic (C. R. L. Fletcher, London *Quarterly Review*, CCXLIV, 30) asks, "And when Scott blended humor with his terror, as in 'Wandering Willie's Tale' in *Redgauntlet*, where will you find his equal?" and Mr. Edward J. O'Brien includes Willie's narrative in his list of the twenty-five best short stories in the world.<sup>33</sup>

Concerning *Redgauntlet* our results are not conclusive. The management of the supernatural in "Wandering Willie's Tale" shows Scott in his maturity. The supernatural element in the novel proper suggests that Scott first selected, as in *Guy Mannering*, a metaphysical theme such as was popular in Germany, and that he later revised the story so as to obscure some of the metaphysical implications of the theme. In 1828 (January 9) Scott wrote to Terry concerning the translation of German

<sup>32</sup> David MacRitchie, "The Proofsheets of *Redgauntlet*," London *Times Literary Supplement* (September 14, 1924). I have not had access to Mr. MacRitchie's longer article on the same subject in *Longman's Magazine* for March, 1900. The manuscript of *Redgauntlet* has been described in the London *Times Literary Supplement* for April 14, 1924.

<sup>33</sup> *Twenty-five Finest Short Stories*, New York, 1931.

novels into English: "There is in the German mode of narration an affection of deep metaphysical reflection and protracted description and discussion, which the English do not easily tolerate."<sup>34</sup> When Scott first arrived at this conclusion is not clear, but he must have reached it between the planning of *Guy Mannering*, which was to resemble the later-published *Sintram and His Companions*, and the final execution of the book. *Redgauntlet* seems to belong to the period of *Guy Mannering*.

In *The Monastery* are to be found the most serious violations of Scott's theories concerning the use of the supernatural in fiction, as well as the most radical departure from his usual practice. In this work the visible manifestation of the supernatural is not the instrument of some less definite higher power, or an all-pervasive force, like fate; it is rather the actual force itself, which arranges the human events of the plot, not in accord with an ascertainable predestined course, but as impulse and caprice may dictate.<sup>35</sup> The one element of consistency in the supernatural force is that it is uniformly friendly to the hero, and in this respect, also, *The Monastery* is exceptional. There are other examples of such friendliness, as for instance Divine Providence in *The Heart of Midlothian* and fate in *Quentin Durward*; but generally in the *Waverley Novels* when a supernatural power influences the action, it is inimical to the desires of the character, if not to his best interests, and its messengers bring, not good news, but bad. The supernatural force in *The Monastery*, however, becomes nothing more than a protecting force, without apparent allegorical meaning, which carries the hero through a series of loosely connected events, and in the end rewards him with the high-born maiden and the customary estate.<sup>36</sup> Scott must have been aware that he had let the rôle of the White Lady so degenerate when in the introduction he wrote of supernatural machinery as "the last resort of distressed authors since the days of Horace."

In his introduction of 1830 Scott gives some account of the origin of the White Lady. He rejected, he says, the fairies of popular superstition because the folk no longer believed in them, and had "recourse to the beautiful, though almost forgotten, theory of astral spirits." The White Lady is represented as an imitation of Fouque's Undine.<sup>37</sup> The author

<sup>34</sup> Lockhart, iv, 84.

<sup>35</sup> N. W. Senior, *Essays on Fiction*, p. 55, had ample warrant for asserting that the White Lady acted "with no assignable objects"

<sup>36</sup> I am aware of the fact that in her last speech the White Lady professes to have protected Halbert and sent him out of the valley to prevent his marriage to Mary. But her uniform kindness to him during the first part of the action contradicts her words. I doubt if Scott had any idea of giving her this speech when he wrote the first part of the book.

<sup>37</sup> Scott's words are: "In imitation of an example so successful, the White Lady of Avenel

goes on to speak of Shakespeare as the "first of authorities" in describing the attributes of elementary spirits, and cites Ariel as the superb example. Despite what Scott says, however, the conception is obviously modified by, and has perhaps originated from the fairies of Scottish folklore. The introduction notes that the Dale of Allan, the Glendearg of the story, had long been believed to be haunted by these creatures. Martin in *The Monastery*, like Jarvie in *Rob Roy* and Hobbie in *The Black Dwarf*, refers to the supernatural beings as the "Good Neighbours" (p. 77). And the scene in which Halbert visits the underground chapel is reminiscent of the experiences of Thomas the Rhymer and other characters mentioned in Scott's *Essay on Fairies* and in his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*. Moreover, the rôle of the White Lady bears a close resemblance to that of the Celtic banshie, or (to quote from Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 351) "household fairy whose office it is to appear, seemingly mourning, while she announces the approaching death of some one of the destined race." "The Highlanders," continues Scott (p. 352), "contrived to exact from them other points of service, sometimes as warding off dangers in battle; at others, as guarding and protecting the infant heir through the dangers of childhood; and sometimes as condescending to interfere even in the sports of the chieftain, and point out the fittest move to be made at chess, or the best card to be played at any other game."

Of the prototypes mentioned by Scott, Ariel is clearly the most important, and Professor Brewer (*Shakespeare's Influence on Sir Walter Scott*, pp. 305, 306), has pointed out many parallels between the two characters. Yet the White Lady differs from Ariel as well as from the other analogues mentioned. The influence which Fouque's Undine exerts on the human personages in the story is confined to the man whom she loves and to his immediate associates. Nor is her power in that limited sphere extensive, for she cannot command the love of her mortal husband. She is constantly circumscribed by her kindred, and she cannot avert the catastrophe which her earthly love-affair entails. Nor is the White Lady properly a sylph of the Paracelsian system, for she works without intelligent direction, whereas Paracelsus and his associates sought to control nature through the control of elementary spirits.<sup>38</sup>

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was introduced into the following sheets." If the first conception of the White Lady came from Fouque, *The Monastery* could not have been written before 1813, the date of the publication of *Undine*. Scott's words, however, could well apply to a change in the character, for example that from fairy to elementary spirit, rather than to her origin.

<sup>38</sup> Frank Thilly's *History of Philosophy* (New York, 1914), p. 285; Wilhelm Windelband's *A History of Philosophy*, translated by James H. Tufts (second edition, New York, 1901), p. 378.

Ariel's activities are directed to useful and human ends by an intelligence which acts consistently, but there is no Prospero in *The Monastery*. The first conception of the White Lady, then, came from popular tradition; this conception was later modified by a literary tradition descending from the renaissance theory of astral spirits.

The powers of the White Lady are extensive. Primarily she is the guardian spirit of the Avenel family. But it is chiefly through the hero, Halbert Glendinning, that she protects the heroine, Mary Avenel. She teaches him a charm by which he may summon her; she leads him into a subterranean chapel, and heals his wound when he is burned there; she gives him the means of insulting his adversary, Shafton; and when, in a duel, Halbert runs his opponent through, she raises the fallen duelist from the dead. In none of these activities is the White Lady directed by Halbert. Generally she comes without summons. On the two occasions when Halbert initiates the interview, he merely seeks advice, which he blindly follows. More important than the mere direction of Halbert's conduct was the White Lady's bringing about in him a sudden maturity of character. After his first conference with her, it is said that "it was evident to all that from that day, young Halbert was an altered man; that he acted with the steadiness, promptitude, and determination which belonged to riper years, and bore himself with a manner which appertained to higher rank" (p. 194).

Although the White Lady has had her defenders, she has been generally condemned from Scott's day to this, and Scott himself, in the introduction to *The Fortunes of Nigel*, admitted that she was a failure, "but rather in the execution." He regrets his inability to evoke an "*esprit follet*, at the same time fantastic and interesting, capricious and kind; a sort of wildfire of the elements, bound by no fixed laws or motives of action, faithful and fond, yet teasing and uncertain." Such a conception doubtless has its poetic possibilities, but an *esprit follet* of this type could hardly provide the motivating force of a coherent plot unless motives were imposed upon her from without. Moreover, as Adolphus pointed out in his *Letters to Heber* (London, 1821, pp. 12, 13), there are elements in the conception that are essentially contradictory. They "are joined," says Adolphus, "but they refuse to blend." Particularly he objects to "this ethereal personage's" descending to "clownish pranks" and promoting a "frivolous jest about a tailor's bodkin." Another inconsistency he might have pointed out. Scott in his essay on fairies (1802) had noted that the Christian religion admitted "only of two classes of spirits exclusive of the souls of men—angels, namely, and devils." Scott later insisted, as we have seen, that the author employing supernatural beings was not bound to treat them in a conventional way, provided he raised

no spirits that he could not lay. Scott's theory, therefore, did not demand that he make the White Lady either an angel or a devil. But she certainly becomes incongruous when at one moment she is solemnly recommending the study of the Bible and at the next engaging in horseplay becoming a London apprentice. These tricks become further incongruous when we consider that her miracles are wrought in the Biblical manner, that is, without visible or known means.

It is true, however, that the chief flaws in the use of the supernatural in *The Monastery* are those of execution, and they arise from Scott's violation of the theoretical principles he had set forth as regulating the use of the supernatural in fiction. He needed only to explain away the mystery of the White Lady at the end of the story in order to break all five of his rules. I have shown that he made the White Lady essentially inconsistent, and thus set at defiance the fifth rule, as I have numbered them. He violated the first in not providing an appropriate and continuous atmosphere. Fouque, whom Scott professed to imitate, placed the action of *Undine* in an enchanted forest, where brave knights venture only to prove their hardihood and win their ladies. The action of *The Tempest* takes place on a little-known island, noted for marvels. The action of *The Monastery* takes place on the Tweedside, near Melrose. Manners are realistically described. It is true that Glendearg is noted for fairies, but the duel there is too realistic for a combat in fairyland.

The necessity of an appropriate atmosphere Scott stresses in his essays on Walpole and Ann Radcliffe, essays written some months after the publication of *The Monastery*, and the reception of that novel may account for the emphasis placed on atmosphere in the essays; but the remaining principles were enunciated earlier. In his review of Godwin's *Fleetwood* (1805) Scott had said:<sup>39</sup>

After *Caleb Williams* it would be an injustice to Mr. Godwin to mention *St. Leon*, where the marvellous is employed too frequently to excite wonder and the terrible is employed till we have become familiar with terror.

I have quoted a passage of identical import from Scott's review of Maturin's *Fatal Revenge* (1810). When, therefore, in 1820, Scott wrote much about the necessity of making the incidents involving supernatural agencies brief and infrequent, he could not have been, as Miss Ball implies, making a deduction from his "blunder" in *The Monastery*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Miscellaneous Works*, xviii, 119.

<sup>40</sup> Miss Ball's statement (*Sir Walter Scott as a Critic of Literature*, p. 117) is as follows: "That he was deeply impressed with his blunder in managing the White Lady of Avenel may be surmised from the fact that in several later discussions of the effect of supernatural apparitions in novels, he emphasized the necessity of keeping them sufficiently infrequent to preserve an atmosphere of mystery."

The extent of Scott's offense against his own twice-stated principles becomes obvious upon the presentation of a few facts. If one consults the index of the edition of *The Monastery* which I am using, he will find the following pages listed after the entry, "White Lady": 79, 90, 101, 136, 161, 232, 261, 307, 396, 466. The first fifty-seven pages are occupied with the introductions to the first and 1830 editions, so that the novel proper begins with page 59. Thus when the reader has perused twenty pages of the story, he meets the White Lady, and from that point until Halbert's departure from his native valley (p. 278), he may not read more than seventy pages without encountering the White Lady. On the average he will meet her once in thirty pages. Twice only eleven pages intervene between appearances. These figures are based on the index and do not take account of the fact that the White Lady is often on the stage for a number of pages. Approximately twenty-five of the first two hundred and fifty pages of the novel proper deal directly with the White Lady. At one time (Chapter XII) she is the chief personage in a dialogue extending through ten pages. It is evident, therefore, that in *The Monastery* Scott kept the supernatural much before the reader.

It is also evident that he violated another of his own previously stated principles in making the White Lady definite. In a review of *Frankenstein* (1818) Scott had taken exception to the monster's "lengthy oration" on his self-education, on the ground that the creature lost "some part of the mysterious sublimity annexed to his first appearance" (*Miscellaneous Works*, XVIII, 203). Yet in *The Monastery* there are seven occasions upon which the White Lady talks, or rather sings, since song is her manner of communication. On one of these occasions her songs total 104 lines of poetry. In all, she delivers 814 verses, an average of slightly more than forty-five to the appearance. The thirty lines in which she describes herself are more definite than necessary to identify her as belonging to a class of elementary spirits. But in another way than by much speaking the White Lady loses the indefiniteness which Scott theoretically held essential to the proper treatment of the supernatural. She usually appeared as a mist, gradually assuming shape and "corporeal consistency"; and when in that form, she was as corporeal as the miller's daughter. It was by a "firm hand" that she detained Father Philip in the saddle (p. 102), and it was by physical strength that she "pitched him out of the saddle into the stream, where, still keeping her hand on his collar, she gave him two or three souses in the watery fluid, so as to ensure that every part of him had its share of wetting" (p. 103). Father Eustace was "pushed from the saddle with gentle but irresistible force" (p. 139). She struck Christie down, he says, "as I might strike down a child of four years old with an iron mace" (p. 144). The White Lady's

technique at times resembles that of a village hoiden. There is little that is indefinite in her treatment of monks and mossstroopers.

In *The Monastery*, then, either Scott violated principles of composition previously and emphatically stated by him, or he wrote the book before he stated the principles, and in his revision was unable to bring the work into harmony with his rules. The latter alternative is the more probable; for the White Lady is so woven into the fabric of the book that to bring the treatment of her into complete accord with Scott's rules would have necessitated a virtual rewriting of the book, and, what probably had more weight with Scott, the discarding of a great deal of pleasing verse. Offenses against one of Scott's rules, the one condemning post-climactic explanations of supposedly supernatural phenomena, occur in three other novels, two of which (*Woodstock* and *Anne of Geierstein*) are known from Scott's journals to be late, and one of which (*Peveril of the Peak*) is not surely dated from external evidence.

In *Peveril of the Peak* (1822) a character, Fenella, is endowed with many fairy-like traits, and the superstitious Manxians regard her as an elf. She was reputed to be deaf and dumb, but the populace declared that "she had been heard talking, and singing, and laughing most elfishly with the invisibles of her own race." They alleged that she had a double who performed her duties in the household of the Countess of Derby "while the real Fenella joined the song of the mermaids . . . or the dance of the fairies" (p. 222). The better informed characters do not share in these beliefs, nor is the reader asked to. Not long after Fenella is introduced, Scott gives a partial account of her life through the mouth of a sea-captain, who scoffs at the idea of her being allied to the spirit world. He explains her remarkable agility by the fact that she has been trained as a rope-dancer. The captain's speech is a preparation for the two visits which Fenella pays Julian while he is in prison. The circumstances not only bewilder Julian, but puzzle the reader as well. On the first of these occasions, Julian's prayer is echoed by "Amen" in a "voice as sweet and 'soft as honey dew,' which sounded as if the words were spoken close by his bedside" (p. 473). Julian attempts to seize the speaker, but grasps "nothing save thin air." He awakens his companion, who lights a candle: There was no one in the room save Sir Geoffrey Hudson and himself; . . . all the fastenings of the door were so secure that it seemed that they could not have been opened without a great deal of noise, which, on the last occasion at least, could not possibly have escaped their ears, . . . seeing they must have been employed in searching the chamber when the unknown, if an earthly being, was in the act of retreating from it (p. 476).

The second visit of Fenella removes any doubt the reader may have had as to the identity of the visitant, but it is not until the end of the story

that her method of access and egress is explained. The explanation is lame and improbable. The "most Protestant peers," it is said, "in order to obtain perfect knowledge of the Popish Plot had contrived . . . ingenious apertures" for visiting the witnesses (p. 645).

Although this explanation is an infraction of Scott's rule if strictly interpreted, the author of *Peveril* has not adopted the method of Ann Radcliffe, which he had condemned in 1810 and in 1820; for during the greater part of the narrative Scott has caused the reader to believe that Fenella is mortal. He has prepared for her entry into the prison, which comes relatively late in the story, by revealing her agility; yet clearly, as Lockhart admits, there is a "condescension to the practice of vulgar romance in his treatment of trial scenes . . . which outraged every feeling of probability with those who had studied the terrible tragedies of the Popish Plot" (iv, 86).

This improbable explanation, however, does not prove that *Peveril of the Peak* is an early work. For Scott's treatment of Fenella, as well as other supernatural phenomena, through the greater part of the book reveals Scott as the social historian, recording the popular superstitions of the Manxians as he had found them recorded in Waldron's *Description of the Isle of Man*. His fondness for mystification led him into an improbable explanation of an improbable incident

The same type of blunder occurs in *Woodstock* (1826) and in *Anne of Geierstein* (1829), both of which are known from Scott's journals to be late. *Woodstock* borders on the type of Gothicism which Scott had repudiated, but Scott maintained with justice that James Ballantyne was wrong in calling the work an imitation of Mrs. Radcliffe. He wrote in his journal (i, 103):

I have taken a wide difference: my object is not to excite fear of supernatural things in my reader, but to show the effect of such fear upon the agents of the story.

The emphasis of the narrative is clearly on the characters, though the novel has many of the trappings of the Radcliffian tradition. These trappings Scott retained from his sources, which must have had a historical basis.<sup>41</sup> According to contemporary accounts, when commissioners of the Commonwealth went to Woodstock in 1649 to take possession of the royal lodge by that name, loyalists, by a series of pranks, reputed to be the work of supernatural beings, frightened the commoners away and prevented the destruction of the lodge. Though Scott throws the emphasis upon the reactions of the characters, and does not attempt

<sup>41</sup> See Scott's introductions and appendices to *Woodstock*.



to arouse ghostly fears in the minds of his readers, he does let the narrative lead him into complications from which he cannot extricate himself. Various pranks are played which seem to the commissioners to be the work of supernatural beings; but Scott does not, like Mrs. Radcliffe, suggest strongly to the reader that the fears of the characters are just. As the mysteries in *Woodstock* occur, strong and repeated suggestions are made to the reader that they are to be referred to natural causes, and in the latter part they are, with one exception, so explained.

These suggestions are so frequent that they need not all be pointed out. Joceline believes that the servants who have left Lee's service at Woodstock have not, as they claim, been driven away by their fear of ghosts, but that they have left because of Sir Henry's inability to pay them (p. 54). We know that one object of fear supposed to be the devil is Wildrake (p. 88), and knowing the identity of this devil, the reader is reluctant to believe that other pranks are the work of supernatural beings. Moreover, though the lodge was supposed to be haunted, members of the family had not been disturbed (p. 251). We early get hints of blind stairways and secret passages. As the story progresses, we learn more details of the maze-like arrangement of the building. In making these hints Scott departed from the tradition of Mrs. Radcliffe.

He adhered to that tradition, however, in making explicit explanations after the climax. The light in Rosamond's Tower loses its mysteriousness when Albert Lee is seen to leap the chasm separating this turret from the adjacent one (p. 492). The ghost which had driven Harrison to temporary insanity was Joceline dressed as Robison used to dress (p. 419). Albany's ghost is Albany himself, who, despite his fall from a four-story tower, yet lived and plotted (pp. 504-505). Other phenomena are similarly explained; the explanation is cumbersome, unsatisfactory, and open to all the objections which Scott had urged against those of Mrs. Radcliffe. Worse than the resurrection of Albany after his four-story fall is the fact that, after Everard had examined minutely the portrait of Victor Lee and had satisfied himself that it had no concealed spring, and that it was firmly fixed in the wall, Scott, to explain the presence of the ghost-players in the room, must say that there was a secret spring after all, but that it was so well concealed that Everard could not find it (p. 482). And we never learn why the character who impersonated the ghost of Victor Lee was not killed when Everard fired at him point-blank from a distance of six feet. Scott's explanation, then, is both incomplete and improbable.

Yet, *Woodstock*, unlike *The Black Dwarf*, shows no evidence of having been Gothic in design. The confusion arises largely from the fact that,

when Scott wrote the first part of the novel, he knew only in a general way how it was to end (*Journal* I, 114, 117, 157).

The last novel in which Scott encroaches upon his theories concerning the use of the supernatural is *Anne of Geierstein*. The heroine of this tale bears some resemblance to the White Lady of Avenel and to Fenella. Fenella is a girl thought to be a fairy; the White Lady is an elementary spirit frankly portrayed as such; Anne of Geierstein is a girl thought to have descended from an elementary spirit. In plot the tale is not greatly unlike Fouque's *Undine*. The German romance is concerned with the love and marriage, and with the consequences of that marriage, of a mortal man and a water spirit. *Anne of Geierstein* has for its main plot the love of a mortal man and a woman thought to be a fire spirit. Fouque's romance ends pathetically. Scott escapes such an ending by showing that the heroine is not the other-world creature she is popularly supposed to be, and that she is therefore a suitable mate for the hero. The story, then, shows the conflict between the hero's love for the girl and his fear that she is not a mortal maiden.

In building up this fear in the mind of the hero, Scott conveys to the reader a suggestion that it is not without grounds. He endows Anne with an agility rivaling that of Fenella. He retells an old legend which makes the grandmother of Anne a salamander. In the course of the action Anne makes numerous sudden appearances and disappearances. Militating against these suggestions, however, is the fact that Arthur on several occasions touched Anne and found her substantial. Yet she is no more corporeal than the White Lady of Avenel could be on occasion. In the first half of the book, therefore, the reader is likely to share, in some degree, the uncertainty of the hero.

A strict adherence to Scott's theory concerning explanations would have demanded that this uncertainty remain at the end of the story. Such indefiniteness, however, could not well obtain in a plot depending upon a love affair between a mortal man and a creature thought to belong to the spirit world. There could be nothing conclusive in the marriage of a man to a being that may or may not be mortal like himself. The reader must know that the maiden is a spirit or that she is not.

Scott, therefore, attempted a compromise. The explanation comes at the center of the book and is the climax of the plot. During the first half of the action the hero is fascinated but in doubt. After the explanation there remain only certain external difficulties to be removed before the marriage can be effected.

The explanation, however, is not satisfactory. Many of Anne's mysterious movements depended upon her father's being a high official in

a powerful secret organization. Once she left a castle by a secret passage and later reported that she had not been absent. When the reader discovers this falsehood, he feels that he has been imposed upon. She retells the legend of her grandmother, divesting it of most supernatural elements, but vouches for the efficacy of the opal as a detector of poison.

The offense in *Anne of Geierstein*, like those in *Peveril of the Peak* and *Woodstock*, is not of the exact type of those in the books that I have classified as probably, in their first form, earlier than *Waverley*. In *The Black Dwarf* the repeated hints concerning the identity of the mysterious character are absent, and the object of the explanation seems to be probability. In *Peveril of the Peak* and in *Woodstock* numerous hints have indicated that the fears of the characters are unfounded, but when Scott comes to make a detailed explanation of the events which have caused these fears, he becomes trite and improbable. How he was led into these blunders is shown by a journal entry about *Woodstock* (I, 114): "The devil of a difficulty is, that one puzzles the skein in order to excite curiosity, and then cannot disentangle it for the satisfaction of the fiend they have raised." *Guy Mannering* was confessedly revised in such a way as to tone down the supernatural, and the execution of the work obscures the metaphysical implications of the theme. It is unlikely that Scott would have chosen the theme after the success of *Waverley*. *Redgauntlet* in both theme and execution resembles *Guy Mannering* rather than *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *A Legend of Montrose*, in both of which latter novels supernaturally revealed fate is prominent. *The Monastery* is so completely out of harmony with Scott's theories concerning the use of the supernatural in fiction that it is difficult, even after making due allowance for Scott's lack of "artistic conscience," to believe that the novel was written after the criticism in which these theories are expressed.

So far, therefore, as the treatment of the supernatural furnishes a means of determining the chronology of Scott's novels, *The Black Dwarf*, *Guy Mannering*, *Redgauntlet*, and *The Monastery* would seem to antedate *Waverley*. The evidence is strongest in the cases of *The Black Dwarf* and *The Monastery*, where occur serious violations of rules governing the use of the supernatural in prose fiction, which were laid down by Scott previous to the publication of these novels. There are no such violations in *Guy Mannering*, but Scott confesses that the book underwent considerable change in plan, and the changes show that Scott planned the work before he had reacted against the practices of the romancers in England and Germany. There is no documentary evidence of such a change of plan in *Redgauntlet*, but the intermittent use of the epistolary

style indicates that the book has been revamped, and the treatment of fate and foreknowledge associates the work with *Guy Mannering*. These conjectures are not invalidated by the fact that minor infractions of one of Scott's rules occur in novels known to be late, for the infringements are of a different kind from those in *The Black Dwarf* and *The Monastery*.

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## XVI

### THE CAMPAIGN OF PERIODICALS AFTER THE WAR OF 1812 FOR NATIONAL AMERICAN LITERATURE

AMERICAN triumphs on the sea in the War of 1812 tempered the American mind into a belief in its power to express itself in a literature independent of any foreign influence. Previously America had shown only a faltering confidence in herself as a literary nation. No great protestations of literary strength had appeared in the periodicals. But with America's victory in this second war with the mother country, a new-found note of confidence came into literature. This new confidence was not, however, a nation-wide experience. It was a political phenomenon, Democratic rather than Federal. Federalists believed that American letters:<sup>1</sup>

must wait for all improvements from abroad, acquire a literary tone from the mother country, . . . and wait for decision on its merits or demerits, from the higher authorities of London.

Democratic writers, on the other hand, thought it a just and easy transition to pass from victorious warfare against the claims of British supremacy on the sea to victories equally impressive in national letters.

The history of this connection between naval success and confidence in the power to produce a national literature reveals itself in the enthusiasm that such Democratic magazines as *Niles' Register*, the *Analectic Magazine*, and to some degree the *North American Review* and the *Port-Folio* manifested in our naval prowess, the victories of Perry, Hull, Bainbridge, and Decatur. These magazines exalted, as regards our fortunes, the downfall of British ships and sailors. And with equal enthusiasm they encouraged native writers to rise against foreign interference, to owe no further intellectual homage to Great Britain. They prophesied a great and independent future for the republic both in government and in literature. This confidence was mainly Democratic, the Federalists not having been in sympathy with the action of the Democratic administration in entering into a maritime contest with Great Britain. The Federalists not only opposed the war but openly denounced it, asserting that it was "unholy—wicked—base—perfidious

<sup>1</sup> *North American Review*, I (1815), 312-313.—The same tone was evident as late as 1829. *The American Quarterly Review*, VI (1829), 240-262, stated that "Dependent we are, and must continue to be for some time. . . ."—See also the *Portico's* attack on Robert Walsh in III (Jan., 1817), 352.

—and corrupt.”<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, it does not seem surprising that Federalists manifested little or no enthusiasm over naval victories. For instance, the State Senate of Massachusetts went on record as follows:<sup>3</sup>

. . . it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defense of our sea-coast and sail.

On the occasion of a naval victory, as the triumph of the *Constitution* over the *Guerriere*, the whole nation, at least the Democratic portion of it, broke forth into gladness, and public happiness became contagious. The Democratic magazines rejoiced to see the flag of our country “encircled with glory” and to behold our nation elevated to a dignified rank among the nations of the earth.<sup>4</sup> The *Portico* went into ecstasies in celebrating American successes. It spoke of the “favourite bird” soaring above the ocean, of victory “thundering beneath him,” of the flag of Britain “drooping from the mast-head.” So great was the *Portico*’s exuberance that it told its readers how these colonies “ascended on high to lead captivity captive.” The whole world, it went on, gazed in amazement at the deeds of “free-born heroes prospering in the pleasure of the living God.” It predicted that the deeds of the American sailor would be transmitted to posterity as the subjects of panegyrics.<sup>5</sup>

As a result of naval victories a growing feeling of confidence in our strength as a nation manifested itself.<sup>6</sup> The most immediate consequence of sea victories on American morale seems to have been the awakening of a sense of capacity for conquest, in addition to the conviction that we had demonstrated our ability to take care of ourselves. A citation from one of the Democratic magazines aptly illustrates the point. *Niles’ Register*, for August, 1816, pages 76–78, elated over the successes of the

<sup>2</sup> Mathew Carey, *Olive Branch* (Middlebury, Vermont, January, 1816), p. 242.—See also the following references. *American Review of History and Politics*, iv (Oct., 1812), 243.—*Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong., 1 Sess., xxiii, 242 (May 18, 1812), 300 (June 22, 1812); xxiv, 306 (June 26, 1812), 309 (June 30, 1812), 314 (July 3, 1812), 1478 (June 1, 1812), 1570 (July 1, 1812).—S. F. Bemis, *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy* (New York, 1927), iii, viii–ix; K. C. Babcock, *The Rise of American Nationality* (New York, 1906), vi, 150–157; Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (New York, 1909), vi, 171–174; S. E. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1921), p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1917), iv, 558–559.—See also Homer C. Hockett, *Political and Social History of the United States* (New York, 1925), p. 314; Morison, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–199.

<sup>4</sup> *Analectic Magazine*, ii, 494.

<sup>5</sup> *Portico* (August, 1816), pp. 144–147.—See also *Niles’ Register*, (Dec., 1815), p. 43, (Aug., 1813), pp. 76–78, (Sept., 1812), p. 31, (Nov. 7, 1812), p. 159, (Feb. 20, 1813), p. 397, (Dec. 26, 1812), p. 27, (Jan. 9, 1813), p. 302; *Analectic Magazine* (Nov., 1813), p. 390, (Jan., 1814), p. 57, (Sept., 1814), p. 232, (Nov., 1813), p. 402, (Jan., 1817), p. 38, (Nov., 1815), p. 414; *Port-Folio* (May, 1816), p. 446.

<sup>6</sup> Hockett, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

first few months of the war, exclaimed with self-assurance: "We are a world of ourselves, and can live independent of any other place on earth."

In view of this enthusiasm, it does not seem at all surprising that America should feel a growing confidence in her ability to cast off the intellectual homage she had paid so long to the mother country, to gain by vigorous combat the same high and dignified rank in letters which she had so lately acquired in the more dangerous contentions of the martial field. A citation from one of the Democratic magazines evidences this connection. The *Port-Folio* for January, 1816, I, 76, said:

But lately, and we were without an honourable name in arms: and so should we have been but for the preëminent assiduity of our naval and military characters in acquiring a knowledge of the art of war.

We are yet without a name distinguished in letters. But this reproach must also pass away. In forming their style and manner, let our writers emulate the ambition, diligence and zeal that have so eminently characterized our gentlemen of the sword, and the object for which they contend must be inevitably attained. Many years cannot run their course, till our country shall have become as renowned in literature, as she is in arms.

This desire to identify naval success and the rise of national literature may be further illustrated by the fact that Democratic periodicals often referred to the strength of American authors in terms of naval combat. For instance, *Niles' Register* spoke of native writers who "'point to point' and 'yard arm to yard arm' will 'meet the enemy and make them ours'." And it added that our writers must be encouraged so that they will not be compelled "to retire from the contest, without a shot in the locker. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

While Democratic periodicals in general participated in this effort to "set up" a national American literature, one magazine in particular, the *Portico*, of Baltimore, threw all of its resources into this movement.<sup>8</sup> A native American periodical, with national American ideals, it strove for the cause of American letters with the same valiant spirit that characterized our victorious tars in battle with the seamen of Britain.

The *Portico* professed a courageous and determined policy to improve, diffuse, and encourage American literature, in general. Very frequently, in its endeavors to further this policy, it struck a note reminiscent of naval combat and valiant seamen. It believed that the enthusiasm and the consciousness of power, following the success of the War of 1812,

<sup>7</sup> XII (May 24, 1817), 197-198.

<sup>8</sup> *The Portico, A Repository of Science and Literature*, Stephen Simpson, Tobias Watkins, and John Neal, editors (Neale, Wills and Cole, Baltimore: 1816-1818).

should be a sufficient impetus to urge the patriotic author to attempt excellence and brave criticism in order to advance the national character and place the genius of the country on a permanent basis.<sup>9</sup> It endeavored to excite an ambition for excellence, to extend the cultivation of letters, to espouse the existence and improve the formation of native genius.<sup>10</sup> It stated that the chief aim of its labors was:<sup>11</sup>

to promote a taste, and inspire an ambition, for the beauties of original composition; to explode prevailing errors, peculiar to American literature, to correct the perversions of vanity, check the aberrations of genius, and discountenance the follies of affectation.

With sympathies deeply concerned in the cause of American letters, it wished to impress upon the minds of its readers a true value of the national dignity, upheld, as it said, by nothing more than literature, learning, and liberality. "The importance of improving the literature of America," it remarked in August, 1816, "should be realized by every American or they ought to relinquish their title to freedom and forgo their pretensions to valor."<sup>12</sup> A more pernicious illusion was not to be found, it went on, than the prevailing opinion that literature and learning were inconsistent with wealth, adverse to industry, or opposed to the general interest. It asserted that even the interests of the tradesman, the merchant, and the mechanic were furthered by the success of polite literature.<sup>13</sup>

For the success of its avowed policy, the *Portico* boldly designated certain things which must be accomplished. It appears that the periodical, having made a research into the state of letters in America, had found that the "flow of mind," as it termed it, was small among us, in fact, "a mere rivulet of thought."<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it believed that the American people possessed physical, intellectual, and moral materials of future greatness superior to those of any other country. To make the United States the greatest nation in the world, contended a writer in the magazine, it was only necessary to extend the dimensions and raise the standard of literature, art, and science, in addition to improving the nation's economic and political status.<sup>15</sup>

Moreover, the *Portico* was firmly convinced that a general prevalence of reading was necessary to form a "national character for elegant literature."<sup>16</sup> It maintained that a general desire for sound reading, a discriminating and pure taste, must prevail among the people. It said:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Portico*, II (Aug., 1816), 111-112.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Dec., 1816), i, ii, iii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 120.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I (Jan., 1816), 47.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 119.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, V (April, May, June, 1818), 252-257.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Aug., 1816), 115.



The habit of reading must become incorporated with the wants of the people, and every man must deem a book as necessary to his happiness as a dinner or an estate.

It pointed out certain other things which must be done. It insisted that popular encouragement and individual financial assistance should be given to native literature. It said that the people must become known for liberality of patronage and delicacy of taste, that they must give a ready reception to works of merit, incite and reward genius, throw down the standard of wealth, and foster the spirit of emulation.<sup>18</sup> A citation from the issue for December, 1816, will illustrate the point. It said:<sup>19</sup>

*Men of Letters*, unhappily, form but a small proportion of society and as long as the other classes remain dead to the noble emulation, that would struggle to secure for us a literary character, the *Portico*, in common with other works, must encounter difficulties, and suffer the consequences of insufficient encouragement.

The *Portico* endeavored to excite the ambition of native writers by appealing to their love of fame and by drawing prophetic visions of the honor and immortality to be gained in American letters. It desired to arouse the ambition of American scholars to a worthy display of their talent and erudition. "Here, then," it said in June, 1816, "a clear path invites the successful enterprise of genius to ascend to the summit of beauty, sublimity, and renown."<sup>20</sup> With reference to its design of inciting native genius to attempt to reach the heights of classical composition, one of its editors said:<sup>21</sup>

If, in the pursuit of this object, I should only chance to impel *one mighty mind*, to stir up the expiring embers of correct and genuine criticism, I should derive the highest satisfaction from this undertaking.

To the *Portico*, it seemed that every mind possessing a trace of ambition should have felt a thrill of ecstasy when contemplating the immortality of literary fame. In the issue for August, 1816, the editor asked:<sup>22</sup>

Who does not wish to live in after ages, in the mouth of praise, and the mind of admiration, when the frailty of the body shall have crumbled to dust, and the fire of fancy shall be wafted to an unknown region?

Desirous of beholding an enlarged culture of polite learning in this country, the *Portico* spurred on the ambition of native writers by indulging in visions of the renown to be gained in American letters. Pointing to the fact that our literary reputation was yet to be established, it called the attention of native writers to the excellent chances of acquiring

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 294.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. i, ii, iii.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, I (June, 1816), 474.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Aug., 1816), 123-126.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

immortal fame and of having a share in forming the literary character and glory of the nation. Indeed, it assured its readers that we could not fail of a brilliant accomplishment in the end, if we but availed ourselves of the advantages within our grasp. "Let genius be cherished, and taste promoted, and an Augustan Age of learning may yet crown our ambitions, and reward our labours," exhorted and prophesied the editors.<sup>23</sup> In the same spirit, a writer in a later number of the periodical declared with confidence that, at some future time, the productions of our poets would bestow a charm and inspiring influence upon our country, "equal, if not superior, to this favoured region [Italy] where poetry has gathered her choicest flowers."<sup>24</sup>

Believing that the time was ripe for the production of native genius and that interest in polite literature was increasing, the *Portico* tried to exert a guiding influence over the rising young authors of the country. It set as its goal an American literature of the first rank, one that could stand a fearless competition with the most excellent performances of the veteran writers of Europe. A contributor to the issue of August, 1816, well stated the program of the *Portico* in this respect by assuring his readers that the country was already crowded with geniuses eager for distinction, who only required the direction of taste, and, of course, the support of the public to produce a literature that would be a worthy asset to America's reputation.<sup>25</sup> The *Portico* feared that the unrestricted sway of indolence and caprice in the "republick of literature," where no literary critic ruled with despotic authority, would result in the general prevalence of every species of absurdity and imperfection.<sup>26</sup> To avoid such a contingency, the *Portico*, through its policy of assuming a sort of guardianship over the best interests of national letters, was especially zealous that the taste of native writers be uncorrupted and pure. It insisted on the cultivation of high attainments, judgment, delicacy and correctness of taste in general literature.<sup>27</sup> Its editors, Watkins and Simpson, thus stated their position in the issue for December, 1816: "We are no panegyrists—we are stern, impartial criticks, whom no selfish motive can influence, to disregard the dictates of truth and justice. . . ."<sup>28</sup>

In line with this policy, the *Portico* in its reviews of native works, sought to point out the faults of our *literateurs*, to rectify the errors of conceit, and to restrain the whims of genius. For example, a reviewer in the number for January, 1817, suggested means of improving a certain

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, v (April, May, June, 1818), 225-227.<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Aug., 1816), 123-126.<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, I (May, 1816), 381.<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, I (April, 1816), 329; IV (Feb., 1817), 95, 98, 157.<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 449.

poem from the pen of "An American." He advised the author of the necessity of independent thought, of the avoidance of slavish imitation, and of the need for careful revision. He warned the poet to restrain the luxuriance of his imagination.<sup>29</sup> Relative to a book dealing with researches among the aborigines of America, of which notice was given in a previous issue of the *Portico*, one of the editors commended the author's purpose, theory, and philosophy, but adversely criticized his style. The critic remarked on the extreme defectiveness of the plan of the work. He said that the diction was often low and unsuited to the subject, that the construction of the sentences was frequently ungrammatical, and the phrasing sometimes vulgar. But he was careful to assure the author that his remarks were intended not as a disparagement of the work, but as an inducement for the publishing of another edition of the book, with careful attention to the avoidance of the mistakes called to his notice.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, in its review of *Delapaine's Repository of the Lives of Distinguished Americans* (Philadelphia, 1816), the *Portico* could say little that was favorable concerning the author's style. It declared that it had never reviewed a work with a more eager desire to be pleased, nor ever was more completely disappointed. As a word of advice it said:<sup>31</sup>

Of the proprietor's objects and views, too much cannot be said, in praise: but we would strenuously advise him, for his own profit, as well as for the credit of our country, to recall the edition of this first volume, and commence anew.

But the *Portico* went even farther than to point out the errors of native writers. In the issue of December, 1816, it criticized the work of an English bookseller and writer named Castle. This English author's work, satirically characterized as "Castle's Effusions," afforded the periodical the opportunity of calling to the attention of our rising young poets many examples of this author's faults, absurdities, bombast, and puerilities. It warned aspiring authors to avoid the mistakes of Mr. Castle, "in order that their taste may not wilfully or blindly become corrupted, by the rankest perversions that disgrace our language."<sup>32</sup> In like manner, another writer in the *Portico* expressed regret that American poets had fallen into the habit of the English of appending notes to their poems. "A poem which cannot be written intelligently without the necessity of *explanatory notes*," he said, "had better not be written at all."<sup>33</sup> He wished to see this practice of enlarging and encumbering volumes of poetry abolished by American poets.

But it must not be supposed that the *Portico* was overcritical of native

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, III (Jan., 1817), 29-32.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Oct., 1816), 293.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, III (March, 1817), 172.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Aug., 1816), 110-111.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Dec., 1816), 486.

works. On the contrary, with a spirit as fearless as ever characterized our seamen, it encouraged American authors with praise. Despite the fact that it found many evident faults in native works, it made a practice of zealously "puffing" native literary efforts. Through its reviews it intended to accomplish the twofold purpose of augmenting the literary glory of the country and of inducing greater confidence among American authors. Quite often, it seems, the most important, if not the only, reason for its favorable notice was the fact that the book or poem being reviewed was by an American or that it contained national American sentiments. For certain native productions it claimed everlasting fame. To certain of our authors it assigned most of the attributes of genius. A consideration of the *Portico's* bombastic review of *Crystalina, A Fairy Tale*, by an American, will corroborate this contention. In the issue for January, 1817, the reviewer stated that *Crystalina* was "one of the most splendid productions of the age," and that it contained passages never surpassed in the language.<sup>34</sup> In his opinion, Spenser himself had never exceeded such flights of imagination as this American author employed in this native poem. "Had this poet written before Shakespeare and Spenser, he would have been acknowledged as the *Child of fancy*," declared the reviewer. He went on to assure his readers that if the author had thought more independently and had omitted some passages, the remainder would have done credit to the fancy of any poet, living or dead. It was not his intention, he admitted, to run a parallel between the author of *Crystalina* and Shakespeare, Spenser, Dryden, or Milton, although, the reviewer maintained, he occasionally resembled them all. In his opinion, neither Shakespeare nor any other brilliant spirit of past ages ever showed greater genius in writing of the beauties of morning than did the author of *Crystalina* in the following lines:

Thrice hath yon moon her *pearly chariot driven*,  
Across the *starry wilderness* of Heaven,  
In *lonely grandeur*; thrice the morning star  
Danced on the eastern hills before Hyperion's car.

The reviewer said, moreover, that the poet's line, "The clouds sailed by like a routed fleet," had never been surpassed. In like manner he said that the opening of the second canto was so masterful and so entirely beyond the range of common invention that he forbore to make any remarks. Again, he described a certain picture in the poem as containing more fire and fancy than any other modern production of which he knew. He even went further to tell the readers of the periodical that "there is enchantment in the language, it never was excelled."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, III (Jan., 1817), 33.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, III (Jan., 1817), 23-33.

In the same manner, the *Portico* highly praised *Airs of Palestine*, a poem by John Pierpont, Esquire, of Baltimore. Its review of this poem was characterized by an exuberance of style and spirit in which the *Portico's* design of encouraging the confidence of native writers was plainly discernible. In regard to Mr. Pierpont's poem, the *Portico* said:<sup>36</sup>

Welcome as the caravan that brought life and renovation, to the exhausted frames of Ali Bey and his followers, in the desert sands of Morocco—Sweet as the music of the feathered songsters, that swept through the groves of his beloved Scmelalia, were the *Airs of Palestine*, to our enraptured ears.

The review went on to say that this poem would bring a transport of delight, unfelt before, to the patriotic American critic, who has had to depend upon imported materials for the exercise of his trade. The author wrote with an invention wholly original, an imagination truly poetical, and had graced his effort with an introduction artful and imposing in the highest degree.<sup>37</sup> Of a certain four lines, the magazine assured its readers that they were inexpressibly sweet, and in regard to a certain Alexandrine it challenged any of the bards of the age to surpass its dignity and sublimity.<sup>38</sup> The Highland scenery of the poem, the *Portico* found to have been a "continued blaze of poetick fire," with every line breathing the melody of music. To Mr. Pierpont the magazine paid the following tribute:<sup>39</sup>

. . . but, though we should draw upon our backs, the whole host of English and Scotch critics and Reviewers, we are not afraid to go still further, and pronounce that no poet of the present day, of any country, has evinced stronger powers of genius, clearer perception, a more chastened fancy, or a more correct and refined taste. . . .

In like manner, the *Portico* said that *Washington or Liberty Restored* was a poem in which the author, Mr. Northmore, in the employment of the device of Milton's host of infernal angels had not disgraced his master's tools by an unskillful use of them and had imitated Milton with great skill.<sup>40</sup> It also declared that *Poems by William Maxwell, Esquire*, published by Moses Thomas in 1816, were, for measure and correct rhyme, a volume of "homemade" poetry that was "an example of more scrupulous purity, than almost any native production that we have seen. . . ."<sup>41</sup> In its review of the *History of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain*, "by an American," published in Baltimore, 1816, by Joseph Cushing, it described the author as the faithful

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Dec., 1816), 448-449.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 449.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 453.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 454.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, V (April, May, June, 1818), 261-264.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Oct., 1816), 341.

recorder of facts, a historian upon whose fidelity posterity might rely with confidence.<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, to assist even further the development of national American literature, the *Portico* suggested certain definite native themes for the exercise of American genius. In the very first issue, that of January, 1816, the *Portico* addressed an earnest exhortation to American scholars to attempt the execution of a "Desideratum in Literature," which should show "the connection between languages and the manners of nations. . . ." It said that a better occasion for the display of American learning could not be desired.<sup>43</sup> The number for February, 1816, suggested the battle of New Orleans as an excellent subject for a drama. The battle was so recent, urged the *Portico*, its results so glorious, and its consequences so important to the United States that nearly every person was already well acquainted with the interesting facts. It directed that a dramatic representation of that battle should only embody the principal events and most interesting scenes so as to make the reader, in imagination, a vivid witness of the action.<sup>44</sup>

The *Portico* saw another opportunity for the exercise of native genius in the production of a history of the late maritime contest with Great Britain. The *Portico* considered the War of 1812, next to the Revolutionary War, the most important event in our history. It required a careful writing of that struggle, involving an investigation and disclosure of motives, causes, and consequences. It advised a history directed by sober reason and free from factional prejudice. The historian must also treat, it added, of the diplomatic correspondence, the political history, and the incidents of the war.<sup>45</sup>

Likewise, this periodical encouraged American writers to attempt to produce a worthy piece of literature built upon the popular theme of Washington. Declaring that a subject more grateful to the American reader could not well be chosen, it expressed disappointment that, in the past, nothing of value on the theme had been given to the public. But it told its readers that it still considered "this great national subject, as open to the charms of song." And it hoped "to see it elegantly embellished by a native poet of sterling genius; whose fancy shall command admiration, and whose taste shall preclude faults and defy censure."<sup>46</sup>

The *Portico* also pointed out to native writers the desirability of a national biography of the lives of distinguished Americans. In October, 1816, it criticized the lack of a regular system of American biography to

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Nov., 1816), 423-424.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, I (Jan., 1816), 75.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, I (Feb., 1816), 494.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, III (June, 1817), 429, 430, 434.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, V (April, May, June, 1818), 261-263, 274.

which one could refer for information or for evidences of national distinction. It maintained that in the short period of forty years from its existence as a nation, the United States, more so than any other country, could boast of a greater number of illustrious men in every branch of useful knowledge, whose lives deserved to come under the notice of the biographer. Of many of these men it lamented that no record was to be found except in their own works. And so it urged our scholars to overcome this evident penury of biographical memoirs and to assist in making this species of writing an interesting and important part of national literature.<sup>47</sup>

But a favorite topic of the *Portico* for the employment of native writers was the subject of the American Indian. Believing that the Indian was not only gradually disappearing but was in danger of eventual extinction, the *Portico* told its readers in March, 1818, that "A strict attention to the history of the aborigines of our country becomes, at every hour, more and more indispensable."<sup>48</sup> In another article, entitled *American Indians*, it was extremely desirous, the periodical said, of calling the attention of its readers to the situation of our Indian neighbors. The author of the article said:<sup>49</sup>

It is a subject which well deserves to call forth the talents of our politicians and statesmen, as well as philosophers and devines—and if any of our readers feel sufficient interest in it, we promise them a welcome reception to their remarks in the *Portico*.

As examples of the sort of thing it was suggesting and encouraging, the magazine itself published a short history of the Beoga Indians of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania,<sup>50</sup> the legend of the Carmogee or Dove Indians in the early settlement of the United States,<sup>51</sup> an account of the Pondondees, a tribe living between the St. Peter and the Missouri Rivers, hitherto unnoticed by an historian,<sup>52</sup> and it discussed and discounted the theory that the American Indians were descended from a lost and wandered tribe of Jews.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, the *Portico* endeavored to give a wider field to the exercise of native genius by devoting its *Repository* to the publication of the original poetry of American authors. In July, 1816, it assured its readers of its "infinite pleasure" in being able to present in that number a *Repository*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Oct., 1816), 382–383, 293.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, V (Jan., Feb., March, 1818), 123.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, V (April, May, June, 1818), 439.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, V (Jan., Feb., March, 1818), 123.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 63–66.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, II (Sept., 1816), 237.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, V (April, May, June, 1818), 245.

entirely of original poetry, "all of which may stand a fearless competition with that of any *foreign* journal that comes before an American public."<sup>54</sup> From the increasing number of poetical contributors the editors ventured to promise that soon they no longer would be compelled to resort to the collectanea of other countries—all of which, they said, displayed a determined and highly gratifying zeal in the cause of national literature.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, Democratic periodicals, the *Portico* in particular, enthusiastic over American naval victories in the War of 1812, felt confident of their power to emancipate America from undue subservience to England in literary matters. Our naval victories having shown the world that we no longer were dependent upon England politically, these periodicals demanded intellectual and literary independence as well. This new national consciousness, then, spurred on these periodicals to attempt the establishment of a national American literature.

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, II (July, 1816), 92.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*



## XVII

### LYTTON'S THEORIES OF PROSE FICTION

IN 1838 Lytton published in the *Monthly Chronicle* an essay entitled "On Art in Fiction." This essay is ignored by those who have written on Lytton's narrative art, yet, as it is reprinted in the volume, *Pamphlets and Sketches*, it takes up thirty-five closely printed pages and deals explicitly with the various parts of the novelist's craft. In it Lytton defines, in terms that apply to prose fiction, the aims of art and the means by which the aims may be achieved.<sup>1</sup> By 1838 he had written twelve novels. The essay represents an experienced novelist's conclusions about the potentialities of his chosen form; and, moreover, it provides us with a measuring stick to set up against his later if not his earlier novels.

This act of judgment is not without precedent in Lytton's intellectual life; for the years 1830-38 (the period of Lytton's greatest activity as a magazine editor, social interpreter, and historian) were years in which he recombined ideas into a highly personal system of thought, and applied these concepts to various fields of human activity. Concepts applied to various fields—contemporary England or ancient Athens—remained much the same. Society, the individual, art—all of these constituted a unity that had organic life. Like the nerves, veins, and arteries, these aspects of life were so closely united that only a skilled operator can separate one from another. Even then, the thing under inspection is best explained by defining it in terms of its relationship to the general system of Lytton's thought. So with the ideas in the essay, "On Art in Fiction."

Art in fiction, as Lytton saw it, was for the sake of making the writer's intention clear to the reader. Such an attitude towards the art of fiction as is found in Percy Lubbock's *Craft of Fiction* would be incomprehensible to Lytton. In the *Craft of Fiction*, though the author tries to avoid it, the emphasis leads one to believe that *Madame Bovary* is a greater book than *War and Peace* because the French novel is superior in form to the great Russian one. For Lytton the formal virtues were virtues as long as they advanced the clarification of a great conception, but, if they were addressed to the exploitation of vicious and immoral aims, were no longer virtues but instruments of the devil. Vicious subject matter blinded him to the artistic lessons lying in the French novel.

Lytton draws his rules from works which are objects of his moral ap-

<sup>1</sup> Lytton made an earlier and much briefer attempt to codify the rules for the writing of fiction in a sketch, "On the Different Kinds of Prose Fictions . . .," which is prefaced to *The Disowned* in the *Works of Edward Lytton Bulwer*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1836) I, 118 ff. This sketch, dated July 20, 1835, to anticipate the points made in the later essay.

proval. The definition of art with which he begins his essay—"Art is that process by which we give to natural materials the highest excellence they are capable of receiving"<sup>2</sup>—excludes from the realm of art imaginative efforts that do not serve the ideal. A book that does not have the right aim or (in William Godwin's term) the right moral tendency, is not a work of art. Great art demands the intensest application of intellectual faculties; for it is, Lytton considers, an approach to the Sublime, either by the Greek method—that of giving the highest perfection to natural objects—or by a method mentioned in Lytton's *Student*—that of bringing the ideal into the world.

Lytton repeats a formula for criticism that was behind his earlier *New Monthly* reviews. In estimating a work of art, the critic does not look for surface imperfections but acquaints himself with the writer's conception and judges whether or not the writer has employed the proper means of developing it. Lytton points out that we expect a different excellence in the work of a watchmaker and in the work of an artist. The first we value for its utility; the last for the nearness of its approach to the sublime.<sup>3</sup>

Rules for governing the writer in such an effort cannot be made *a priori*; they can be drawn up only when great embodiments of the ideal in a particular form have been made. The time has come, Lytton believes, for the drawing up of an "art of fiction," since great examples of it are fairly numerous. But even these rules are not meant to constrict the activity of genius; but they may save beginning novelists from error. It is with this reservation that Lytton commences his investigation.

#### A. THE SOURCES OF THE NOVELIST'S INTEREST

Lytton begins by stating, "The novelist has three departments of his art—Manners, Passions, Character."<sup>4</sup> He discusses each department separately. But, though Lytton may establish a system of categories, he seldom keeps one from overlapping on another. Thus, there might be novels of manners which did not at times become novels of character or of passion; but if so, so much the worse for the novel of manners. And novels of passion that were not also novels of character would be inconceivable to Lytton.

##### 1. *Manners*

Manners, Lytton judges, is the simplest "department" of the novelist's art. "The delineation of manners," he says shortly, "embraces both past and present; the Modern and Historical Romance."<sup>5</sup> Here Lytton is using the word "manners" to indicate not only social customs but all

<sup>2</sup> *Pamphlets and Sketches*, (Knebworth edition) xxxiv, 318.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 319.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

that goes to distinguish one era from another. The need of this variety of manners in the historical romance is obvious.<sup>6</sup>

In the tale of *Notre Dame de Paris* by Victor Hugo, the description of the Cathedral of Notre Dame is not only apposite, but of deepest interest; for the cathedral is, by a high effort of art, made an absolute portion of the machinery of the tale.

But the long description of the spectacle is merely a parade of such scholarly learning as burdens many another historical novel and causes it to sink beneath too great a load of erudition. Quaintness in the medieval novel and frigidity in the romance of antiquity—both move the reader to boredom and distress.

The historical novelist must, then, overcome the reader's unfamiliarity with a landscape and an age. He must stress those things which will lead the reader to conclude that, although the tale is of ancient Greece or early England, the people of that age were human and "as close to life as if they were drawn from the streets of London."<sup>7</sup> The author who does not place too much confidence in his genius will avoid a period of history which has been skillfully worked by the hand of a master. He who would write another novel of the Elizabethan era will inquire first what phases of Elizabethan manners were neglected by Scott in *Kenilworth*.<sup>8</sup>

But, if you find the shadow of the previous work flinging itself over your own . . . you will only invest your genius to unnecessary disadvantages, and build edifices, however graceful and labored, upon the freehold of another.

In historical novels descriptions of dress and ways of taking snuff are not repugnant. But in modern novels they are, for there the manners are as familiar to readers as to the author. "There would be, indeed, something inane and trifling, or mean and vulgar, in Dutch copies of the modern still life."<sup>9</sup> Creation of "Dutch copies" lowers the modern novel of manners to the level of the latest fashion sheet. The reader does not wish, Lytton judges, to know what the heroine is wearing or what poverty the hero is suffering; for he very likely has ample experience of his own on either point.

The interest, then, in a novel of modern manners is best sustained by the use of *humor* instead of trifling descriptions of fashions. Such is the method of modern masters such as Fielding and Sterne, who, in their tracing of manners, have worked in service of the "Ideal of the Ludicrous." "For as the Serious Ideal requires a certain exaggeration in the proportions of the Natural, so also does the Ludicrous." There was never a country so phantastic as Cloud Cuckoo Land nor a knight so ridiculous

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 321.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 321.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 322.

<sup>9</sup> *Idem.*

as Don Quixote—"the art of the portrait is in the admirable exaltation of the Humorous by means of the Exaggerated."<sup>10</sup> Frequently, indeed, when an author wishes to make observations upon contemporary manners so severe as to be offensive, he artfully moves the scene of his story to another country and lets those read between the lines who will.

But the delineation of manners, Lytton concludes, whether it is historical or modern, is only of secondary interest to a novelist of power. To him who feels deeply about life and tries to describe those feelings, manners must always seem a kind of froth that rides on the surface of a deep and rushing stream. The more enduring interests at a novelist's command are those of *character* and the *passions*.

## 2. Character

Lytton quotes with approval another's saying: "Give me the character, and I will find the play."<sup>11</sup> A great character is remembered long after the plot and the "manners" developed in the story are forgotten. In drawing a character, however, an author must first ask himself in what way the projected character will aid in clarifying the central conception—always the important thing in Lytton's mind. What kind of interest will a character stimulate? To have, for example, a book with two heroines equally sweet and gentle is to destroy the effect of either one. Where there is a great figure, the author will, as Scott did with Rebecca and Rowena, sacrifice the minor character to the character of greater importance. Nor will the author so fill his books with vivid characters that the result is confusion. Characterization, like any other part of the novelist's art, must be subservient to conception.

With this idea in mind, Lytton judges, the author will draw his characters by a delicate process of toning down the high lights, not permitting individual character to "obtrude itself, naked and unrelieved."<sup>12</sup>

It was a very cheap purchase of laughter in Sir Walter Scott, and a mere trick of farce, which Shakespeare and Cervantes would have disdained, to invest a favorite humorist with some cant phrase, which he cannot open his mouth without disgorging.

Instead of simplifying the problem, the novelist will ask himself—if, for example, his novel extends over a long period of time—what changes the character of the hero would be likely to undergo. Lytton praises Thomas Hope's forgotten *Anastasius* for this; the hero passes from youthful ebullience to the reserved sadness of middle age. He is a real man and not two or three selected details worked to death.

There are times, to be sure, when the character *is* the conception be-

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 323.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

hind a work of art. The incidents in *Hamlet* are after-thoughts. Shakespeare used the duel as the most convenient catastrophe; but there are many others that would have done as well. The central figure of the undecided and unhappy prince, Lytton believes, appeared to Shakespeare, and the poet then looked about for incidents to exhibit the phases of the prince's character.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, character-drawing must at times be given a decidedly subordinate place in the novel. If the interest of the author lies in creating an allegorical effect, he will soften down the real outlines of his character until they have an indistinctness about them that harmonizes with the story. Thus, Scott's Master of Ravenswood, whose fate is mysterious, is left indistinct, in striking contrast to Scott's other heroes, who are hearty and simple creatures. The formation of grotesque figures, in contrast to those merely mysterious, is not a very good occupation for the writer who is trying to embody the ideal—unless the writer has Shakespeare's genius to take the readers to an enchanted island, where all is avowedly different. The result of Quasimodo, Hugo's essay in the grotesque, is fatiguing and unreal. "... we see no reason why Quasimodo should not have been as well-shaped as other people," says Lytton closing his remarks on grotesque and mysterious characterization.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, the largest section of the *character dicta* is given over to the place in fiction of figures of evil. "In the portraiture of evil and criminal characters lies the widest scope for an author profoundly versed in the philosophy of the human heart."<sup>15</sup> Great verse has been consecrated to criminals—why should the novel not contain similar efforts? Lytton maintains throughout his critical writings that it is the aim of highest genius to stir pity and terror; the example of Greek tragedy convinced him of that. Guilt of a leading character, more than anything else, arouses the emotions of pity and terror. The audience is terrified by the act itself and struck with pity for the man who has, willingly or unwillingly, become involved in the consequences of an evil act.

... it is chiefly, though not solely, in the machinations of guilt that may be found the source of the one [terror] and in the misfortunes, sometimes of the victim of the guilt, nay, sometimes of the guilty agent himself, that we arrive at the fountain of the softer passion [pity].<sup>16</sup>

This is reminiscent of Lytton's statement<sup>17</sup> that the "softer passion" of pathos is needed to offset the horror of the Sophoclean tragedy.

<sup>13</sup> Although Lytton said that the great examples of prose fiction would furnish him with his rules, he turns to the drama, where the effect of the sublime has been more often encompassed.

<sup>14</sup> *Pamphlets and Sketches*, 326.

<sup>15</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 326.

<sup>17</sup> *Athens* (Knebnorth edition) xxix, 520.

Also reminiscent of Lytton's praise of Attic tragedy is his commendation, in this essay, of *Macbeth* because the deed of guilt is done off the stage and we are allowed to see only the tumult that the act occasions in the heart of the criminal. It is not the deed itself but the consequent emotions that arouse terror in us; and the artist, whether dramatist or novelist, is most happy when he unites in his protagonist qualities that stir our pity and yet terrify us. We feel terror at the crime Oedipus, Lytton considers, yet compassionate his fate. Similarly, Shakespeare, in causing Macbeth to soliloquize, near the end of the tragedy, on his way of life, draws our attention from the crime, revolting in itself, to the heart of Macbeth, which is not unlike our own.

In addition to this, the novelist may, if he wishes, take care to expose the details of the criminal's life, showing how the criminal is entirely formed by early environment.<sup>18</sup>

[The novelist] will suit the nature of the criminal to the state of the society in which he is cast. Thus he will have occasions for the noblest morality. By concentrating in one focus the vicious influences of any peculiar error in the social system, he will hold up a mirror to nations themselves.

This aim, it must be noted, is not exactly that of tragedy, even as Lytton understood tragedy. Here the novelist's treatment would not be a source of pity and terror but of social improvement. As we see elsewhere, Lytton does not consider that the existence of one aim keeps the novelist from satisfying another.

Lytton concludes by contemplating the opposite of the sinner, the nearly perfect person. In delineating such a one, the novelist will include the imperfections that experience teaches him must be there; and says weightily: ". . . no man can be an artist who does not prefer experience and human nature to all criticism. . . ." <sup>19</sup> There he will be touching the source of all great writing.

One sentence deserves singling out: "Youth without a fault would be youth without a passion."<sup>20</sup> The seriousness of this lack appears when we see how large a place the *passions* occupy in Lytton's conception of the ideal novel. A perfect character, one without passions, would furnish little material for the experimenting novelist.<sup>21</sup>

### 3. *The Passions and Sentiment*

"Delineation of passions is inseparable from the delineation of character." For Lytton "the passions" were always in the plural. Emotion

<sup>18</sup> *Pamphlets and Sketches*, 328.

<sup>19</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

<sup>21</sup> See *infra* Lytton's idea that a great novel may have both moral aim and moral tendency.

that is expressed singly becomes, because of that circumstance, a sentiment and diffuses itself over the intellectual landscape. It is emotions of contrasting character that are expressed at the same time which become, as they struggle for dominance, "the passions."<sup>22</sup>

You will recollect that in the novel, as in the drama, it is in the *struggle* of emotions that the science of the heart is best displayed; and in the delineation of such struggles, there is ground little occupied hitherto by the great masters of English fiction.

To substantiate this point, Lytton contends that, although the passions are few in number, the possibilities of artistic use of them is nearly endless. It would not be so if the novelist were to be limited to the depiction of *types* of passion. But the passions, experience teaches, are never pure and simple but exist in particular characters with other passions.<sup>23</sup>

The elementary passions themselves, like the elements, are few; it is the modifications they take in passing through different bodies that give us so inexhaustible a variety of light and shadows of loveliness and glory.

It is not the duty of the novelist to describe the passion in an analytic way as he would if he were a lecturer exhibiting a germ he has isolated. The passion is shown as it works in an individual. The essence of the passion remains—fortunately, for the sake of variety and verisimilitude—beyond the novelist's grasp. All he can do is to record the accidents of the passion's existence in a certain character.

The reflections should be of value, Lytton considers, to a writer who wishes to avoid the obvious and hackneyed. Thus, painfully old is the story of the soldier torn between love and duty; and likewise the story of the antique-dealer who is consumed by miserliness. A new combination could be effected by taking a great soldier and plaguing him with the passion of avarice.<sup>24</sup>

In drawing the newly-conceived figure, the novelist must avoid overestimating the influence of any one passion on the life of his hero, for the result would be caricature.<sup>25</sup>

Not so Shakespeare when he created Shylock. Other things, other motives occupy the spirit of the Jew besides his gold and his argosies; he is a grasping and relentless miser, yet he can give up avarice to revenge. He has sublime passions that elevate his mean ones.

Whether or not revenge is to be considered a sublime passion, we see here the application of Lytton's formula, *Emotions plus character*.<sup>26</sup>

The truth of Lytton's statements seem to him obvious; and yet he has

<sup>22</sup> *Pamphlets and Sketches*, 331.

<sup>25</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>23</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 331.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 330.

to note that few great English novelists have turned their attention to the passions—content, instead, with a delineation of manners or humors. This new kind of effort was<sup>27</sup>

... not in the province of Fielding or Smollett, and Scott but rarely indulges, and still more rarely succeeds in the metaphysical operations of stormy and conflicting feelings. He rather seems to have made it a point of art to imitate the ancient painter and throw a veil over passions he felt inadequate to express.

Thus the depth of Ravenswood's grief is indicated only by his pacing.

This "metaphysical interest," here plainly a process of emotional analysis to be pushed forward intuitively, is a department that deserves the attention of the gifted novelist. It is a comparatively new field and one in which the subtlety of the writer's intelligence will be put to a high test, and the novelist's success will depend on the skill with which he combines passion and character. He may, however, win minor laurels in the depiction of strong sentiments, like those of "Awe and Pleasing Melancholy." These, it is to be noted, could never become passion, for, in contact with the passions, they would be either shattered or transformed into passions by some process of metaphysical chemistry.

Yet sentiment, when it is the unifying principle of a book, is the feature of composition least amenable to the efforts of a codifying critic.

It emanates from the moral and predominate quality of the author—the perfume from his genius; and by it he unconsciously reveals himself.<sup>28</sup>

The lack of such sentiment, Lytton judges, cannot be corrected by subterfuges on a writer's part who err when they employ superficial devices to supply this want in their natures. "As the charm of sentiment in a fiction is that it is latent and indefinite," Lytton concludes his remarks on the kinds of fiction, "so the charm vanishes directly it becomes obtruding and importunate."<sup>29</sup>

#### B. MEANS OF USING THE MATERIAL AND WORKING OUT THE CONCEPTION

These are the materials—manners, character, and the passions—which the novelist has at hand, and it is Lytton's opinion that the novelist who wishes to advance his art toward what it might ideally be will place less reliance upon manner and more upon passion and character. Two-thirds of Lytton's essay, however, is given over to the study of the means by which a novelist may develop a worthy conception. It is apparent at every turn that the ideal conception involves a study of the passions, since they and not manners are at the bottom of behavior.

<sup>27</sup> *Iidem.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 331.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 332.



1. *Failure of Novelists through Faulty Conception*

Lytton wishes to establish first the comparative failure of novelists who do not inquire strictly into the nature of the effect which they wish to create, and he turns to Scott to find an example of a novelist who began with no conception at all and had, as a result, to expend much of his energy in pulling wool over the reader's eyes—convincing him that indefatigable complexity is the same thing as an august conception. But, Lytton insists, Scott

never appears to say to himself, "Such a tale will throw a new light upon human passions, or add fresh stores to human wisdom; for that reason I select it."<sup>30</sup>

The Waverley novels were too full of striking landscapes, harrowing scenes, and illustrations of ancient manners for the workings of the passions to be exhibited. We do not see the passion of jealousy run a full gamut, as in *Othello*. "For with Shakespeare the conception itself is visible and gigantic from the first line to the last."<sup>31</sup> Fielding often had a conception previous to his setting pen to paper. He must have determined, in writing *Jonathan Wild*, "to tear the mask from False Greatness" and in *Blifil and Jones* to dethrone "that popular idol—False Virtue."<sup>32</sup> Fielding, Lytton judges, may not have foreseen each step of his narrative, but he accepted and rejected what his mind turned up in the light of his first conception—a thing that Scott could not do because he lacked a point of reference.

The conceptions of Shakespeare had, in the Godwinian distinction, a "moral tendency," since they were throughout the products of a great soul. The conceptions of Fielding were on a lower plane and had a "moral end." Lytton may place the "moral tendency" (product of a significant *Weltanschauung*) above the "moral end" (conventionally, "the moral"); but his theories at this point almost insist on the inclusion of a moral aim as a part of a great conception.

Lytton would almost deny that either of these existed in the fictions of Scott. Scott had "no grandeur of conception, for he had no strong desire to render palpable and immortal some definite and abstract truth."<sup>33</sup> English criticism is at a low ebb when it places him on a level with Shakespeare. Lytton calls the climactic scene of *Kenilworth* an elaborate piece of stage carpentry, a carefully staged tableau. Scott tries by external effects to suggest hidden emotions, the exposition of which Shakespeare would have proceeded to immediately as the task indicated by his conception. Lytton concludes, with an antithesis that he qualifies later:<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 334.<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 335.<sup>31</sup> *Idem.*<sup>33</sup> *Idem.*<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 340.

Shakespeare could have composed the most wonderful plays from the stories of Scott; Scott could have written the most excellent stage directions to the plays of Shakespeare.

Only novels in "the secondary order of Art in Fiction" will come from such conceptions as Scott's. It is not that they have a low aim—they hardly have any at all. The aim need not always be the same, but it must be in the novelist's mind, clearly defined. The rest of Lytton's remarks are meant only for those writers who have at heart the careful development of a worthy conception. These very means would, in the hands of writers who did not worry about their ideals, be empty formulae.

### 2. Character of Interest

Lytton, then, first asks the novelist to determine the character of the interest he wishes to excite. Does he wish the more startling claptrap of the *Mysteries of Udolpho* or the sustained and noble interest of Hope's *Anastasius*? The one requires the skill of a clever workman; the other, in which the course of a bold and insolent life is followed, requires, on every page deep knowledge of human life.

### 3. Terror and Horror

Lytton, as has been pointed out, derived his tragic theory from a study of the Greek plays, and now he applies it to the writing of novels, using, moreover, the Greek tragedies to illustrate his points. His reason for this is that true tragedy, in which the passions are exhibited fully, has not been worked out in a modern novel of which he approves.

He says: "True art never disgusts." Elsewhere he has distinguished between the horror that the blood in *Philoctetes* arouses in us and the terror that *Oedipus* arouses. Horror is physical and plays on the weakest parts of our nature. Terror appeals to the highest part, the moral sense.<sup>35</sup> It is not, it appears here, so much the theme as the treatment that determines our reactions.

A modern French writer, if he had taken the subject of *Oedipus*, would have disgusted us by details of the incest itself, or forced us from the riven heart to gaze upon the bloody and eyeless sockets of the blind king . . .<sup>36</sup>

The German writers whom Lytton admired stop before terror becomes mere horror. Schiller believed that the final effect of a work of art should not be entirely one of pain. "According to him," Lytton adds, "pleasure of the art should exceed the sympathy with the suffering." Our terror is intellectual, and it is mitigated by the effect of pathos. We may be

<sup>35</sup> *Athens, op. cit.*, 519.

<sup>36</sup> *Pamphlets and Sketches*, 340.

certain about the mechanism of tragedy, although we have to hesitate when we describe the actual effects of it on modern man.

#### 4. Description

From terror and horror Lytton turns to description, which is almost the main support of the novelist who begins his novel with no definite conception at all, and it is a great aid, Lytton admits, to the novelist with a great idea; for in description lies the novelist's advantage over a dramatic poet. Things on the stage are to be *things done*, but between the covers of a novel, they are to be *things described*. This is the first time, it should be noted, that Lytton points to a fundamental distinction between the novel-form and the drama-form.

In narrative, the writer is his own scene painter. Scott has never been outdone at this. It will be recalled that Lytton's earlier complaint was not direct at the quality of Scott's scene-painting but at the quantity of it. "We only lament that Scott did not combine with external description an equal, or, at least, not very inferior, skill in metaphysical analysis."<sup>37</sup>

The novelist who knows where he is going will use description as a definite means. If a climatic scene is to take place on a moor, the writer will take care to dwell on the sinister features of the otherwise unimportant place. Similarly, if there are natural objects that are to have bearing on the denouement, they should be described early, as in *Oedipus in Coloneus*. Description may also serve to indicate the passage of time; Lytton here points to his *Eugene Aram*, which contains indications of the passing seasons.

But—and this is the point that Lytton insists on—the description the novelist employs is not only that of landscape. He may describe feelings, whereas the dramatist *must* throw them into dialogue. It is the novelist's privilege to go straight to the heart and, with no indirection at all, tell what he finds there. Godwin has done this elaborately and Goethe most successfully. Lytton's theory, at this point, undoubtedly looks in the direction of the later psychological novel.

Conduct us to the cavern of the heart, light the torch, and startle and awe us by what you reveal; but if you keep us all day in the cavern, the effect is lost, and our only feeling is that of impatience and desire to get away.

#### 5. Arrangement of Incidents

We now come to the beginning of Lytton's sustained distinction between the novel and the drama as art-forms. The only previous appearance of this distinction in Lytton's criticism was in certain criticism of Miss L. E. Landon's *Romance and Reality*. There Miss Landon was

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 342.

advised to go to school to the drama and learn to show her characters in action instead of talking about them interminably.<sup>38</sup> So far in the present essay, it would seem that the novel is sent to drama to learn its higher lessons; for in the drama are the examples of the sublime and of the play of passions that Lytton did not find in the English novel of his day.

Now comes an almost too definite parting of the ways. The novelist must use one kind of technique (such sometimes seems to be Lytton's reasoning) because the dramatist uses another kind.<sup>39</sup> The basis of the distinction lies in the physical limitations of each form; it is the auditorium opposed to the closet. Some of the individual distinctions, however, do not follow so closely as one might wish.

This is true of the first one. In a play, Lytton states, each incident must be the logical outcome of the one which has gone before. In the novel, the plot is allowed to shift backward and from the chief persons to the minor ones. How this corollary is connected to the fundamental contrast to the media appears as Lytton's discussion advances. The reader in his closet would be overcome by the rush of incidents that the multitude at a theater desires. The individual is more likely to be pleased by the type of interest which is not oratorical. The theatre is but a step from the hustings; the closet is a long way. For this reason, the interest of a novel must be finer and more subtle in appeal.

The novelist can appeal to those delicate and subtle emotions, which are easily awakened when we are alone, but which are torpid and unfelt in the electric contagion of popular sympathies. The most refining among us will cease to refine when placed in the midst of a multitude.<sup>40</sup>

The plot of a drama must be logical and "tight" in the extreme. Because of the constrictions of time and space, which hold a play within four walls, the drama must win the audience by presenting a representation of life in which all that is constrained and consequential is made to seem natural. The novel, because it has few bounds, is able to stress those features of life which convince us that chance rules our destinies.

From this same "law of accident" Lytton deduces other conclusions about the arrangement of incident in a novel. In a novel, he contends, a hero may break his neck by falling from a horse, whereas in a drama a hero's fate must be the upshot of previous deeds. Don Quixote's death

<sup>38</sup> *New Monthly Magazine*, xxxii, 545.

<sup>39</sup> A similar opposition of the two forms, drama and novel, appears in various German critical writing—notably in Book v, Chapter vii of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, a book that Lytton was constantly citing in his defense of metaphysical fictions. A comparison of the two theories will show that, though the English writer probably took his cue from Goethe, Lytton's working out of the distinction is the result of his own taste and experience.

<sup>40</sup> *Pamphlets and Sketches*, 344.

was not the necessary result of any particular deed of his—as would have had to be the case had his story been told in dramatic form.

Lytton admired Schiller's opposition of the laws of drama to those of fiction. He praises Schiller's account of incidents in *Fiesco*, where the German poet substituted for the accidental death of the commander, as history relates it, a logical death that is in accord with the laws of drama. Had *Fiesco* been a novel, Lytton observes, the hero could have slipped off a board into the waters (historical fact), but since *Fiesco* is a tragedy, the hero must perish by the hand of a patriot he has angered. Lytton quotes Schiller: "The nature of the Drama does not admit the hand of chance."<sup>41</sup> Lytton adds an illustration of his own. The hands of chance may work the death of Ravenswood because he is the hero of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, a novel. But if he had been the hero of a drama, his death would have had to be the result of a previous deed. It is evident that Lytton trusts, at this time, implicitly this distinction which he found in German esthetic speculation and modified to suit his purpose—the writing of the esthetic of prose fiction.

### 6. Diction

The distinction leads to a contrast of the diction of the two forms. The diction of the drama, addressed to many, must attract the attention of large audiences. But the novel, addressed to one reader at a time, must have a style that is pitched in a lower key, save when the novelist is trying for an effect of the poetical. Here Lytton is a little kinder to Scott and admits that the lower tone of his diction was partially the result of the form he worked in.

If the dialogue of *Macbeth* were the dialogue of a romance on the same subject, it would be equally good in itself, but it would seem detestable bombast. If the dialogue in *Ivanhoe*, which is matchless of its kind for fire and spirit, were shaped into blank verse, and cut up into a five act play, it would be bald and pointless.<sup>42</sup>

The demands of verisimilitude in the novel are great. The reader has only his own enthusiasm to consult; and is seldom ready for great flights.

### 7. Mechanism and Conduct

Since the interest of a novel is not, like that of the drama, centered on one deed and its consequences, the mechanism and conduct of a novel

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.—Lytton gives in his summary the essence of Schiller's remarks on catastrophe in the drama. The sentence in the Foreword to *Fiesco* reads: "Die wahre Katastrophe des Komplotts, worin der Graf durch einen unglücklichen Zufall am Ziel seiner Wünsche zu Grunde geht, musste durchaus verändert werden, denn die Natur des Dramas duldet den Finger des Ohngefährs oder der unmittelbaren Vorsehung nicht."

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 346.

may be more casual. It was the picture of a whole society that Lesage wished to paint in *Gil Blas*. Consonant with this conception are the excursions, stories within stories, and the recapitulations in that novel.

They all serve to complete and furnish out the conception and the whole would be less rich and consummate in its effect without them. They are not passages which lead to nothing, but conduce to many purposes we can never comprehend, unless we consider well for what end the building was planned.<sup>43</sup>

If a novelist wishes to demonstrate the various aspects of a character, he will enter upon divagations that appear awkward to the person who is used to the laws of the drama. Cervantes and Fielding worked out their conceptions perfectly—if we judge them by the laws of the novel.

Lytton adduces still another argument for the casualness of the novel. It is, he says, more like life than the drama is. Scarcely even in life are issues so clear-cut and retributions so sure as they are represented in the drama. In life many times an incident that we thought of no consequence at last catches up with us, bringing behind it a train of results that is truly amazing and that would never be permitted in the drama. But the novel, because of its casualness, can adapt itself to such a hit-or-miss progression.

Lytton regards Scott as the master of the mechanical manipulation of external incidents. He has the right amount of action, of *longeurs*, of change of scene, and the correct complication of superficial incident. The student "will learn more of the art of *mechanical* construction, than by all the rules that Aristotle himself, were he living, could lay down."<sup>44</sup>

### 8. *The Catastrophe*

The concluding pages of the essay, dealing with the catastrophe, are important in themselves and in their relation to Lytton's novels. "The distinction between the novel and the drama is usually very visible in the Catastrophe."<sup>45</sup> The final curtain of the drama, with characters lined up or lying on the ground, is very displeasing when applied to the novel, where the appeal is to the individual judgment of the reader. If, in the novel, the last chapter be "a palpable delusion and a trick," our pleasure is diminished. This is true of many of Scott's last chapters. Sometimes the novel avoids the effect of a final curtain by "epilogical chapters," telling that "Miss Lucy died an old maid, and how miser Grub was found dead on his money-chest"—"a custom that we think might now give place to less hacknied inventions."<sup>46</sup>

"Less hacknied inventions" are as follows, derived, for the most part, from the contrast of drama and fiction. The drama can stand only one

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 347.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 348.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 350.

<sup>46</sup> *Idem.*

catastrophe, but the novel may have several. Scott, with his technical excellence, affords us examples of this in *Ivanhoe*. The death of Bois Guilbert is the "apparent catastrophe," but the marriage of Ivanhoe and Rowena, the visit of Rowena to Rebecca, and Rebecca's farewell—all these incidents are needed to round out the novel.

But a novel should have a moral conclusion, in addition to the structural conclusion which we find illustrated in Scott. To illustrate this, Lytton points to his own recently published novel, *Alice*. The external or apparent catastrophe lies in Caesarini's act of vengeance, "but the complete denouement and completion of the more typical meanings, and the ethical results of the fiction, are reserved to the moment when Maltravers recognizes the Natural to be the true Ideal, and is brought, by faith and beauty of simple goodness, to affection and respect for mankind itself."<sup>47</sup> In a drama, Lytton states, so many concluding episodes would be simply insufferable, but in a novel they are crowning excellences.

A last distinction is drawn. In a play, the catastrophe is an event that has been foreshadowed by previous events. Comes the opposite: in the novel "it will often be highly artistical to revive in the consummating effect many slight details—incidents the author had but dimly shadowed out—mysteries that you had judged till then he had forgotten to clear up. . . ."<sup>48</sup> Lytton has pushed his formula a step farther, and he denies that the practice he suggests is an ill-considered trick. It has a fidelity "to the natural and life-like order of events." Our own lives are colored by influences that we can hardly trace; an accident will spell our fate, and a chance word once remembered will move us to action.

The Proustian air of this explanation is shattered by an example Lytton gives of what he has in mind. "The feather the eagle carelessly sheds by the wayside plumes the shaft that transfixes him." In this the accident is unbelievable coincidence which disgusts us rather than pleases. Not even Lytton's concluding remarks can dispel our doubts about the artistic value of this particular form of "catastrophe." "In this management and combination of incidents towards the grand end, knowledge of human nature can alone lead the student to the knowledge of Ideal Art."<sup>49</sup>

Lytton puts these technical details aside and concludes his study of the art of fiction by saying that we ought to feel, when we close a book, that it is a whole. "The book itself should be a thought."<sup>50</sup> Rules in the hands of him who has a great thought will be valuable. Lytton sees clearly the limitations of his present essay. "Genius will arrive at fame

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 361.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 352.

<sup>48</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 351.

by the light of its own star."<sup>51</sup> His essay, perhaps has suggested an intellectualization of the art of writing fiction; if so, his last words are devoted to counteracting such an impression.<sup>52</sup>

We must let the heart be a student as well as the head. No man who is a passionless and cold spectator will ever be an accurate analyst of all the motives and springs of action. Perhaps if we are to search for the true secret of Creative Genius, we should find that secret in the intenseness of the sympathies.

#### CONCLUSION

Lytton's theories of prose fiction are at once extensive and explicit, dealing as they do with the aim of fiction (presenting the great conception, the ideal) and the means by which the aim may be achieved. It is a body of theory which looks beyond the practice of fiction in his own day, which was, in the current phrase, "dramatic" and toward later fiction which is "metaphysical" in Lytton's sense—the fiction that deals with the secret life of the spirit. The most interesting single point in Lytton's theories is his distinction between the drama and novel, with the need for different technique for the working out of different forms. He sensed the necessity of presenting the devious and non-dramatic forms of existence and the fitness of prose fiction as a medium for such efforts. Some of his particular distinctions seem to us petty from the vantage-point of the present. Lytton suffered the limitations of all who pioneer—the blindness that is the complement of ambitious vision.

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 352.

<sup>52</sup> *Idem.*



## XVIII

### THE COSTUMBRISTA MOVEMENT IN MEXICO

WHEN the liberal journalist Fernández de Lizardi found himself barred from further discussion of political conditions, at the close of the first brief term of freedom of the press in Mexico in 1812, he turned to descriptions of manners and customs as a means of reaching his public, not with the intention of furnishing entertainment but, like Larra two decades later,<sup>1</sup> with the hope of effecting reforms. Under cover of this type of material, which seemed perfectly harmless to the censors, he portrayed in his *El Pensador mexicano*, during 1813 and 1814, social and educational conditions as they then existed in the capital of the viceroyalty. When this avenue of expression was gradually closed to him after 1814 by the absolutist régime, Lizardi resorted to fiction; in his three realistic novels, picaresque in form but replete with *costumbrista* material, he accomplished for Mexico City what Mesonero Romanos futilely planned some years later to do for Madrid through the picaresque novel.<sup>2</sup> Under the free press in 1820 Lizardi turned from fiction to a defense of the constitution; in *El Conductor eléctrico* he published many articles similar in tone and purpose to Miñano's *Cartas*, which appeared in Madrid in the same year; but he contributed nothing further toward the development of the satirical sketch on manners. When the more finished *costumbrista* article made its appearance in Mexico almost twenty years later, the revival of the form was due, not to native initiative, but to Spanish models. The Mexican literary periodicals in which these were published coincided both in content and in point of time with their Spanish prototypes; those in which fully developed *costumbrista* essays appear date, in the mother country from the opening, in Mexico from the close, of the third decade.

Mesonero Romanos was the first model. In 1838 the *Ensayo literario* reprinted his "El romanticismo y los románticos," and in 1840 other periodicals published "El amante corto de vista" [17], "La político-manía" [29], "Una visita a San Bernardino" [33], "La posada" [25], and "Antes, ahora, y después" [18], as well as translations of two of Addison's essays [1-2].<sup>3</sup> Imitators were soon busy. In that year appeared four Mexican articles based on traditional Spanish themes: "Un domingo" by "D. Benedetto" [118]; "Ensayo histórico sobre las modas" and

<sup>1</sup> For many valuable suggestions concerning the terminology employed and parallels in Spanish *costumbrista* literature, I am indebted to Prof. F. Courtney Tarr of Princeton University.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorias de un setenón* (Madrid, 1880), pp. 185-186.

<sup>3</sup> The bracketed numbers refer to the corresponding citations in the bibliography.

"Lecciones a un periodista novel," both signed "B." [191-192]; and "Las doncellas," which bears the signature of "D. Benedetto I. del F." [204]. Guillermo Prieto was probably the author of all, although he admits the use of only the first of these pseudonyms.<sup>4</sup> In the essay so signed, which is by far the best, "D. Benedetto" visits the home of a widow and her three daughters who maintain themselves by their needles, takes a stroll along Bucareli Street, and ends the day by attending a dance given by servants, whom he describes as aping the manners of their masters. Incidentally he gently satirizes the various types that caught his eye—those dressing to go out for the evening and those dining at the then famous Veroli restaurant.

We are left in no doubt concerning the model Prieto followed in these early sketches, for he tells us frankly:

Por aquellos tiempos llegaron a México, coleccionados, algunos artículos de "El Curioso Parlante," comenzados a publicar en 1836.

Yo, sin antecedente alguno, publicaba con el seudónimo de Don Benedetto, mis primeros cuadros, y al ver que Mesonero quería escribir un Madrid antiguo y moderno, yo quise hacer lo mismo, alentado en mi empresa por Ramírez mi inseparable compañero.

Emprendía mis paseos de estudio, tomando un rumbo, y fijando en mi memoria sus circunstancias más características.<sup>5</sup>

In 1841 other foreign *costumbristas* were introduced through Mexican periodicals to the reading public. Jouy was discussed in a brief article<sup>6</sup> which accompanied a translation of one of his essays [12]. Larra's death was announced in an article, "Fígaro," previously published in the Spanish *Revista nacional* and *El Español*; this was followed by Zorilla's poem, "A la memoria del joven y desgraciado autor D. Mariano José de Larra,"<sup>7</sup> which had been read at his funeral. Three of Mesonero's articles were reprinted—"Hablemos de mi pleito" [27], "La almonera" [15], and "El espíritu de la asociación" [26]—and one by Augusto Ochoa—"Día de San Juan" [35], which had earlier appeared in Spain in *El Artista*.

In the same periodicals which reprinted these are twenty-two *costumbrista* articles by Mexican writers, which may well be considered in three groups. In the first are those that treat of themes more or less traditional in Spanish *costumbrista* literature. In two unsigned essays, a practical

<sup>4</sup> *Memorias de mis tiempos: 1828-1840* (Paris-Mexico, 1906), p. 375, *Ibid.*, 1840-1853, p. 72.—Guillermo Prieto (1818-1897) was important as writer, editor, cabinet minister, senator, and professor. He contributed regularly to Mexican periodicals from 1840 until his death. Further details of his early life are given in his *Memorias*, which cover the years 1828-1853.

<sup>5</sup> *Memorias de mis tiempos: 1840-1853*, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> "Juicio de Jouy sobre la mujer," *Semanario de las señoritas mejicanas*, 1 (1841), 208.

<sup>7</sup> *El Apuntador* (1841), pp. 241-246.

joker [209] and the daily occupations of a dandy of Mexico City [205] are presented. A writer who styles himself "Uno de tantos" [232] recounts a visit to a gambling house and the manner in which he was fleeced; another, whose nom de plume is "Imitación del Estudiante"—"El Estudiante" being the pseudonym of the contemporary Spanish writer Antonio María Segovia—ridicules the too numerous class in Mexico that passed its existence doing nothing [215]. Ten of the essays of the year bear the name of Fabricio Núñez [93–102]; in seven of these he describes diversions of the populace on saints' days, the life and animation characteristic of certain parts of the capital, the *tertulias* of the middle class in contrast with those of the aristocracy, the opening of the opera season, and the daily life of rich young men about town. All of this group are objective in nature and have no apparent purpose but that of picturing manners and customs. In the second group are four sketches marked by concrete, detailed, picturesque realism. One describes in this fashion the customs peculiar to Mexico in regard to St. John's Day [212]; another, the Corpus Christi Day festivities of the Indians of a suburb of the capital [201]; in the third, the peculiar customs observed in connection with the masquerade in Campeche and Mérida [214] are recounted; while the fourth portrays certain festivities indulged in by the lower classes when sitting up with the corpse of a child [233]. Ochoa's "Día de San Juan" [35] furnished the inspiration for the first of these; and the same writer's "Velatorios" [*El Artista*, II, 57], for the last.

In the essays of the third group—three by Núñez and four by "Verdad," the authors reveal the deeper and more subtle purpose which distinguishes the work of Larra. The former criticizes the general lack of progress in Mexico, the slowness of the mails, and the poor lighting, filthy condition, and bad manners of the audience of the Coliseo, the principal theater [93, 99]; while the latter in "Quiero ser poeta" [237], modeled on Larra's "Yo quiero ser cómico," devotes himself primarily to ridiculing romantic literature while giving advice to an ignorant youth concerning a literary career; but incidentally the author gives us an insight into the intolerable political corruption then prevalent under the dictator Santa Ana. In advising the youth against attempting the social essay, he asks:

¿Quién sería el guapo que se atreviera a representar a uno de nuestros generales *in partibus*, a uno de nuestros agiotistas, sin que fuera a pagar su audacia a la Acordada?

He strikes again at political corruption in "Un destino" [235], in which a traditional character type is depicted—a down-and-out individual with a leaning to literature, who finally secures, through influence, a

position for which he has no qualifications. The author, disgusted with the recital of the ne'er-do-well's career, concludes the story by telling how he got rid of him:

Y dándole con la puerta en la cara, le despedí, compadeciendo a la pobre república, tan llena de sanguijuelas, que sin mérito ni honradez ocupan destinos de toda clase, mal obtenidos y peor desempeñados.

In another essay, for which he took as his model Larra's celebrated "Día de difuntos de 1836," "Verdad" recounts how he spent that day in 1841 [236]: a visit to San Fernando cemetery left him melancholy and dejected, for all he saw there made him realize more fully the frailty of humanity; in the city, the inscriptions on the public buildings glared at him as so many monstrous falsehoods; and even the Portal de Mercaderes at the hour of the *paseo* failed to bring peace, for on the foreheads of the passersby he seemed to see the inscriptions he had earlier read in the cemetery. Less satirical is "Crédito público" [234]—an account of the various types that gathered at the Veroli restaurant; but in all of these articles both Núñez and "Verdad" have a deeper purpose than the mere description of manners and customs *per se*.

The year 1842, owing perhaps to greater restrictions placed upon the press, saw the publication of very few *costumbrista* sketches. The only periodical, of even humble literary pretensions, was the rather inane *Semanario de las señoritas mejicanas*; in it are four very second-rate articles of this nature. One, signed "Observador" [220], deals with customs peculiar to the carnival season in Mexico; and another, "Las Edades" [221], satirizes those individuals that try to conceal their age—a time-worn theme. To a subscriber who complained that no *artículos* had appeared lately, the editor of the periodical replied [211] that the difficulty in regard to this type of literature was not in the writing—the only requirement for that being an ability to read French—but in the fact that every individual guilty of the vice satirized thought himself the subject; here he is probably following Larra who had steadily and bitterly bewailed this same fact. In a fairly clever article, in which a device popular with the Spanish *costumbristas* is employed, the writer, probably "I.G.," the editor, pretends that while he was trying to write such an *artículo* a young lady arrived who wanted to tell him how to do it without offending individuals; to every one of the many subjects he suggested, she objected; but after she had gone, he found that the conversation itself had furnished him with an article of the desired type.

Early in 1843 there appeared in Mexico a periodical<sup>8</sup> which gave con-

<sup>8</sup> *España pintoresca, artística, monumental, literaria y de costumbres*, México, 1843-1844. Vol. I (Imp. de Vicente García Torres, 1843) has 582 pages; Vol. II (Imp. de la Hesperia, 1844) has 312.

siderable impetus to the *costumbrista* movement, although it contained no articles of this type by Mexicans. In it were reprinted a large number of Spanish articles which had appeared in periodicals of the peninsula at an earlier date; among these were *costumbrista* sketches by Clemente Diaz, Antonio Flores, Enrique Gil, Antonio de Iza Zamácola, José Somoza, José de Vicente y Carabantes, Larra [13-14] and Mesonero Romanos [16, 19-24, 26, 28, 30-32]. The spirit of the publication is epitomized in the extract from Larra which serves as an epigraph:

Nada nos queda nuestro, sino el polvo de nuestros antepasados, que hollamos con planta indiferente; segunda Roma en recuerdos antiguos y en nulidad presente, tropezamos en nuestra marcha adonde quiera que nos volvamos con rastros de grandeza pasada, con ruinas gloriosas . . .

A few lines in the introduction to the first volume<sup>9</sup> give evidence of the realization of the loss sustained by Spanish letters in the death of Larra:

Un hombre, un solo hombre falta en ese principio de movimiento general: el profundo filósofo, que tan exactamente anatomizaba el arte en sus partes mas íntimas, yace mudo para siempre en un féretro sangriento . . . No! nadie en España heredó el espíritu de *Figaro*; la pluma de Larra, como la péñola del Gran Cervantes, permanecerá sobre su tumba sin que nadie la levante!

That interest in the *costumbristas* and especially in Mesonero Romanos had already been aroused is suggested by the publishers' note which prefaces the installments of his *Recuerdos de Viaje*, 1840-1841; in this they predict that the forthcoming articles will be enjoyed as much as his *Escenas matritenses*, "que han sido leídas en México con avidez."

With the establishment of *El Museo mexicano*, a far more ambitious literary journal than any that had yet appeared in Mexico, an increasing local interest in the sketch of manners and customs became evident. In its first two volumes (1843) are six such sketches, all of which, with the exception of a rather insignificant one by Manuel Payno [107], were contributed by Guillermo Prieto, who then began to use the pseudonym of "Fidel," by which he has since been known. In three of these he presents contemporary but by no means original types: the old woman who tries to keep young by the use of cosmetics, who eats up all the food at every gathering she attends, and who especially delights in bringing bad news [135]—one of the most satiric of his essays; the girl of the middle class, poor but proud of her ancestry [127]; and the old hypocrite who poses as a saint but is at heart a rake [121]. In others, "Fidel" devotes himself mainly to manners and customs: the diversions of a party that spends the day at Chapultepec [123], and scenes in the restaurants and

<sup>9</sup> This is taken from *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España* (Barcelona, 1839).

second-rate boarding houses, in the churches, the morgue, and the theater [113].

To the third volume of *El Museo* (1844) Prieto contributed four essays: these are concerned with the Teatro de Nuevo México before and during a performance [114]; customs in the carnival season [111]; coachmen [115]; and venders of a drink called "chia" [130]. In the last of these he shows a trend toward the genuinely local and contemporary type. Interest in such material was growing, but the attitude of the editor, in the introduction to this volume, suggests nothing original:

Pero como además el objeto de este periódico consiste en mezclar lo útil con lo agradable, sus editores han resuelto insertar en el *Museo* la colección que con el nombre de *Costumbres y Trajes nacionales*, habían anunciado publicar separadamente en un album. Las costumbres y usos de la república, tan curiosos como interesantes, serán descritos con toda la exactitud que nos fuere posible, y sus láminas iluminadas todas, o en su mayor parte, se procurará que tengan la corrección y belleza necesarias para cumplir debidamente su objeto.

As a result, the names of many new *costumbristas* appear. These take for their subjects various aspects of life in the capital and in rural districts. "I. de L." longs for the pen of "El Curioso Parlante" in order to describe the various species of Mexican fops [210]; "Tristán" ridicules the fashionable youth who has returned to Mexico after being educated in Europe [231]; "L. R.," probably following Mesonero, describes his visit to an insane asylum [216]—all traditional themes; while "Yo," in recounting the daily life of the typical water carrier [105], and an anonymous writer who concerns himself with the life and customs of various classes of artisans in the city are presenting more original *cuadros*. The trend toward the local and picturesque shows itself also in "Los rancheros," which describes the life of the laborers on the haciendas [227]; in "La jarochita" [65] by José M. Esteva; and in three sketches [138–140] in which Angel Vélez pictures the dress, manners, and customs of the lower classes in and about Vera Cruz. Only two foreign *costumbristas* are represented: Bretón de los Herreros by "La nodriza" [4] and Washington Irving by "La noche buena" [10].

In *El Liceo mexicano*, of which two volumes were issued in 1844, are thirteen *costumbrista* essays, all except one—"Los aficionados" by Antonio M. Segovia [37]—by Mexican writers. Five are anonymous and treat in the main of traditional types: the landlord [202];<sup>10</sup> the romantic poet [224]; the amorous old woman [206]; the individual that boasts of

<sup>10</sup> The reference to Larra in this article is the earliest by a Mexican writer noted. Articles on him by Spaniards and similarities in topic and style have been commented on in connection with earlier articles.

knowledge in all fields [199]; and the coquette [207]. A profoundly satiric observer, identified by Iguñiz<sup>11</sup> as Luís Martínez de Castro, recounts a visit to a sick friend whose wife is so occupied with religious activities that she neglects him—a new variation of the *mojigata* theme; portrays the type that fattens through dishonesty in both public and private life; and ridicules a supposed friend for the excessive use of certain phrases in his conversation [90–92]. "Calamocha" writes of the periodicals of the day and the trials of a newspaper man [198]; "El Licenciado Vidriera" takes manias as his theme and uses as an example a poverty-stricken gentleman whose obsession consisted of going daily at the hour of the *paseo* to the Alameda, where he saluted, as if on intimate terms with them, the elegant folk who passed [217]. "El Reptil" portrays the pedant type [228] and A.A. Franco calls attention, in an amusing style, to the avariciousness of the day by telling the story of a young woman who rejected her suitor when one more affluent appeared, while the jilted one consoled himself by looking for another rich girl [67].

In 1845 conditions in Mexico, from whatever angle observed, were deplorable. Owing to twenty-three years of political struggle, the country was bankrupt; the monarchists were watching their chance to bring in a foreign ruler; governmental positions had been filled with henchmen who used their offices solely as a means of profit; and war with the United States, over Texas, was imminent.<sup>12</sup> Men who realized the situation were naturally disheartened and pessimistic. Under these conditions it is small wonder that such a writer as Larra should have a strong appeal; and it was in that year that the first Mexican edition of *Fígaro* was published.<sup>13</sup> His influence seems possible in an article on the

<sup>11</sup> Juan B. Iguñiz, *Catálogo de seudónimos, anagramas e iniciales de escritores mexicanos* (Paris-Mexico, 1913).

<sup>12</sup> In this year Juan Bautista Morales published in book form, under the title of *El Gallo pitagórico*, a series of articles satirizing Santa Ana and the extravagances of his government, some of which had been published in *El Siglo XIX*, a newspaper of liberal tendencies. In the prologue to an enlarged edition which appeared in 1857, the author explains the full significance of the articles of 1845, and F. Zarco, in a sketch of the author's life, which ended that year, gives the following estimate of him as a satirist and *costumbrista*: "Como escritor de costumbres tenía chispa, gracia y originalidad, no faltándole esa malicia inofensiva que da gracia a la sátira, aunque en sus escritos nunca se encuentra la amarga hiel de la malevolencia. Describe a veces como El Curioso Parlante, y si no tiene la escéptica filosofía de Fígaro, ni la exuberancia festiva de Fidel, lo distinguen una perspicacia y un candor que lo asemejan al célebre Swift, con cuyo genio tiene más de una analogía."

<sup>13</sup> *Obras completas de Fígaro*. México, Impreso en papel mexicano en la calle de la Palma núm. 4 [Imp. de José Mariano Lara], 1845. 2 vols.—This edition is almost exactly a reprint of the Madrid edition of 1843. In the Mexican, the life by Cortés is at the end of Vol. II; under *artículos*, "El dogma de los hombres libres" is omitted; and "Un desafío," "Partir a tiempo," and "Tu amor o la muerte" are omitted from the *Teatro*.

*cuadro de costumbres* published that same year by Prieto,<sup>14</sup> for in setting forth the characteristics that the *costumbrista* essayist should reveal—profound observation, knowledge of the country, tact, and ability to so present types as to cause amusement rather than anger—he is expressing in the main the ideas concerning the *artículo* that Larra voiced in his review of Mesonero's *Panorama matrilense*. Then, under guise of explaining why it was difficult to write such articles in Mexico, but in reality passing judgment with critical insight on the nation itself, Prieto points out that there are wide divergences between the races in Mexico; that the Indians, as in colonial days, are the slaves of the creoles, who despise everything native and favor only foreign importations. Neither are the creoles entirely proud of all their legacy from Spain: "El resto de las costumbres españolas también lo ocultamos con vergüenza mientras el anciano venerable de una familia representa al célebre castellano viejo de Fígaro." In urging the *costumbrista* writer to continue his work in spite of the difficulties, Prieto reveals his conception, suggestive of that of Mesonero, of the ultimate function of the *artículo de costumbres*:

Pero no . . . debe desmayar el escritor de costumbres; sus cuadros algún día serán como las medallas que recuerdan una época lejana . . .

Entonces el escritor de costumbres, auxiliar eficaz de la historia, guardará el retrato del avaro que se enriqueció con las lágrimas del huérfano; entonces la caricatura del rastrero aspirante será una lección severísima; y el chiste cómico derramado en la pintura de esos enlaces mercantiles y disímbolos influirá en la ventura doméstica.

In spite of this encouragement to other writers, Prieto continued for some years to be the chief contributor of such articles to the literary periodicals of the capital. In 1845 the second volume of *El Ateneo* contained only one *costumbrista* essay, "La manía de los albums," translated from the French of Henri Monnier [34]. The leading literary journal during 1845–1846 was *La Revista científica y literaria*, to which Prieto contributed three articles on customs. One, in the first volume, deals with a trip to Cuernavaca [129]; another, in relating the trials of a writer who has to serve as a godfather, describes certain baptismal practices [124]; while the third [110] reveals the difficulties of a middle-class youth obsessed with a taste for society above his own station. The second volume contains six essays, one each by Payno and R. de la Sierra, and four by Prieto, three of which are of interest: a description of the popular *pelota* game to which the author ascribes an Indian origin [119]; an entertaining account of a family row [125]; and one in which Fidel, like Fígaro in "Todo es máscaras," describes certain types seen at a ball.

<sup>14</sup> "Literatura nacional. Cuadros de costumbres," *Revista científica y literaria de Méjico*, I (1845), 27–29.



While Prieto was thus describing life at the capital, Manuel Barbachano, who signed himself "D. Gil de las Calzas verdes," was performing a similar service for his native city, Merida, in Yucatan. Thirteen such articles appeared in the *Registro yucateco* during 1845 and 1846 [44-56]. Some of these picture types more or less universal—the tiresome person who cannot be gotten rid of [56]; the dutiful wife who acquires a penchant for romantic literature [53]; the individual whose learning consists solely of memorized quotations from classic authors [45]; and the person who takes upon himself the task of solving all the problems of society [44]. Others deal with certain phases of social life modified to conform to the special environment of Merida—the topics of conversation in the *tertulia* [50]; the methods by which gamblers fleece newcomers [46]; the difficulties that beset a stranger who attempts to locate any one in Merida, where the streets are unnamed and the houses unnumbered [48]; and the impositions of those who regard themselves as confidential friends [51].

In 1846, owing to the political situation and the invasion of the United States army, both *La Revista* and *El Museo* suspended publication, and during the next two years no periodical of a similar nature appeared. But only a few months elapsed after the withdrawal of the foreign troops before the first number of *El Album mexicano* was issued, January 6, 1849; and two volumes appeared during that year. To this Payno contributed two articles, one of which [109] describes customs in Mexican homes during Holy Week; and Prieto, at that time minister of finance, contributed eight, among them "Enero" [122], which describes the Christmas celebration termed the *nacimiento*, extending from Christmas Eve to Epiphany on January 6, when it is ended with the celebrated "rifa de compadres" and a ball. Quite different in tone are three articles inspired by Larra. In "Para mañana" [108] which, as the title suggests, is based on Larra's "Vuelta Vd. mañana," Payno's theme is procrastination in Mexico—that everything that should be done today is left for the morrow. In conclusion the author remarks:

Si veis algunos pobres que de repente se han hecho ricos; si veis a muchos hombres oscuros que han llegado a ser generales y ministros; si veis a ciertos revolucionarios que triunfan, o a gobernantes que se conservan en el poder, pensad que la razón capital es que esos hombres no han dejado para mañana ninguna de las cosas que debían hacer hoy.

Two of Fidel's essays of that year, "Un convite inesperado" [116] and "Vaya unas personas obsequiosas" [134], both of which deal with the type that makes himself a nuisance with his efforts to please, show the influence of Larra's "El castellano viejo." Other familiar types that

Prieto delineates include the middle-aged woman, loose of tongue and as full of proverbs as Sancho Panza, who recounts in homely parlance the annoyances that arise from moving from one house to another [128]; old women whose conversation ranges from religion to scandalous gossip [133]; the dandy, in reality hated by women, that boasts of his imagined conquests in love [120]; and the female go-between, who profits by arranging marriages for girls who attend her *tertulias* [132]. In his eighth essay Fidel describes a Sunday morning in Mexico City—the strollers in the Alameda and along the Portal, and those on horseback and in carriages on their way to Tacubaya or to San Cosme [126].

Far less literary in nature was *El Tío Nonilla*, of which the first number appeared on August 19 of the same year. In this there are three *artículos de costumbres*: “Un baile de candil” [194] describes the manners and customs noted at a dance attended by servants; “La suegra” [197] recounts in a humorous vein the part played by the typical mother-in-law when her daughter gives birth to a child,<sup>15</sup> and “Don Amadeo” [203] an excellent *artículo* based in part apparently on Larra’s “El castellano viejo,” recounts a boresome dinner at the home of an acquaintance whose dominant passion was love for his children.

In the 1851 issues of *El Veracruzano* are two essays. “Un viaje en sueños” [193], a satiric essay in the manner of Larra, to whom the author refers directly, satirizes government officials who claim to promote the happiness of all but are actuated only by selfish motives. The second [195] describes a typical “baile de cruz” which took place in a tenement house occupied by laboring folk in Vera Cruz.

During 1851 an important literary journal, *La Ilustración mexicana*, began publication in Mexico City. It consists of five volumes, the first two bearing the date of 1851; the third, 1852; and the fourth and fifth, 1854. In the introduction to the first volume the traditional concept of the function of the *artículo de costumbres* is clearly set forth by the editors.

Para corregir los vicios y los defectos de que por desgracia adolecen las sociedades, no bastan a veces los consejos, ni son suficientes los preceptos, hay, sí, una arma terrible: el ridículo. En todos los pueblos ha sido necesaria la sátira más o menos amarga, y es inmenso el número de escritores de esta clase, desde Aristófanes y Juvenal, hasta Fígaro y Bennecke. Producciones satíricas, estudios de costumbres, etc., etc., verán la luz en *La Ilustración*, y siempre se atacarán defectos generales, sin dirigirse jamás a persona determinada.

In the introduction to the second volume this further statement occurs:

<sup>15</sup> In this the writer refers both to *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos* and *Les français peints par eux-mêmes*.

Los escritos de costumbres son generalmente estimados por la ligereza de su estilo y por las sanas miras que envuelven. En este género, todavía naciente en México, nuestros ensayos tenderán a ser una pintura fiel de nuestra sociedad, si bien en ellos es preciso dejar pasar algunos rasgos de exageración, pues sin esto no se logra hacer ridículos ciertos defectos u odiosos los vicios que carcomen a todos los países.

While the number of *costumbrista* articles in the publication is comparatively large, that of the contributors is small. Four essays were probably taken from Spanish periodicals—one by Vicente Sánchez Ocaña [36], two by Silvela [38–39], and one by Juan de Ariza [3]. Of those by Mexican writers, Fernando Orozco y Berra contributed two; Fernando Martín Redondo, one; anonymous writers, three; and Francisco Zarco, fifty. Some of these are purely descriptive: "Revista del desayuno" [104] tells of breakfast menus in the various cafes, especially in "El Progreso," whose patrons are described as they are breakfasting on a Sunday morning; "Filarmonismo" [136], suggested possibly by Bretón's "El furor filarmonico" or Mesonero's "La filarmonía," treats humorously of the opera, at that time enjoying great popularity in the capital; and "Rancheros" [226] describes the manners and customs peculiar to the haciendas of Mexico. "Por dinero baila el perro" [181] strikes a different key; it reveals at once the sordidness and avariciousness of the age. Before a young woman accepts a suitor, the essayist states, she finds out how much he is worth. The venality of all he illustrates in his remarks about the deputies in the national congress—here the writer combines general social satire and political satire in a manner characteristic of Larra.

Oíd a esos que desde el puesto que ocupan en una cámara, gritan ¡libertad! ¡patriotismo! ¡independencia! ¡buena fe! Vedlos hoy hacer la oposición al ministerio; pero el secretario de estado acaba de darles una palmada en el hombro; acaba de decirles dos palabras al oído; ha llegado la hora de votar, y los que antes eran de la oposición, se han convencido de que estaban en un error, han cedido a razones de gran peso, y han votado en favor del ministerio.

Although unsigned, this essay is probably the work of Francisco Zarco, better known under his pen name "Fortún," so striking is its satiric and pessimistic tone. A friend of Prieto, like him a foe both to conservative republicans and monarchists, an active participant on the side of the liberals in politics, Zarco displays in his essays a critical insight unequaled in its keenness by any Mexican writer of the period.<sup>16</sup> In this,

<sup>16</sup> For further details of the life of Zarco, see "Discursos" by Felipe Sánchez Solís and G. Prieto in *Velada pública celebrada por el Liceo Hidalgo, la noche de 13 de abril de 1874 para honrar la memoria del señor Francisco Zarco* (Mexico, 1875).

as in his irony and sarcasm, he is comparable to Larra, who was doubtless his model and to whom he makes frequent reference.

Zarco's essays, like Larra's, reveal the personality, the temperament, and power of reflection of the writer, and his ability to emphasize the inner rather than the external significance of a subject. In these *artículos*, in contrast with those of the less gifted *costumbristas* who treat manners and customs purely objectively, the personal reflections of the author are of primary interest, for he was concerned with manners and customs only as a basis for his own reactions. His outlook on life, as expressed in his essays, is pessimistic, and justly so, for at the time he wrote the future of Mexico appeared dismal indeed. In his first essay in *La Ilustración* [183]—written in his admirably discursive vein—he explains why he is unwilling to write on the theater, and describes, in a style very similar to that of Larra, some of the conditions then prevailing in Mexico:

¿Qué más teatro que el mundo, qué más farsa que nuestras cosas, qué mejores actores que el patriota el honrado, el valiente, el entusiasta, el modesto, la pudibunda, la devota y otros mil?

In "El payaso" [178] he states that there are clowns not only in the circus, but also in the house of deputies; and in "Vendutas" [189] he describes the two kinds of auctions and the tricks of the Mexican auctioneer; but he comments pointedly that the auctioneer's cry, "¿No hay quién da más?", is characteristic of all phases of life, for the one who gives most gets "aplausos, elogios, celebridad, amistad, amor," and he who gives most to the ministers gets the government contracts. Two articles, both entitled "El palacio nacional" [175–176], use the palace and the life about it as a basis for satire on existing conditions. In the first he contrasts the reception accorded two men who enter the treasury department—one an army officer, come to collect the salary justly due him, whom all disregard; the other, a merchant profiting from money-lending to the government at an excessive interest rate, whom the ministers themselves serve as lackeys. The description of the quarters of the president serves as a background for an account of how that dignitary spends the day [176].

Por la mañana es cuando los presidentes suelen concebir grandes medidas, como quitar asientos del patio, o plantar un árbol, o que haya tres centinelas en vez de dos, o que la guardia nacional añada a su vestuario una o dos tiras coloradas, o que las mochilas de la tropa se llenen de paja en una procesión, o que se les hagan guantes con brin o con calcetines.

In "Del trabajo y la pereza" [155] he explains the absence of enthusiasm for thrift and industry among the Mexicans.

Donde nada se puede hacer, donde todo lo útil encuentra obstáculos, donde el talento y el mérito son cuasi delitos, donde la masa del pueblo vive oprimida por unos cuantos, la indolencia y la apatía son el resultado del estado de cosas que llegan a formar el carácter nacional. Si la propiedad no está segura, si no hay señal alguna de estimación, si todo es visto con indiferencia ¿podrá haber amor al trabajo? . . .

Un triste ejemplo de ese contagio presenta Méjico de algunos años a esta parte . . .

Por fin, mientras la adulación, las bajas intrigas, la corrupción y el vicio sean medios seguros de hacer fortuna, poco estímulo habrá para el trabajo, y el menor defecto del hombre será ser perezoso.

Less pungent than his essays dealing directly or indirectly with political conditions are those that treat of certain features of social life in the Mexican capital. Among these are the diversions of various classes in the late afternoons [153]; the passion of the majority of the people for charades, logogriphs, and puzzles, so great that questions of major importance are left to the few [146]; the idiosyncrasies of certain individuals in the crowds attending the exposition of 1851 [154]; funeral customs among the well-to-do [158]; the habit of certain individuals of opening an interview by stating they wish only a word, and then of proceeding at length [174]; the feigned anxiety with which some await the arrival of boats from Europe [177]; the trials of a family that goes to the country to spend the vacation [164]; certain prejudices in regard to honor that have been inherited from the Spaniards [163]; and the incongruous taste of the Mexican equally passionate over bullfights and operas [173].

In other essays "Fortún" presents the characteristics of certain types, universal rather than peculiar to Mexico; these include the absent-minded person who lets his thoughts divert him from the world [156]; the man who never dares express an opinion of his own [162]; the youth who falls in love with every girl he meets [187]; the libertine [167]; the man so subjected to the will of his parents that he becomes a machine [166]; the frank person continually getting into hot water by saying exactly what he thinks [144]; and the tactless individual who voices every idea that occurs to him [141].

During 1854-1855 there appeared, probably in installments, *Los Mexicanos pintados por sí mismos*, which contains thirty-three essays, each devoted to some familiar type of figure.<sup>17</sup> Three are signed by Juan

<sup>17</sup> *Los Mexicanos pintados por sí mismos. Tipos y costumbres nacionales*, por varios autores. México: Imprenta de Murguía, 1854.—The first article bears the date of 1854; the later ones, 1855. The titles, one-third of which are substantially those of the Spanish work, are as follows: El Aguador, La Chiera, El Peluquero, El Barbero, El Cochero, El Cómicó de la Legua, La Costurera, El Cajero, El Evangelista, El Sereno, El Alacenero, La China,

de Dios Arias; one, by Feva Irisarri; sixteen are unsigned; and thirteen bear only a single initial, which in no case is identified in the various works on Mexican pseudonyms. The whole was probably the work of that group of liberal writers headed by Altamirano, Prieto, and Zarco. Arias, Rivera, Ramírez, Tovar, and Frías y Soto are mentioned by the last named as collaborators.<sup>18</sup> The participation of Ignacio Ramírez, the radical liberal known as the Mexican Voltaire, is further substantiated by the fact that two of the unsigned articles—"La Coqueta" and "La Estanquillera"—are included in the edition of his works issued in Mexico City in 1889. In spite of the popular appeal of these articles, they differ from their Spanish prototypes in that political satire occurs in many. In "El Mecero," a dry-goods peddler takes French leave of a family with whom he had spent the night, with the remark:

Por lo mismo, entonces, comprendí lo que más tarde han llegado a conocer los presidentes, y a ejemplo de ellos saqué en limpio, que lo más sencillo y económico era desaparecer repentinamente, como el ratón que ha dejado bien arreglados sus cuentas con el queso.

In "El Ministro," cabinet officers are ridiculed; in "El Cargador" a parallel is drawn between a porter and the government; and in "El Tocinero" various gibes are directed at the reactionaries.

During the next decade the liberals had little time to devote to literature, for late in 1855 they forced Santa Ana from the country, took over the reins of government, drafted a new constitution, and resisted in turn the repeated attempts of the reactionaries—the Church and great landed proprietors, the combined forces of the European nations to whom Mexico was indebted, and, finally, Maximilian with the French troops and monarchists. In March, 1862, while the liberals were holding the capital, they established *El Palo de Ciego, Periódico poco político, de costumbres, literatura y avisos*, and in the following month, *La Chinaca*; both continued publication until shortly before the city was taken by the French. The *artículo de costumbres* seems not to have been well adapted to the main purpose of both—the ridiculing of monarchists—for no such essays appear in the latter and only four in the former, one of which [43] was taken from a Spanish periodical. In those by Mexican writers, "Buscapié," a young liberal, recounts [196] a visit to some old hypocritical, and reactionary women, firm adherents of the Church, who

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La Recamarera, El Músico de cuerda, El Poetastro, El Vendutero, La Coqueta, El Abogado, El Arriero, El Jugador de ajedrez, El Cajista, La Estanquillera, El Escribiente, El Ranchero, El Maestro, La Casera, El Criado, El Mecero, La Partera, El Ministro, El Cargador, El Tocinero, El Ministro ejecutor.

<sup>18</sup> "Album fotográfico," *La Orquesta*, 3rd Series, I, no. 68, February 15, 1868.

upbraid him for his, to them, heretical views; Alberto Bracho presents the stock picture [57] of a young woman who sets out deliberately to profit by her youth and charms; and Elízaga paints in black colors the equally familiar hypocritical *beata* who spreads discord with her lying and gossiping.

During the four years of the Empire nothing notable was produced, but the definite return of the liberals to power brought about a distinct literary revival. Early in 1868 Hilarión Frías y Soto became editor of *La Orquesta*, a periodical of wit and caricature, in which he published a series of twenty sketches [70-89] entitled "Album fotográfico," in each of which he describes some contemporary type not treated in *Los Mexicanos pintados por sí mismos*; among these are the prostitute of the better class, the go-between, the widow, the beggar, the street vendor, the small-town priest, the laundress, the sexton, the bandit, and the hair-dresser. They have been fairly well estimated by Altamirano in the following words:

Cada uno de ellos es un estudio de costumbres, es un retrato de un tipo contemporáneo, y no se sabe cuál preferir; tanta elegancia hay en el estilo, tanto color en la pintura, tanta gracia en el pensamiento, tanta exactitud en el dibujo.<sup>19</sup>

Of the periodicals established in 1869 two deserve special mention: *El Renacimiento*, of which Altamirano was one of the editors, and *El Semanario ilustrado*; in the former there are three local sketches by Facundo, which will be discussed later; in the latter, four, all in verse. Two of these are by Martín F. de Jáuregui: "La boda" [68] describes a marriage at a ranch home, and "El coleadero" [69] pictures graphically various phases of ranch life, the food, the branding, and the various contests in horsemanship and roping. The first of the verse *cuadros* by Elízaga [63] describes a home at nightfall—the girls at the window with their lovers, while the mother in the kitchen doles out, by the aid of beans, the money for the next day's purchases; the second deals with the traditional theme of the mania for coaches [62]. Although not in the form of *costumbrista* essays, Alfredo Chavero's letters of travel, Fidel's letters to El Nigromante [Ignacio Ramírez], and the same writer's weekly reviews shed much light on manners and customs.

The popularity of the *cuadro* was not limited to the capital; it played an important rôle in some of the provincial journals. In the introduction to *La Aurora literaria*, a journal established in Morelia, Michoacán, in 1875, the editor, Mariano de Jesús Torres, states:

En fin, nos deleitaremos con el estudio de esos personajes que presentan un tipo especial . . . El imberbe estudiante, el diputado palabrero, el locuaz periodista,

<sup>19</sup> *Revistas literarias* (Mexico, 1868), p. 79.

la bisbirinda fabriqueña, el reverendo fraile, el aguerrido *chinaco*, todos caerán bajo el dominio de nuestro crítico.

Haciendo también un estudio de las costumbres nacionales, asistiremos a una función de títeres en los corrales del Coyote y del Santo Niño, y nos deleitaremos con las chocarrerías del payaso y los disparatados diálogos de los muñecos: iremos al Hipódromo a reír en una comedia de aficionados, o bien colocados en una luneta de la plaza de toros, o en un palco del teatro principal, observaremos al *cócara* de diversiones públicas.

Llegado que sea el Carnaval, veremos los grotescos *toritos de petate*, con su bullicioso caporal y su impudente maringüía; en la Semana Santa veremos las procesiones de Cristo, y al repicar la gloria, contemplaremos arder entre la rechifa de la multitud la efígie caprichosa del traidor discípulo.

En la Noche-buena asistiremos a un coloquio para reír con las chocarrerías del ermitaño y las sandeces de Bartolo, y tomando participio en una rifa de compadres, veremos desplegar en ella todos los ardides electorales; o bien tomando asiento en un estrado, observaremos en un juego de prendas las arterías de que los novios se valen para comunicarse sus amores.

The *cuadros* in this periodical deal exclusively with manners and customs in Morelia and although unsigned were evidently all written by the same author, who was probably the editor of the periodical. They consist of a detailed account of the celebration of the Feast of the Assumption (August 15), for which all Morelia repairs to the nearby village of Santa María [222]; the diversions then popular on a Morelian boulevard [223]; customs observed during Lent, especially Holy Week [229]; a mock bullfight regularly staged on the three days preceding Ash Wednesday, whose principals—the depraved of the city—consisted of a man disguised as a bull, of the *capataz*, and the *maringüía* or queen, a male moral pervert dressed as a woman [230]; the custom of observing Monday as a holiday [218]; the processions and festivities on Corpus Christi Day [200]; and the bathing in the streams and in public bath houses, followed by military music in the afternoon and dance and fireworks on the night of St. John's Day [219]. In these, the *cuadro*, following its trend in Spain, has developed into regionalism.

The genuine sympathy of the Morelian writer for the manners and customs he describes is entirely lacking in the next author who turned his attention to similar material, José T. de Cuellar (1830-95), better known as "Facundo" and frequently termed the literary successor of Fernández de Lizardi, with whom he has indeed much in common. Like both Lizardi and Larra, Cuellar is primarily a reformer; although he makes use of his satiric genius in setting forth the shortcomings of his country, he is actuated solely by patriotic motives. "Otros habrá," he says in "Del aseo," "que me atribuyan mala voluntad a nuestros *tipos nacionales*, porque la forma más vulgar del patriotismo es esa que pone



a prueba de calzoneras, de rebozo y de enchiladas."<sup>20</sup> The qualities that distinguish Facundo as a Mexican *costumbrista* are pointed out by Altamirano in the foreword he wrote to the *artículos* in Cuellar's collected works.

Yo le saludo en el nuevo género que Vd. cultiva no sólo un bello dominio del arte aquí apenas pisado, sino la revelación de un diagnóstico oportuno y de un preservativo eficaz.

Un moralista así, estaba haciendo falta y Vd. ha venido muy a tiempo. La ática sonrisa de Larra, la mirada profunda de Addison, el estilo mesurado, elegante, la ironía ligera, la intención honrada, el ánimo varonil; nada falta a Vd. para caracterizar la misión que se ha impuesto en la prensa.

Siga Vd. Los que quieren el bien de la patria no pueden menos de aplaudirlo y yo soy el primero.<sup>21</sup>

Although the bulk of Cuellar's work seems to have been produced in the eighties, he had made himself known in this genre as early as 1868, for in that year Altamirano wrote of him:

Cuellar ha publicado escritos ligeros, como los *Cuentos del vivac* y como sus crónicas de teatros actuales, que llevan aquella firma, con la que llamó tanto la atención en artículos dignos de Jouy y de Fígaro, y que se llamaron "Las bancas de fierro," "El crédito público,"<sup>22</sup> "La veneración" y otros.

Si Facundo quisiera, podría escribir la sátira política como Larra, o el artículo de costumbres como Mesonero. Lo decimos sin pasión, precisamente porque tenemos por el primero una predilección marcada, comprendemos la dificultad de igualarle; pero "El crédito público" de Cuellar nos hizo concebir esperanzas de ver en nuestro país bien imitado el estilo del célebre satírico español.<sup>23</sup>

Three of Facundo's essays were published by Altamirano in 1869. Two of these deal with life in towns he had visited—Real de Catorce, a mining center [58], and Santa María del Río [61]; while the third gives an interesting account of the celebration of the Feast of the Assumption [59]. In this excellent portrayal of local customs, a stinging comment on bullfighting suggests the critical attitude that was to mark his later work. Era preciso que el espectáculo condenado por la civilización moderna, formara parte integrante de esta fiesta, mezcla extraña de devoción y barbarie, de oración y vicios, de ociosidad y paseo, de despilfarro y comercio.

To this period belongs also "Las Posadas" [60], published in *El Album de Navidad* (Mexico, 1871), in which Facundo, using Mesonero tech-

<sup>20</sup> *La Linterna mágica* (Santander, 1891), x, 136.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.

<sup>22</sup> Although this title appeared in 1841 as the work of "Verdad," the possibility that the article was by Cuellar is barred by the fact that the latter was then only eleven years old.

<sup>23</sup> *Revistas literarias de México*, 108-109.—The writer has been unable to locate the articles by Cuellar mentioned here.

nique, weaves into an amusing narrative a description of a custom peculiar to the celebration of the Feast of the Nativity.

During the seventies Cuellar served as first secretary of the Mexican legation at Washington. Impressed most favorably with the material progress of the United States, he began publishing in the Sunday issues of *El Libertador* in 1882 a series of articles entitled "Artículos ligeros sobre asuntos trascendentales,"<sup>24</sup> in which he pilloried those conditions which he thought prevented Mexico from taking a place among progressive nations. He criticized the elaborate programs given by schools at the close of their year; the lack of taste in laying out public parks and squares, and the failure to care for them; the costly and unhygienic system of delivering water to the houses by means of the water carrier; the inefficient and costly postal system, inaugurated during colonial days and unimproved since; the profane manner of celebrating certain religious feasts, such as All Soul's Day; the excessive rate of interest charged by pawnbrokers and money lenders; the poorly paved streets, and the inefficiency of the workmen employed in repairing them; the antiquated business methods of the merchants; the inactivity and incompetence of the city council; the failure to tax alcoholic drinks, on which one could get drunk for a few cents; the wide prevalence of prostitution; the general lack of cleanliness among the lower classes, and their persistence in clinging to certain articles of clothing—the broad-brimmed hats, blankets, and *rebozos*—no longer worn in civilized countries; the practice of the lower classes, particularly the Indians, of sleeping in the doorways and on the sidewalks and depositing their excretions anywhere; and the miserable conditions prevailing in the tenement houses occupied by laborers. With the purpose of remedying abuses and correcting evils, Cuellar records, in essays that are as genuine *artículos de costumbres* as Larra's "Vuelva Vd. mañana," with which they have much in common, the life and customs in the early eighties of the various strata of society in a country slow in making material progress.

In the half-century we have just reviewed, extending roughly from 1840 to 1890, Mexico could boast of some forty writers who recorded many of her peculiar manners and customs. The majority of these were of the later Mesonero Romanos type, interested in the various aspects of life *per se*; but among them were followers of Larra, especially "Verdad," "Fortún," and "Facundo," who through their efforts to spur Mexico on to progress, serve to connect Larra, in spirit at least, with the "generation of 1898," which sought to awaken Spain from her lethargy.

<sup>24</sup> *La Linterna mágica* (Santander, 1890-1892), ix, x, xx-xxii.

Like Larra, they were rebels at heart and ceaseless critics of their country, but they called attention to her shortcomings solely from patriotic motives. No one of these Mexicans could boast the mordant wit or stinging satire that distinguished the work of Fígaro; but each contributed in a lesser degree to the ends he sought to serve.

Although the term "costumbrista" is applied, and justly from their choice of subject-matter, to both these groups of writers, the distinction between them becomes very clear when it is realized that the purpose of the latter group was the elimination of many of the features of national life that furnished the other type of *costumbrista* his *cuadro*. In the face of progress, unusual types, manners, and customs tend to disappear; variety fades into uniformity; and the distinctive is merged in the conventional. The labors of the progressive group were directed to destroying the local and the primitive—the substance upon which the perhaps more genuine *costumbrista* fed. What he lovingly portrayed in his *cuadro*, the satirist ruthlessly held up to scorn. It was for the reason that Mexico in the nineteenth century still retained much of the medieval Spanish, of the primitive Indian, and of the distinctively creole which resulted from a transplanted civilization, that she furnished colorful material to her *costumbrista* writers; but that much of her picturesque, especially in the cities, has since vanished, has been, to some extent at least, the work of the writers of *artículos de costumbres* from Lizardi to the present day.

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## XIX

### IRONY IN HARDY AND CONRAD

CRITICS have analyzed at length the philosophy of ironic determinism held by Thomas Hardy, and they have been almost equally voluble in treating the irony that lies like a spinal column in the body of Joseph Conrad's writing. But although the critics have successfully summed up the philosophies of these writers, they have abstained from any satisfactory discussion of the methods of irony which Hardy and Conrad use to illustrate their concepts of irony. The two novelists use differing methods to bring out somewhat differing ideas on life, and I propose here to contrast their methods so as to bring out the distinctive qualities in the method of each.

Certainly Hardy and Conrad are among the great modern ironists. Neither could suppress a bit of irony any more than Oscar Wilde could repress an epigram. To enumerate all the ironies in a novel like *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* or *Nostromo* would be to relate the whole story, and to explain some of the more delicate ironies would be a task as tedious as explaining the etymological nuances of a fine stylist. Hardy and Conrad so impregnate their styles with irony that they do not keep irony out even of pieces essentially descriptive, like "A Tryst at an Ancient Earthwork" (*A Changed Man*) and "Typhoon." Irony runs through their writing like a Wagnerian *leit-motif*.

Hardy and Conrad, the English architect and the Polish seaman, study the manifestations of destiny in the world of men and see men blindly pitted against overwhelming odds, suffering from an unjust fate. Man is predominantly the creature and the victim of lost opportunities, of the tricky fatalities that lurk in obscure impulses, of accidents that have backward and forward connections, all working through the blind force of circumstance in a world composed of riddles. Evil is inherent in fate, not in man, though men hold one another responsible, being as purblind as the fate above. Chance is against man; so is its ally, Time, that cannot be hurried, and its enemy, Death, that will not wait. Conrad urges man, despite these adverse conditions, to get all he can of the romance and zest of life. Hardy broods more deeply over the matter, finding a metaphysical basis in an Imminent Will who rules carelessly over man, administering pre-adjusted laws concerned only with heartless cause and effect: There is no glamour such as Conrad sees. In the end the classically inspired Hardy sees a tragic collectivism on earth; the romantically inspired Conrad sees a tragic individualism.

Conrad and Hardy use all the known varieties of overt concealment

or irony—Sophoclean or dramatic irony, in which certain characters are unconscious of the trend of events visible to the reader; Socratic or rhetorical irony, in which in the remarks of the author or of the characters there is a disparity between surface meaning and underlying meaning; and irony of fate, in which the whole group of characters is unaware of the course of events.<sup>1</sup> With their irony they express their ideas as authors, criticize and evaluate their characters, gain effects in plot and scene construction, and suggest philosophically the futility and frustration that await all man's open-eyed yet blind striving. Irony with them becomes an artistic method.

The conclusions that Hardy and Conrad reach about life are more or less in concord, but their methods of irony are at variance as much as the men themselves. Hardy's irony is more objective, more systematic, more dramatic, Conrad's more introspective, more reflective, more psychological. Hardy searches for a metaphysical explanation, Conrad for a psychic. Hardy tells a story from beginning to end in the third person, giving a series of dramatic presentations in chronological order from the lives of his people. He sets forth frustrations directly and clearly. Conrad tells a story in the first person, neglecting chronological sequence, darting forward or backward as the mood takes him, retrospecting on the disillusionments of the past. Hardy depicts his ironies in the vivid present, Conrad his ironies in the shadowy past. Hardy illustrates his ironies with a thousand small incidents, a thousand minutiae, closely timed; Conrad depicts his ironies with many fewer incidents, seen in broad perspectives of chronology and rarely timed very closely.

Conrad's method is to keep as long as possible the expected things from happening—to hang a sword by a hair, which, when it does fall, destroys at a stroke. Hardy's method is to make things happen from the very beginning and lead from one to another with increasing speed, like water coming to a fall. Conrad kills with the one stroke, Hardy with many strokes.

Hardy's method is formal, logical, thought out. Hardy has a thesis to prove. But he is too much the artist, too much the student of men to become a tractarian philosopher. He records the lives of his people

<sup>1</sup> The dictionaries and encyclopaedias remain the best references as to the nature of irony. For discussions of its characteristics, see Bourne, Randolph S., "The Life of Irony," in *The Atlantic Monthly*, cxi (March, 1913), 357-367; Johnson, S. K., "Some Aspects of Dramatic Irony in Sophoclean Tragedy," in *Classical Review*, xlii, (Dec., 1928); and Saintsbury, George, "Irony," in *The Dial*, lxxxii (March, 1927), 181-187. Thomson, J. A. K., *Irony, An Historical Introduction* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. 1926), analyzes irony in ancient writers but does not attempt definition of irony; Turner, F. McD. C., *The Element of Irony in English Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 1926), discusses irony in eighteenth-century writers, but seems to confuse satire and irony.

largely without comment, often recording the data of each irony with the meticulousness of a scientific report. Conrad's irony is personal, discursive, felt out. Conrad feels that often an irony cannot be definitely stated—any more than life or character or fate can; it cannot be put with true realism into fixed situations and set dramatic speeches. So where Hardy crystallizes his irony into firmly outlined scenes, altogether objectively, Conrad elusively approaches his scenes from many angles, getting evidence from many sources and throwing subjective light on the irony as from a revolving mirror. His vision is purposely blurred. His ironies, seen in perspective, are not sharp, but they gradually converge on one focal point, the crucial irony of the tale—the killing of Lena when she has almost saved her life and Axel's (*Victory*), the breaking down of Kayerts and Carlier at the moment of relief ("An Outpost of Progress").

To turn, however, from general comparisons to the first of three particular bases of irony, I may suggest that in concealment lies one fundamental of the ironic method of Conrad and Hardy. Fate conceals. A man cannot tell what chain of future events will link to a trivial incident in the present. The plots in Hardy and Conrad are built around the irony of opportunity missed because half or wholly unrealized at the time. *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *The Mayor of Casterbridge* are striking examples in Hardy's prose, and his poems play constantly on this theme, for instance "The Harbour Bridge" and "A Beauty's Soliloquy During Her Honeymoon" (*Human Shows Far Phantasies*). Humans conceal; and concealment in conflict leads to irony. Lack of frank confession or adjustment or compromise allows small dislikes and misunderstandings to grow to monstrous proportions. In Hardy the inhibitions of men and their concealments of pasts and motives lead to dramatic irony, where the reader knows all as it happens. The reader sees Susan Henchard and Tess and Melbury failing to explain frankly at the proper time and subsequently tangling up themselves and their associates in tragic and bitterly ironical dénouements.

Conrad's concealment is of another sort, for the sum effect of his elliptical method of story-telling is concealment from the reader. Yet the reader does not take offense, because he feels that things are being concealed from the narrator himself. Delicate, subtle men, lovers of oblique psycho-analysis, like the Davidson of *Victory* and "Because of the Dollars," the Giles of *The Shadow Line*, and the Marlow of *Lord Jim* and *Chance*, are men who take a long while to reach conclusions for themselves, and their informing the reader is delayed accordingly. Where Hardy's people can make crisp dramatic speeches, and sum up an event quickly, Conrad's people struggle realistically to express their thoughts

and to set them in order. In *Lord Jim* it is only in a much-delayed and fleeting clause that Marlow tells that the French gunboat picked up the crippled *Patna*. Conrad thus conceals the trend of the story from the reader just as Plato concealed the trend of the logic from his circle of students. There is something distinctly Socratic in Conrad's hazy approach to a matter from all sides, knowing very well his reasons for analyzing as he does, but remaining non-committal. *Chance* is the supreme example of this method, with its retrospection within retrospection, its circles within circles. The basic principle of Conrad's method is that most persons are most likely to see the ironies of life when looking backwards to the past—which, by the way, is certainly true in Hardy's treatment of history in *The Dynasts*.

Coincidence is a second fundamental of the ironic method. To obtain ironies a writer must depend upon coincidence to turn the course of events to ironic frustrations and disappointments. Conrad and Hardy use ironic coincidence avowedly. Their coincidences are not pure ones, as in Dickens or Fielding, for instance, where the value of circumstances is not changed, where the coincidence might happen any time and the quality of the situation would remain the same with no change in thoughts, motives, or acts, simply as if another guest were added to a banquet table. Their coincidences alter the growth of the plot, shedding new light on the past or adumbrating developments in the future. One day, as Jude Fawley happens to walk home by a new route, he makes the acquaintance of Arabella when she throws a bit of pigflesh at him; consequently he marries her only to be disillusioned in marriage and ruined in his career.

Beginning with the initial coincidences that a reader must accept at the start of a story—Mr. Durbeyfield's conversation with Parson Tringham, Travers's yacht stranding on the Shallows—Hardy and Conrad spin their plots, the latter using ironic coincidence less than the former and arriving in each of his plots at his one principal ironic climax which contrasts with Hardy's picaresque series of ironic climaxes. Conrad uses explicit, finely spun psychology to give events inevitability and to support the fate, say, in *Chance*. Far-fetched, strained ironies are practically non-existent, for Conrad's psychoanalysis fills around the joints of a skeleton plot which Hardy with almost scientific preciseness would leave bare.

But where coincidence in Conrad is comparatively incidental in the broad sweep of the author's philosophy, coincidence in Hardy is integral. Hardy's use thereof is deliberately startling; he wishes to call attention to essential aspects of life that men overlook. He creates a series of ironical situations and then subjects a few hapless beings to seemingly

inexorable agencies. The result is an extremely effective brute chance. Reflection substantiates this chance that runs riot. In the contemporary age of train schedules, telephone exchanges, speeding automobiles, time-clock work days, and event-filled, active lives, all sorts of chance happenings are transpiring continually, even more so than in nineteenth century Wessex. Hardy stresses the ironic complexities in civilization by intensifying little circumstances. As Garwood says:<sup>2</sup>

If we took from him the undelivered letters, the marriage licenses that have a mistake in date or place, the leases where chance of renewal is discovered after the time has expired, the marriages that come too early or too late, we should spoil the fabric of his tales.

But Hardy's use of coincidence has been much objected to, even though (as Grimsditch demonstrates)<sup>3</sup> ample vindication can be made for the coincidences in Hardy rising out of environment, home-training, occupation, character, ideology, and custom. From the critic's standpoint there is a question how far the little accidents like the losing of letters and the delay of news are to be regarded as justifiable ironies of fate, how far as necessary devices of plot workmanship. Hardy is variously condemned for excessive use of coincidence in the novels,<sup>4</sup> as in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *Life's Little Ironies*, and in many of the poems where the ironies come so thick and fast that they are inherently weak and improbable because placed in unique situations that *per se* lack universality. Despite the fact, however, that some readers are not convinced by the determinism of Fanny's going to the wrong church in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, or Venn's error about the guineas in *The Return of the Native*, or the letter's being under the carpet in *Tess*—episodes where Hardy with his greatest skill is giving his interpretation of life—Hardy is not, I think, a resourceless craftsman, forced to use obvious expedients in his plots. But since this paper is concerned with method rather than with vindication of the underlying thesis, I shall leave the matter undecided and pass on.

Irony, used to appeal to the reader's sense of justice, is a third fundamental of the ironic method, a key to the effects in Conrad and Hardy with the exception of passages of pure description in their earlier works,

<sup>2</sup> Garwood, Helen, *Thomas Hardy, an Illustration of the Philosophy of Schopenhauer* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1911), pp. 60-66.

<sup>3</sup> Grimsditch, H. B., *Character and Environment in the Novels of Thomas Hardy* (London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1925).

<sup>4</sup> Chew, S. C., *Thomas Hardy, Poet and Novelist* (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1921), pp. 114-116.—Garwood, *Ibid.*, pp. 57 ff.—Johnson, Lionel P., *The Art of Thomas Hardy* (London: John Lane, 1923), pp. 56-57.—Williams, Randall, *The Wessex Novels of Thomas Hardy* (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1924), pp. 136 ff.

though even there they gain an effect by setting off the subject of the descriptions against the ironic mood of the story proper. In their mature writing the two authors stir the emotions of the reader through the irony of the situations they set before him, accentuating the irony with little bits of rigidly selective realism. They awaken sympathy by placing an admirable creature or a creature in some way likable in a net of ironies and letting him tangle himself up until suffering or death results. When people like Tess or Winnie Verloc, Knight or Razumov, Mrs. Yeobright or Lingard come to grief there is a powerful appeal to our sense of the unfitness of things. Our feeling for justice is outraged. The contrast that is the province of the ironist—the contrast of ideality with reality—joined with artistic technique and the thinking of strong minds is a sure means of impressing the reader.

Yet some of the irony is much more convincing than the rest. The method of irony demands legitimate synthesis of irony and character development. It is in the irony in the group of novels including *Far from the Madding Crowd*, *The Return of the Native*, *The Woodlanders* that Hardy fully understands his people and their environment and makes their fate seem to result from their inner nature as much as from predestined fate without. Where his characters are most real his ironies are most convincing. In *The Hand of Ethelberta* and *A Laodicean* and the other "Novels of Ingenuity" the people and the settings are lacking in reality, and accordingly the ironies, albeit clever, are noticeably unconvincing. Too, in *The Dynasts*, where all fate is deterministic and the spirits of the protagonists are guided only by external causes, the ironies are cut and dried and as lifeless as the *dramatis personae*. Similarly, in Conrad, *The Inheritors*, *The Secret Agent*, *The Rover*, and other stories laid in Europe are deficient in the richness of insight into humanity that makes masterpieces of cogent irony of the novels centered around the Malay archipelago and shipboard experiences of Marlow.<sup>5</sup>

In connection with characters and determined fate, it is interesting to note that the ironic method of Hardy and Conrad calls for the introduction of very few conventional villains into their works, and those few into their inferior work. Yet there is abundance of evil in the novels. The great mass of the characters, activists or pessimists, does evil quite unconsciously, elected to do wrongs by suffrages of accidents beyond its immediate perception. Characters like Elfride, Troy, Venn, Arabella, Kurtz, Nostromo feel the urge to live, act, and be happy. They do not deliberately will to bring trouble to their fellows. Some characters, like Mrs. Yeobright, Lady Constantine, and Lingard, bring woe where they actually intend good. Wildeve, Jack Durbeyfield, Almayer, Tuan Jim

<sup>5</sup> See Chew, *Ibid.*, p. 76.



are unconscious of the affliction they are bringing upon themselves and others. Evil comes from men's motivating desires and aspirations being at cross-purposes, Clym Yoebright's and his mothers', Verloc's and Winnie's; and with concealment and coincidence coming also into play, the result is a cumulative negation of hope and desire. If culprits must be found in Conrad and Hardy, the leading characters, of course, are responsible. But as the German naturalist tells Almayer, the only offense these people commit is to be alive.

Justification for the irony, to conclude, is the basis for the success of the irony in *The Return of the Native* and *Nostromo*. Conrad and Hardy supply their great portraits with ancestry and with hereditary characteristics or some sort of home conditions. They make a character's action the only action that character could take. He may cry, "If I had only acted differently, how different everything would be now!" but what he does is inevitable because of past experiences and past associations, because of the gradual coming together of a thousand small circumstances through the workings of august and inscrutable destiny.<sup>6</sup> Life is not a single thread which ramifies until a climax is reached and then becomes single again, but is a web of essentially the same complication at any time. The events of the past ramify into the present as those of the present into the future. In this justification of their plots by determinism Conrad and Hardy unite into one their philosophy and their method.

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<sup>6</sup> See Ford, F. M., *Joseph Conrad, a Personal Remembrance* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co. 1925), pp. 218-219.

## DIE WAHRSCHEINLICHKEIT DES KUNSTWERKS

In dem kleinen Aufsatz "Über Wahrheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit des Kunstwerks" vom Jahr 1798 führt Goethe den Nachweis, daß "das Kunstwahre und das Naturwahre völlig verschieden" sind, und daß die Verschiedenheit so weit geht, daß der Künstler keineswegs danach streben dürfe, daß sein Werk sich wie ein "Naturwerk" darstelle und einem solchen zum Verwechseln ähnlich sei. Die Beweisführung geht von der Oper aus, dem Kunstwerk, das nach seinem Wesen von Naturwahrheit denkbar weit entfernt sei, dessen Kunstwahrheit, aber, wenn man die Wirkung als Maßstab nimmt, sich nicht bestreiten lasse. Was aber für die Oper gelte, treffe mutatis mutandis auf alle Künste zu, sie erstrebten keine Wahrheit, keine äußere Gleichheit mit der Wirklichkeit, sondern nur eine auf ihren eignen inneren Gesetzen beruhende Wahrscheinlichkeit. So treffend die Ausführungen sind, so sind sie doch nicht erschöpfend, und man muß in der eingeschlagenen Richtung einen Schritt über Goethe hinaustun. Das Kunstwerk ist nicht nur keine bloße Nachahmung der Natur, sondern wenn es das wäre, wenn es nur einen in der Wirklichkeit vorhandenen Vorgang oder Gegenstand kopierte, so würde es damit aufhören, ein Kunstwerk zu sein. Die Photographie oder die Wachsfigur im Raritätenkabinet sollen der Wirklichkeit so ähnlich als möglich sein, sie werden mit der ausdrücklichen Absicht geschaffen, den Beschauer über ihre Nichtwirklichkeit zu täuschen. Diese Absicht läßt sich jedoch nur bis zu einem gewissen Grad durchführen, die Täuschung wird niemals vollkommen sein, und daraus ergibt sich, daß die Nachbildung mit Notwendigkeit hinter dem Vorbild zurückbleibt und im Vergleich mit ihm als etwas Unvollkommenes erscheint. Bei ihrer Betrachtung drängt sich der Vergleich mit dem Original, mit der Wirklichkeit, auf, und da dieser zu ihren Ungunsten ausfallen muß, so erweckt die Nachahmung in dem Beschauer eine Empfindung der Unzulänglichkeit, also grade das Gegenteil von dem reinen Lustgefühl, das das Kunstwerk hervorrufen soll.

Die Nachahmung besitzt einen eignen Wert überhaupt nicht, sondern empfängt ihn nur mittelbar von dem Vorbild und enthält ihn nur, soweit sie dieses wiedergibt. Die Photographie entwertet, sobald sich herausstellt, daß sie die angegebene bekannte Persönlichkeit nicht darstellt, sondern einen beliebigen, mir gleichgültigen Fremdling. Das Kunstwerk dagegen führt eine selbständige, von dem Vorbild unabhängige Existenz. Ein Porträt von Velasquez schätzen wir heute nicht geringer als die Zeitgenossen, obgleich uns ein Urteil über seine Ähnlichkeit

nicht mehr möglich ist. Das Bild einer Neapolitanischen Landschaft erscheint an Ort und Stelle nicht wertvoller als anderswo, weil der dortige Betrachter das Gemälde auf seine Ähnlichkeit prüfen kann, und der berühmte Pottersche Stier wird in den Augen eines Landwirts eher verlieren, wenn er sich durch seine Sachkenntnis verleiten lässt, ihn mit einem wirklichen preisgekrönten Zuchtbullen zu vergleichen. Goethes *Egmont* bleibt derselbe, obgleich sich seine Ähnlichkeit mit dem Mann der Wirklichkeit auf den Namen beschränkt, und wenn der Schöpfer der Laokoongruppe oder Shakespeare, als er *Hamlet* schrieb, wirkliche Geschehnisse nachzuahmen glaubten, so ist es für das fertige Kunstwerk belanglos, daß beide sich in einem Irrtum befanden und daß weder der troische Priester noch der Dänenprinz je gelebt haben. Die Betrachtung und Bewertung des Kunstwerks vollzieht sich ohne Rücksicht auf das etwaige Original, ja ohne an dieses auch nur zu denken, und sie bleibt die gleiche, selbst wenn eine Vergleichsmöglichkeit überhaupt nicht vorhanden ist. Der Künstler selbst bildet die Wirklichkeit nach, er hat sie während des Schaffensprozesses beständig vor Augen, aber sobald dieser abgeschlossen ist, hört die Verbindung zwischen der Vorlage und dem Abbild auf, und das Kunstwerk steht als etwas Selbständiges da, nicht als eine Wiederholung des Urbilds, das von diesem wie der Mond von der Sonne sein Licht empfängt, sondern als ein mit eigenem Leben begabter Organismus, der mit der Wirklichkeit wohl durch sein Werden, nicht durch sein Sein in Zusammenhang steht.

Es ist weder Aufgabe noch Absicht des schaffenden Künstlers, vorhandene Erscheinungen möglichst wirklichkeitsgetreu nachzuformen, sondern sein Ziel ist, den subjektiven Eindruck, den er von ihnen gewonnen hat, festzuhalten, in der Darstellung zu objektivieren und durch sie auf das Publikum zu übertragen. Das kann allerdings nur durch die Darstellung der Wirklichkeit geschehn. Wenn der Maler eine Winterstimmung übermitteln will, so muß er dem Beschauer das Objekt, das ihm selbst die Stimmung eingegeben hat, also die Winterlandschaft vor Augen stellen. Ebenso kann der Dichter eine Stimmung nur auf Grund positiver Angaben hervorbringen. Aber diese sind nicht Selbstzweck, sondern nur Mittel zur Ausführung einer höheren, übergeordneten Absicht. Der Künstler ergreift den ihm von der Außenwelt gebotenen Stoff, aber indem er ihn ergreift, hebt er ihn aus der Wirklichkeit heraus, macht ihn selbständig und löst ihn aus dem Kausalzusammenhang, in dem und durch den er in der Wirklichkeit allein existiert. Er isoliert das Objekt genau so, wie der Forscher eine Pflanze oder ein Tier zwecks wissenschaftlicher Beobachtung zunächst von allen gleichgearteten absondert. Diese künstlerische Isolierung entfremdet den Stoff der Wirklichkeit, sie verleiht ihm eine Einmaligkeit und Einheitlichkeit, wie sie

eine durch Zufälligkeiten getrübt Erscheinung des Lebens nicht besitzt. Sie entwirkt ihn, aber indem das Phänomen infolge seiner Isolierung als Symbol aller ähnlichen Phänomene erscheint, bedeutet diese *Entwirklichung* zugleich eine *Verwirklichung* auf einer höheren Stufe, eine völlige Umschöpfung des Stoffes, sodaß er mit den Gebilden der Wirklichkeit nur noch eine äußere Ähnlichkeit aufweist. Auch diese unterliegt bei der künstlerischen Umgestaltung unter Umständen einer eingreifenden Modifikation, indem der Künstler das Objekt stimmungsgemäß durcharbeitet, das heraushebt, was die Stimmung fördert und das Gegenteil unterdrückt. Aber nicht in diesen stofflichen Änderungen, so bedeutend sie auch sein mögen, darf man den Unterschied von Wirklichkeit und Kunst suchen, sondern in der grundsätzlichen Verschiedenheit, die zwischen einem kausal gebundenen, dem Leben angehörenden und einem in sich selbst isolierten, nur einer Stimmung dienenden Gegenstand besteht. Man kann, um Goethes Ausdrücke zu gebrauchen, dem einen Wahrheit, dem andern Wahrscheinlichkeit zuschreiben; es kommt auf die Worte nicht an, die Hauptsache ist, daß man sich darüber klar ist, daß die Gebilde der Kunst, wenn man das Leben als Realität betrachtet, eine Irrealität besitzen und nur Scheinwerte darstellen.

Das Bewusstsein dieser Irrealität ist sowohl Voraussetzung des künstlerischen Schaffens wie der ästhetischen Aufnahme des Kunstwerks. Das Publikum muß wissen, daß das, was ihm geboten wird, nicht Wirklichkeit ist, und der Künstler muß alles daran setzen, jeden Gedanken an die Realität des Dargestellten abzuwehren. Gelingt ihm das nicht, versagt die Kraft seiner Täuschung, so ergeht es dem Zuschauer wie dem amerikanischen Soldaten in der bekannten Anekdote, der den Darsteller des Othello auf offener Szene niederschoss, weil er die Mißhandlung einer weißen Frau durch einen Neger nicht ertragen konnte. Dichter und Schauspieler hatten in diesem Fall nicht vermocht, den Eindruck der Irrealität der Darstellung zu bewahren. Wenn die bekannten Kirschen des Apelles, die angeblich wirklichen Früchten so genau glichen, daß die Vögel sie anpikkten, auf die Menschen denselben Eindruck gemacht hätten, so hätten sie nicht nur keine künstlerische Wirkung hervorgebracht, sondern sie wären überhaupt kein Kunstwerk gewesen. Wie sie dem Maler nicht essenswert, sondern malenswert erschienen, so durften sie in dem Betrachter nicht die appetitreizende Wirkung echter Kirschen hervorbringen. So wenig wie sonst ein gemaltes Stilleben, mag der dargestellte Schinken noch so rosig und die Färbung der Weintrauben noch so verlockend aussehen. Eine entkleidete Aphrodite mag alle Reize weiblicher Nacktheit besitzen, sie muß der Wirklichkeit so weit entrückt und von einer irdischen Frau so weit verschieden sein, daß sie keine sinnliche Begierde erweckt.

Der heilige Augustin bemerkt einmal, es werde die Zeit kommen, wo man die körperliche Schönheit werde wunschlos bewundern können. Diese Zeit oder besser dieser zeitlose Zustand findet sich in der Kunst, in ihrem enstofflichten Gebiet, wo alle selbstsüchtigen, materiellen Regungen zum Schweigen kommen. Wenn wir beim Anblick der Laokoongruppe, bei Rafaels "Brand des Borgo" oder bei Shakespeares *König Lear* auch nur einen Moment in der Illusion lebten, daß die dargestellten Schrecken Wirklichkeit wären und eine wirkliche Gefahr bedeuteten, so wäre nicht nur die Freude am Kunstwerk vernichtet, sondern sogar der Gedanke, ein Kunstwerk vor sich zu haben, aufgehoben. Die Kunst kann das Furchterlichste darstellen, aber wenn sie Dinge zeigen kann, vor denen wir uns im Leben mit Entsetzen oder gar Ekel abwenden, so nur, weil es dank ihrer Darstellung ausgeschlossen ist, diese Schrecknisse mit solchen der Wirklichkeit zu verwechseln. Das gilt natürlich auch für die positiven Empfindungen. Die Erhebung, die wir bei der Rettung des greisen Anchises oder Baumgartens durch Tell fühlen, ist von ganz anderer Art als bei der gleichen Tat in der Wirklichkeit, schon dadurch, dass der Eindruck frei von jeder moralischen Bewertung ist.

Wenn wir im Leben einen Kampf sehen, so fragen wir, wer sind die Kämpfenden, warum wird gekämpft und welche Sache vertreten sie? Betrachten wir dagegen Rafaels "Kampf an der Milvischen Brücke," so werfen wir auch nicht eine dieser Fragen auf, sondern der Eindruck des Bildes ist rein malerisch und liegt in einer Bewusstseins-sphäre, zu der die Wirklichkeit überhaupt keinen Zugang hat, sondern nur ein Abglanz von den Erscheinungen. Es geht uns in der Kunst wie den Müttern im *Faust*. "Umschwebt von Bildern aller Kreatur," sehen wir nicht die Dinge, wie sie sind, sondern nur ihre "Schemen," die man allenfalls nach ihren äußeren Umrissen für die Dinge selbst halten könnte, wenn man nicht wüßte, daß sie etwas anderes sind, keine Produkte der Wahrheit, sondern nur der Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Mit dem Nachweis, daß die Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht Wahrheit ist, haben wir aber erst den negativen Teil des Begriffs gewonnen. Daneben besitzt er einen positiven Inhalt. So unwirklich die Gebilde der Kunst sind, so stehen sie doch in enger Verbindung mit der Wirklichkeit und bewahren zum mindesten eine äußere Ähnlichkeit mit deren Erscheinungen. Die Kunst kann nichts darstellen als das, was im Leben vorhanden ist, und sie muß es so darstellen, wie es vorhanden ist. Die Phantasie des Künstlers mag ihre Flügel noch so weit spannen, sie bleibt an die Wirklichkeit gebunden und kann nur gegenständlich wiedergeben, was sie gegenständlich vor sich sieht. Der Bildhauer zeigt uns geflügelte Löwen, der Maler Zentauren, die halb Mensch halb Pferd sind, und der Dichter führt sprechende Tiere und denkende Pflanzen vor: es sind Ausgeburten

seiner Phantasie, Dinge, die in der Wirklichkeit nicht vorkommen, ja die der Vernunft und aller Erfahrung Hohn sprechen; und doch brauchen wir sie nur zu zerlegen und ihre Teile im einzelnen zu prüfen, um uns zu überzeugen, daß sie der Wirklichkeit entnommen und ihr trotz aller Seltsamkeit nur nachgebildet sind. Pflanzen und Tiere reden mit der Sprache, die der Dichter dem Menschen abgelauscht hat, der geflügelte Löwe verdankt seine Flügel dem Vogel und der Pferdeleib und das Menschenangesicht des Zentauren bleiben darum nicht weniger realistisch, weil hier zwei Erscheinungen der Wirklichkeit zu einer durch die Erfahrung nicht belegten Einheit verbunden sind. Der Künstler kann die Erscheinungen des Lebens variieren, permutieren und potenzieren, er kann sie zu den seltsamsten Verbindungen zusammenfugen und auseinanderreißen, er kann sie ins ungemessene vergrößern und verkleinern, er kann aus Menschen Zwerge und Riesen machen, er ändert doch nur die Dimensionen. Im Erfolg bleiben es dieselben Menschen, und ob er den Riesen wie Homer ein Auge nimmt oder ihnen wie Swift Pferdeköpfe aufsetzt oder aus den Zwergen böartige Mißgestalten macht: alle diese Eigenschaften stammen, so sonderbar sie im einzelnen Fall wirken, aus der Wirklichkeit und können vom Künstler nur verwendet werden, weil sie ihm und seinem Publikum aus der Wirklichkeit bekannt und als Vorbilder geläufig sind. Wenn uns der Dichter in das Totenreich oder das Paradies versetzt, so kann er uns noch so eindringlich versichern, daß die Abgestorbenen keinen Körper besitzen, er selbst vermag sie nur darzustellen, indem er ihnen einen beträchtlichen Rest von Körperlichkeit beläßt, und wenn ihm der Maler in dieses Jenseits folgt, so malt auch er Menschen, deren Umrisse allenfalls etwas verschwimmen, aber doch so deutlich hervortreten, daß wir sie als Menschen erkennen, als Wesen, wie wir sie in der irdischen Wirklichkeit zu sehen gewohnt sind. Seit den Tagen des Odysseus bemüht sich die Phantasie, fremde Länder, die Unterwelt, den Mond oder einen Planeten mit Geschöpfen zu bevölkern, die die Verneinung der menschlichen Natur sein sollen; herausgekommen sind dabei nur Menschen mit leicht veränderten physischen, aber völlig unveränderten psychischen Eigenschaften.

So eng aber der Künstler an die Erscheinungswelt gebunden ist, wenn es gilt, eine Stimmung zu erzeugen, so groß ist seine Freiheit, sobald sie sich eingestellt hat. Dann kann er sie gewissermaßen als Sprungbrett benutzen, durch das sich seine Phantasie zu den abenteuerlichsten Regionen aufschwingt. Wir brauchen nur an Aristophanes und Ariost zu denken, an all das "dumme Zeug," die *corbellerie*, wie der Kardinal von Este sagte, die wir uns von ihnen beinahe als etwas Selbstverständliches bieten lassen. Bei dem einem gibt es einen Frieden, der pfundweise verkauft wird, einen Mistkäfer, auf den man in den Himmel

reitet, bei dem andern unsichtbar machende Ringe, Ritter, die den Mond besuchen, und Menschen, deren abgezapfter Verstand auf Flaschen gezogen wird. Es sind nicht nur glatte Unmöglichkeiten, sondern die denkbar grobsten Widersinnigkeiten, und doch lassen wir sie uns gefallen, ohne daß sich die Vernunft dagegen auflehnt, ohne daß sie gegen die offensichtliche Vergewaltigung aller Erfahrungssätze Protest einlegt. Das Kausalgesetz existiert in der Kunst nicht. Dinge, die im Leben als Paradigmata der Unmöglichkeit gelten, wie der zu Berg fließende Fluß oder der Blitz aus heiterm Himmel, bereiten uns in der Dichtung keinen Anstoß. Wenn das Wunder irgendwo einen berechtigten Platz hat, so in dem Kunstwerk.

Freilich wenn wir in der Kunst diese jenseits der Vernunft liegenden Dinge, diese auf den Kopf gestellte Welt widerspruchslos hinnehmen, so sind wir doch weit davon entfernt, sie zu *glauben*, sie für wahr oder auch nur für möglich zu halten. Wir bleiben von ihrer tatsächlichen Unmöglichkeit überzeugt, aber diese verstandesmäßige Überzeugung ist, solange wir im Banne der Kunst stehn, ausgeschaltet, und infolge ihrer Ausschaltung fehlt uns das Organ, um die Unglaublichkeit des Dargestellten wahrzunehmen. Der Verstand räumt der Phantasie das Feld und diese kennt den Begriff der Wahrheit überhaupt nicht. Im gewöhnlichen Leben gibt es nur "Wahr" und "Unwahr," "Möglich" und "Unmöglich." Was mit Tatsachen belegt ist, gilt als wahr, was der Erfahrung entspricht, als möglich, das Gegenteil als erfunden und unmöglich. Mit dieser Betrachtungsweise kommt man in der Kunst nicht aus, in ihrer der Erscheinungswelt übergelagerten Sphäre gibt es weder Tatsachen noch eine Erfahrung, die sich auf Grund der Tatsachen entwickelt; sondern es gibt nur eine Darstellung, die als wahrscheinlich empfunden wird, solange sie die Phantasie ausfüllt und zwar so vollständig ausfüllt, daß der Verstand und die verstandesmäßige Kritik daneben nicht zur Geltung gelangen. Das Wesen der künstlerischen Wahrscheinlichkeit besteht nicht darin, daß man das Dargestellte glaubt oder glauben kann, sondern daß es so dargestellt ist, daß es keinen sachlichen Widerspruch hervorruft. Die künstlerische Isolierung bewirkt, daß der Stoff der Wirklichkeit entrückt und zur Form erhoben wird. Je reiner die Form ist, um so stärker wirkt die Wahrscheinlichkeit, und je mehr das Kunstwerk in der Form aufgeht, um so größere Unwahrscheinlichkeiten im landläufigen Sinn verträgt es.

Die Wahrscheinlichkeit ist keine objektive Eigenschaft der Erscheinungen, sondern ausschließlich Sache der Darstellung, d.h. der Form. Es gibt grundsätzlich nichts, das als unwahrscheinlich von der Kunst, insbesondere von der Poesie, ausgeschlossen wäre, sondern es gibt nur Gegenstände, die nicht so dargestellt sind, daß sie künstlerisch und

wahrscheinlich wirken. Es beruht daher auf einem Irrtum, wenn Racine im Vorwort der *Iphigénie* die wunderbare Verwandlung der Heldenin ablehnt, weil sein Publikum das Wunder nicht gläubig hinnehmen würde. Der Dichter ist das Opfer einer falschen Theorie geworden, sonst lage in der Erklärung das Anerkenntnis, daß seine Kraft nicht ausreichte, um das allerdings objektiv Unmögliche auf der Bühne wahrscheinlich zu gestalten. Die Berufung auf die Bildung der Zuschauer beweist für ihre Aufnahmefähigkeit um so weniger, als sie sich etwa gleichzeitig die Märchen Perraults anhörten, die von viel erstaunlicheren Dingen berichteten als der Verwandlung einer Jungfrau in eine Hirschkuh.

In einem Roman von Stevenson erklärt eine der auftretenden Personen, er könne eher an ein Wunder, also an das Eingreifen übernatürlicher Gewalten, glauben, als daß Gladstone das Zimmer der Königin Viktoria mit einer brennenden Zigarre betreten habe. So paradox die Behauptung klingt, so ist doch so viel an ihr richtig, daß ein derartiges unzeremonielles Verhalten des Ministers den Kennern der englischen Hofordnung höchst unwahrscheinlich und unglaublich vorkommen würde. Dieser verhältnismäßig kleinen Schar stehen aber die Millionen von Außenseitern gegenüber, die an der Gladstoneschen Zigarre auch nicht den leisesten Anstoß nehmen würden, so wenig wie an den ebenso offensichtlichen Verstößen gegen die türkische oder chinesische Hofetikette in Racines *Bajazet* oder in Voltaires *Orphelin de la Chine*.

Es liegt auf der Hand, daß die Bekanntschaft des Publikums mit den einschlägigen Erscheinungen bei ihrer künstlerischen Darstellung eine wesentliche Rolle spielt. Je genauer es mit ihnen vertraut ist, um so schwerer fällt ihre künstlerische Isolierung. Die Leute haben sich daran gewöhnt, das Dargestellte als einen Teil ihres alltäglichen Lebens zu betrachten und sind daher nicht gewillt, es von ihrer persönlichen Erfahrung zu trennen und losgelöst von ihren materiellen Interessen aufzunehmen. Ihr besseres Wissen verhindert sie, sich dem Zauber der Form hinzugeben, und dieses philisterhafte Besserwissen widersetzt sich in besonderem Maße der poetischen Behandlung moderner Stoffe. Man wird dem Realismus, wie er um die Jahrhundertwende auftrat, den Vorwurf nicht ersparen können, daß er dieser kleinlichen Auffassung, die die Kunst an die Kette der Wirklichkeit legte, die weitesten Zugeständnisse gemacht hat. Wenn er grundsätzlich einen Unterschied zwischen der Wirklichkeit des Lebens und der Unwirklichkeit der Kunst nicht anerkannte, so verstieß er damit gegen die Idee der künstlerischen Wahrscheinlichkeit und hätte logischerweise die Kirschen des Apelles als die höchste der Kunst erreichbare Leistung betrachten müssen, weil sie in ihrer Wirkung von echten nicht zu unterscheiden waren. Erfahrungsgemäß kann der Künstler mit einem modernen Stoff weniger frei schalten



aber es wäre verfehlt, daraus ein Prinzip zu machen. Es gelingt auch dem Gegenwartsroman oder dem realistischen Drama die Grenzen des poetisch Wahrscheinlichen sehr weit hinauszuschieben. Man denke nur an Hermann Hesses *Steppenwolf* mit seiner an Hoffmann gemahnenden Phantastik, an Ibsens Frau Alving, die wie eine Gestalt des griechischen Mythos selbst vor einer blutschanderischen Geschwisterehe nicht zurückschreckt, oder an die Gespenstererscheinung in Wedekinds *Frühlings Erwachen*, die trotz des sonst streng durchgeführten Realismus nicht als ein Verstoß gegen die Wahrscheinlichkeit empfunden wird.

Auch unter den ungünstigen Vorbedingungen, die ein moderner Stoff und ein modernes Publikum bieten, gelingt es dem Künstler, durch die Form das kunstfeindliche Besserwissen niederzuringen. Man wird sich aber der Erkenntnis nicht verschließen können, dass im ganzen die Entwicklung dahin geht, bei den Hörern und Zuschauern, besonders aber bei den Lesern die Neigung zu einer verstandesmäßigen Aufnahme des Dargestellten zu vermehren, während sich im gleichen Maße die Fähigkeit der rein intuitiven Aufnahme abschwächt. Wenn man die Zeitgenossen des Äschylos mit denen des Aristoteles vergleicht, so sind die letzteren zweifellos auf Kosten der Phantasie kritischer veranlagt, genau so wie der heutige Engländer im Vergleich mit dem Theaterbesucher Shakespeares. Diese Wendung zum Verstandesmäßigen, diese Ernüchterung zum Realismus, die sich am deutlichsten in dem Aufkommen des Prosaromans widerspiegelt, beruht offenbar auf einer psychologischen Notwendigkeit, die mit dem Fortschritt oder besser mit der Ausdehnung der Kultur verbunden ist. Die Unbefangenheit des Gemüts ist mit dem zunehmenden Wissen, die Fähigkeit, die Dinge außerhalb jedes Zweckzusammenhangs zu betrachten, mit der umsichgreifenden Rationalisierung des Lebens unvereinbar. Die Folge wäre, dass mit dem Rückgang ihrer Voraussetzungen auch die Kunst selber zurückgehn, an Schwungkraft verlieren und allmählich verebben müsste. Eine derartige rückläufige Bewegung ist unverkennbar, die Kunst büßt an Bedeutung ein, und wenn diese Entwicklung keinen größeren Umfang angenommen hat, so liegt es an der Tradition von mehreren tausend Jahren, die ihr ein Gegengewicht bietet und sich auf allen künstlerischen Gebieten geltend macht. Sie ist heute die stärkste Stütze des künstlerischen Schaffens, und sie ermöglicht es im besonderen Maße, Dinge wahrscheinlich zu machen, die als solche dem kritischen Verstand nicht einleuchten. Was die Vergangenheit als poetisch und wahrscheinlich anerkannt hat, tritt mit dem Anspruch auf gleiche Anerkennung auch in der Gegenwart auf. Eine umfassende Konvention hat sich ausgebildet, ein stillschweigendes Abkommen, Dinge als wahrscheinlich gelten zu lassen, die sich dereinst als wahrscheinlich bewährt haben. Die Tradition mit ihrer

zwingenden Gewalt hat sie poesiefähig gemacht und erhält sie in diesem Zustand. Daß die gesamte Kunst in hohem Maße auf konventioneller Grundlage beruht, kann als Tatsache gelten. Wenn sie eines Beweises bedürfte, so liefert ihn die Skulptur. Die weiße Marmorfigur ist seit der Renaissance allgemein angenommen, nicht weil ihre Unbemaltheit einem psychologischen Bedürfnis entspräche, sondern weil die erhaltenen antiken Standbilder die Farbe verloren hatten. Neuere Versuche, die Bemalung wieder einzuführen, versagten gegenüber der eingewurzelten Konvention, obgleich sie durch die Tendenz zum Realismus auf der einen und die genauere Kenntnis des Altertums auf der andern Seite gestützt wurden. Auch die Bühnendichtung kann als Beweis für die Macht der Konvention herangezogen werden. Der Trieb, von der erzählenden zur gegenwärtigen Darstellung, von der geschehenen zu der geschehenden Form aufzusteigen, ist dem Menschen angeboren, aber die Art, wie er befriedigt wird, die Fiktion, daß die Schauspieler so tun, als ob sie unbeobachtet unter sich allein waren, beruht auf einer Tradition, die Äschylos noch wenig gelaufig ist und sich erst bei Sophokles durchsetzt.

Im vorliegenden Fall kommt es aber weniger auf die allgemeine Bedeutung der Konvention an als auf die besondere Wirkung, die sie innerhalb der einzelnen poetischen Gattungen besitzt. Ob die Einteilung in Epos, Lyrik, Drama von Anfang an konventionell war, erscheint zweifelhaft; sicher ist, daß sie heute nur noch durch die Tradition erhalten wird. Mit jeder dieser Bezeichnungen verbinden wir eine bestimmte überlieferte Vorstellung, und diese Vorstellung prägt sich noch entschiedener mit der weiteren Unterteilung aus, in Tragödie, Komödie, Roman, Novelle, Märchen, Satire usw. Diese Benennungen wirken ähnlich wie in der Musik der vorgesetzte Schlüssel. Sie geben die Stimmung an, in die sich der Leser oder Hörer zwecks geeigneter Aufnahme der Dichtung versetzen soll, und sie rufen bestimmte Erwartungen hervor die auf der Kenntnis ähnlicher gleich klassifizierter Werke begründet sind. Eine Geistererscheinung z.B. bedarf in einem Lustspiel einer stärkeren Motivierung als in einer auf Erhabenheit abgestimmten Tragödie. Lessing tadelt mit Recht das kümmerliche Gespenst in Voltaire's *Sémiramis* und er hat auch den Grund erkannt warum es im Gegensatz zu denen Shakespeares unwahrscheinlich wirkt. Es versagt nicht nur infolge der unzureichenden poetischen Kraft des Verfassers, sondern es steht auch grundsätzlich in Widerspruch zum Wesen der klassischen oder klassizistischen *tragédie*, wie sie sich in Frankreich entwickelt hat.

Von einer Tragödie oder einem Epos erwarten wir Handlungen und Gestalten, die in irgendeiner Weise das Normalmaß überragen, *βελτιους*

wie schon Aristoteles erklärt, und diese Auffassung ist so tief eingewurzelt, daß uns eine unheroische Darstellung von Menschen und Verhältnissen, die wir unter dem heroischen Aspekt zu sehen gewohnt sind, überraschend und unwahrscheinlich berührt. Homers Männer und Frauen sind gewiß von einem stilisierten Heldentum denkbar weit entfernt, aber die Konvention der Jahrhunderte hat es dahin gebracht, daß uns eine schöne Helena, die friedlich ihre Wirtschaft besorgt, oder ein Achilles, der nicht immer Feinde erschlagt, als ein Bruch mit dem uns vorschwebenden Bild und als Verstoß gegen die traditionelle Wahrscheinlichkeit erscheinen. Die Komik Offenbachs oder der Reiz eines neueren englischen Buches, das das Privatleben Helenas schildert, beruhen darauf, daß sie diese Gestalten in einer uns unwahrscheinlichen Alltäglichkeit vorführen.

Die poetische Wahrscheinlichkeit ist grundsätzlich psychologisch, jedoch mit der zunehmenden Bildung und Belesenheit wird sie mehr literarisch. Die Frage ist nicht mehr, ob das Dargestellte wahrscheinlich *ist*, sondern ob es nach dem Stand der literarischen Entwicklung als wahrscheinlich *gilt*. Was die meisten Opern an Handlung bieten, sind Ungereimtheiten und unmögliche Widersinnigkeiten, selbst Wagners *Nibelungen* machen keine Ausnahme, und wenn man seine germanischen Götter und Helden nur nach dem Text beurteilt, so wirken sie grotesk. Aber trotzdem nehmen wir sie und die noch unglaublicheren Gestalten der Italiener widerspruchslos hin, weil wir an die Oper andere Anforderungen von Wahrscheinlichkeit stellen und uns daran gewohnt haben, daß diese nicht durch das Wort, sondern nur durch die Musik befriedigt werden.

Jede poetische Gattung hat nach ihrem besonderen Wesen auch eine besondere Art von Wahrscheinlichkeit ausgebildet. An die Satire treten wir mit der Erwartung, daß uns die Welt in einer komischen Verzerrung, gewissermaßen in einem Hohlspiegel, gezeigt wird, in dem Märchen erscheinen uns die größten Wunderlichkeiten wie Selbstverständlichkeiten, und Voraussetzung der Fabel ist nicht nur, daß sich Tiere und Pflanzen wie Menschen gebärden und wie Menschen reden, sondern daß sie auch von einer Moral beseelt sind, die die ausschließliche Konvention dieser poetischen Gattung bildet. Bezeichnend ist, daß Phädrus-Äsop im Vorwort seiner Sammlung die sprechenden Tiere der Fabel als gebräuchlich und wahrscheinlich betrachtet, daß er dagegen die redenden Pflanzen als eine Neuerung zu entschuldigen bittet, die aber nach seiner Meinung mit dem Wesen dieser Dichtungsart durchaus verträglich sei. Das eine war damals schon konventionell, das andere ist es seitdem geworden, so daß heute ein Unterschied in der Wahrscheinlichkeit sprachbegabter Bäume und Tiere nicht existiert. Aber

wenn sie auch eine Spezialität der Fabel bilden, so sind sie darum nicht ihr ausschließliches Eigentum. Rostand hat in *Chameclair* den Hühnerstall mit den sprechenden Insassen sogar auf die Bühne gebracht. Freilich konnte man auch bei der Aufführung die Beobachtung machen, daß die als Hühner verkleideten Schauspieler zunächst befremdend und unwahrscheinlich wirkten und daß sich die Zuschauer erst allmählich, weniger unter dem Eindruck der Dichtung als dank literarischer Erinnerungen an die vertraute Märchenpoesie, mit ihnen befreundeten und sie als wahrscheinlich empfanden.

Es zeigte sich in diesem Fall wieder, daß in der szenischen Darstellung vieles unwahrscheinlich wirkt, das in Form der Erzählung unbeanstandet hingenommen wird. Der feuerschnaubende Lintwurm in *Siegfried* oder die Wolfschlucht im *Freischütz* bilden immer eine Klippe für den Regisseur. Leibhaftig vorgeführt, werden sie leicht lächerlich und drohen aus dem Rahmen der Wahrscheinlichkeit herauszufallen. Das Auge ist in Bezug auf Wahrscheinlichkeit empfindlicher als das Ohr. Darin ist wohl der psychologische Grund zu suchen, daß die griechische Tragödie, wenn sie auch die Handlung von der Bühne nicht ausschloß, doch die Geschehnisse, besonders die Mordtaten, lieber hinter die Szene verlegte. Wenn Aristoteles das Wesen der Poesie ausschließlich im Vortrag findet und die Mitwirkung des Auges, die *ὄψις* oder das *ὁρᾶν τὰ πράγματα*, als weniger künstlerisch verwirft, so liegt es daran, daß die Ereignisse auf der Bühne ursprünglich nur erzählt wurden und daß er und seine Zeitgenossen es daher noch als unwahrscheinlich empfanden, wenn ein aktives Handeln vor ihren sehenden Augen, *ἐν τῷ φανερόῳ*, an Stelle der gewohnten Deklamation trat. Dem Philosophen erscheint alles, was er unter dem Begriff der Choregie zusammenfasst, also die gesamte gegenständliche Darstellung, nur als eine nicht notwendige und nicht unbedingt wünschenswerte Unterstützung des Vortrages; das bedeutet, daß sich das Publikum zu seiner Zeit noch nicht in die Theaterkonvention der volligen Identität von darstellenden und dargestellten Personen eingelebt hatte und daß ihm die restlose Inkorporation der dramatischen Gestalt in dem Schauspieler noch nicht geläufig war und daher unwahrscheinlich dünkte. Nachdem man sich aber daran gewohnt hatte, in dem auf Stelzen gestellten, mit einer starren Maske verkleideten Darsteller nicht mehr das Symbol der dargestellten Person, sondern diese selber zu sehen, trat das Umgekehrte ein, und die Verbannung der Handlung von der Szene, die die Schauspieler zu einer deklamierenden Untätigkeit verurteilte, wurde ihrerseits zur Konvention, die unverträglich mit dem Maß von Wahrscheinlichkeit ist, die wir vom Theater verlangen.

Je mehr die dramatische Aufführung an Gegenständlichkeit gewinnt,

um so klarer tritt die Konvention hervor, auf der sie sich aufbaut. Anfänglich waren die Mitwirkenden von den Zuhörern begrifflich nicht geschieden, sondern bildeten nur einen Teil der Menge, Auserwählte, die den andern etwas vorsangen und erzählten. Erst allmählich setzte sich die Fiktion durch, daß der Theaterraum begrifflich in zwei Teile zerfällt, von denen der eine bis zur Rampe der Wirklichkeit, der dahinter liegende aber der Wahrscheinlichkeit angehört, und daß entsprechend dieser räumlichen Trennung auch die Menschen je nach der Stelle, wo sie sich befinden, einen verschiedenen Charakter tragen, daß die einen etwas *sind*, die andern etwas *bedeuten*. Diese konventionelle Scheidung, die uns in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen ist, war dem Soldaten, der den Othello auf offener Szene niederschloß, so unbekannt und so unvorstellbar wie einem Europäer die gleich konventionellen Voraussetzungen, auf denen das chinesische Theater oder ein türkisches Karaguis beruhen. Sie wirken daher auf ihn nicht in ihrer Wahrscheinlichkeit, sondern ihrer Wirklichkeit, nicht nach dem, was sie vorstellen, sondern was sie sind, nicht als Kunst, sondern als Kuriositäten.

So wichtig aber das konventionelle Element für die künstlerische Wahrscheinlichkeit ist, so darf man seine Bedeutung nicht überschätzen. Die Konvention liefert in der Hauptsache die Voraussetzungen der Wahrscheinlichkeit, aber ihr Einfluß reicht nicht so weit, daß konventionell und wahrscheinlich identisch wären. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit des Kunstwerks kann auf Tradition beruhen, aber ihr innerstes Wesen bestimmt sich nicht durch Gewohnheit und Überlieferung, sondern durch die freiwaltende Phantasie und Schöpferkraft des Künstlers im Bunde mit der von ihm hervorgerufenen Aufnahmefähigkeit seines Publikums.

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# PMLA

PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Issued Quarterly

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VOLUME L

JUNE, 1935

NUMBER 2

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## XXI

### IRREGULAR HEMISTICHS IN THE MILAGROS OF GONZALO DE BERCEO

*EL cuento septenario es de grant santidad.*—Berceo, *Loores* 143a. There are in Berceo's verses besides the prevailing Alexandrine half-lines of seven syllables a few hemistichs of five, six, eight, nine, and even ten syllables. These may be considered as due to the alterations and mistakes of the copyist. Such is the position taken by Fitz-Gerald in his critical edition of *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* and in his treatise on the versification of the same work.<sup>1</sup> He is supported by Henríquez Ureña, who finds the regularity of Berceo quite exceptional in Old Spanish poetry, and who believes him to be the only versifier we can call correct from the *Cid* to D. Pero López de Ayala.<sup>2</sup> Others, not finding credible this unique position of the poet, may care to see in his lines traces of the tendency to ametric verse that is supposed to have influenced all the other writers of the *cuaderna vía* stanza. A third position has been championed by Lang, who, remaining silent about the odd lengths other than those of eight syllables, affirms "that no convincing argument has as yet been advanced against the thesis that Gonzalo de Berceo admitted the native octosyllable quite as much as the other authors of the *cuaderna vía*."<sup>3</sup>

Opinions have sometimes varied just as widely concerning the scansion of individual lines. The first hemistich of verse 57a of the *Santo Domingo* reads *Maria la Egiptiaca*. In the year 1897 Hanssen proposed the read-

<sup>1</sup> *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, ed. J. D. Fitz-Gerald (Paris, 1904). *Versification of the Cuaderna Vía as found in Berceo's Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* (New York, 1905).

<sup>2</sup> P. Henríquez Ureña, *La Versificación Irregular en la Poesía Castellana* (Madrid, 1933), p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Lang, "Metrical Forms of the Poem of the *Cid*," *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 530.

ing *Mari la Eypçiaca*,<sup>4</sup> ten years later he offered *Maria l'Eypçiaca* or *Maria la Gypçiaca*,<sup>5</sup> Fitz-Gerald believes that here the combination *ia* in *Maria* counts as one syllable and that the half-verse is correct as it stands (i.e., of seven syllables),<sup>6</sup> Menéndez Pidal agrees with Fitz-Gerald.<sup>7</sup> Lang prefers to regard the hemistich as octosyllabic.<sup>8</sup> All seem to have overlooked the syllabic value of the variant spelling of the Saint's name in *Milagros* 521a, 767b, *a la Egiptiana* and *ibid.*, 783c, *de la Egiptiana*. In *Loores* 201a, *Maria la egiptiana pecadora sin mesura*, the incorrect *pecadora* for *pecador* (fem.) or *pecadriz*, throws suspicion on the first hemistich, which might well read *E la Egyptiana*, and so in the example in question. In general, however, the prosodic values determined by Hanssen in his studies of the works of Berceo are sound, as is in particular his principle of obligatory hiatus which I have used everywhere in this investigation. No evidence has been found to lead me to doubt its validity, aware as I am that eminent scholars have held that the poet exceptionally admitted synalepha.

#### THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

At the beginning of the eighteenth century two manuscripts of the works of Berceo existed in the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. One of these, a quarto codex, showed in its language traits of the Navarro-Aragonese dialect, the other, a folio codex, showed Castilian traits. The first, as far as the *Milagros* is concerned, is preserved for us in a copy made in the eighteenth century by the Rmo. Ibarreta, reproduced in the edition of Solalinde in the *Clásicos Castellanos*, Vol. XLIV. This manuscript and text is referred to as I. The age of this quarto codex, as well as that of the folio, was supposed to be the thirteenth century by the Rmo. Sarmiento, who described them about the year 1745.<sup>9</sup> His judgment, however, does not merit complete confidence as we now know the writing of the folio to be of the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Parts of the folio, long supposed to be lost, were discovered by Professor Marden in 1925 and 1928 and have been published in C. C. Marden, *Cuatro Poemas de Berceo* (Madrid, 1928) and Berceo, *Veintitrés Milagros* (Madrid, 1929). Professor Marden refers to the two parts of the manuscript as A and A"; we shall use A to designate both. It should be added

<sup>4</sup> This and the corrections for the *Milagros* to be considered below are from *Miscelánea de Versificación Castellana* (Santiago de Chile, 1897), in this case §5. A useful list of the metrical works of Hanssen is given by Henríquez Ureña, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Notas a la Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* (Santiago de Chile, 1907), p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Versification*, p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> *Cantar de Mio Çid* (Madrid, 1908), p. 273, Note 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 529.

<sup>9</sup> C. C. Marden, *Cuatro Poemas de Berceo* (Madrid, 1928), p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Fitz-Gerald, *Santo Domingo*, Introduction.

that A and A" are parts of a longer manuscript originally containing the text of *Santo Domingo de Silos* designated E, and used by Fitz-Gerald as the basis of his critical edition;<sup>11</sup> that this same manuscript contains the *Vida de Santa Oria*, for which we have no independent text; and that the latter part of *El Sacrificio de la Misa* (250d-297) can be supplied only from Ibarreta's copy, which in all probability is derived in this case from the folio.<sup>12</sup>

Marden has studied the language of A in relation to that of I and finds that the latter contains many traits of the dialect of Rioja, Berceo's native region.<sup>13</sup> He concludes that the language of A is a Castilianization rather than a modernization of the dialect of I. To this we may add that the copyist of I seems to have shared his author's dialect, as he introduced the article in the characteristic Riojan form to the hemistich *Metiéronse ennas naves* (Milag. 588c). If the line was originally regular, Berceo wrote *en naves* as appears in A. A Castilian scribe, if revising, would have written *en las naves*.

If A loses some authority on the ground of dialect, it does so further in its inconsistency of vocabulary: some forms are replaced, others not. Frequently with the later occurrences of a word the scribe forgets his rôle of editor and the original form appears. For example, *quisque* is replaced by *cada uno* in 82c but retained in 139d, *sedie* (*sovo*) is replaced by *estaua* (*estouo*) in seventeen cases but *sovo* is kept in 178b. So *reverencia* replaces *enclín* in 76d but not in 80c. Even in *Santa Oria*, where we have no manuscript check on his vagaries, we may be sure that hypermetrical *palabras* (16d, 22c) has usurped the place of *vierbos*, as happened in *Mil-agros* 657a, 777d, although metrically correct *vierbos* is inadvertently retained in *S. Oria* 122. Characteristic is his treatment of *desent* (*desende*). *Desent* is replaced by *después* seven times, (208d, 231d, 252d, 300b, 793c, 801c, 834c) with, of course, no disturbance to the length of line; but when the poet writes *desende* (493a), A's *después* makes the line a syllable too short and quite inconsistently three cases of *desent* (94d, 615d, 616a) are replaced by *desende*, making the line too long.

In several of the instances in which MSS. I and A differ, the rime supports the vocabulary of the former. The form *quitar* is doubly suspicious in 239c *Qujtáualis a los omnes lo que podía toller*, while I's *Tolliélis* is metrically correct and in accord with the rime word *toller* which is also the rime in verses 342b, 490c, 696d. *Sedia*, uniformly ousted by A's *estaua*, occurs in rime with *Maria* (447b). So *recudir* replaced by *re-*

<sup>11</sup> *Cuatro Poemas*, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 31 and A. G. Solalinde, *El Sacrificio de la Misa por Gonzalo de Berceo* (Madrid, 1913).

<sup>13</sup> *Cuatro Poemas*, pp. 39-42.

*sponder* (90a) is a rime word in 293b; *segudar* replaced by *seguir* (382a) is in rime in 472d.

A study of all the irregular hemistichs in both manuscripts should lead to valuable results. They fall into groups. There are those peculiar to one manuscript (groups A and B below), those common to both (C), and those found in the parts lacking from one or the other (D, E). For example, Marden's edition of MS. A has only 709 of the total 911 quatrains of the *Milagros*, as the first part of the work (73 quatrains) and eight pages containing sixteen each have been lost from the codex, which did not originally contain one quatrain (391).<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, Marden infers on very good ground that Ibarreta copied 143-145, 514-521, 522-529 from the folio (MS. A) rather than from the quarto.<sup>15</sup> We have thus only 892 quatrains from the latter. Within these groups the irregular hemistichs may be subjected to a simple classification. A hemistich is not too long or too short in general but by a definite syllable, and these syllables can be grouped. The vocabulary may be altered by the use of a word longer or shorter by a syllable (rarely more) than the word replaced (groups 1-2 below), the hemistich may be irregular by the omission or addition of a word, usually a monosyllable (3-7), in certain words the final vowel *e* or *o* suppressed by the poet may be restored or one used by the poet suppressed (8-10), apheresis and syncope may be neglected or misapplied (11-12), the word order may be disturbed, throwing the cesura in the wrong place and thus affecting one or both hemistichs (13). We thus get a natural crescendo or diminuendo series from the basic heptasyllabic pattern.

(A) *Octosyllabic Hemistichs Peculiar to MS. A.*

1. *Vocabulary altered.*—These substitutions constitute the most elusive type of irregularity. Without the variants, some of them produce the impression of authentic octosyllables: *Levantó a Dios los oios* 655b, *perdonat esta uogada* (rime *dada*) 566c, etc. Often the word supplied is of the nature of a definition or is an attempt to make the text more explicit. Separate groups are those readings that differ by a prefix.

acostumbrado—costumnado 102a; *açerca*—*çerca* 249a; *allegaron*—*plegaron* 616b; *acaesció*—*caesció* 700b; *assý*—*sí* 735d; *atrevió*—*trovo* 900a.

ensennado—senado 183b, *enfermería*—*fermería* 245d, 292a; *encampar*—*campar* 380b.

detardemos—tardemos 425a; *delibre*—*libre* 539a; *demandaua*—*mandaba* 723d. *estaua*—*sedié*, *estouo*—*sovo* 150d, 247b, 279c, 284c, 318c, 327c, 414a, 415a, 427c, 427cII, 728c, 732d, 735b, 751b, 776a, 807c, 838d, 849d (18 cases).

*fazer*—*fer* 248c, 274d, 338d, 403b, 404a, 582d, 715d, 821a (8 cases).

<sup>14</sup> The missing quatrains are 1-73, 106-121, 154-169, 186-201, 362-377, 391, 459-474, 506-521, 618-649.

<sup>15</sup> *Veintitrés Milagros*, pp. 16-17.

reçibir—prender 74d, 204a, 392c, 428d, 559b, 690b.

tomó (*at cesura*)—priso 207a, 479d, 885a.

cada día—cutiano 220b, 387a (=388b).

palabra—vierbo, bierbo 657a, 777d.

mala querencia—malquerencia; buena q.—bien q. 378b, 821d.

reverencia—el enclín 76d; don Cristo—Cristo 93b; E declaró—Regunzó 175c;

indición—dición 181b; contegió—cumtió 182d; Endereçó—Aguisó 184b; Co-

mençó se—Cueitóse 214c; de lo suyo—del suyo 233d; Qujtáualis—tolliélis 239c;

aumentado—adonado 280a; siella—siet 312c; con que—do 405d; acabaron—

finaron 573b; Leuantó—erzió 655b;<sup>16</sup> testigos—testes 686b; enoio—tedio 704b;

seso—sen 707d; fiziessen penjtencia—se penetenciassen 708d; este—el 735a;

fizo se—fincó 743b; querido—quisto 745a; fraguada—nada 790d; dentro en

un—en chico 801d; Fasta que—Hasta 816c, sin todo—e sin 822d.

Total, 79 cases

2. *Wrong form of verb.*—escruijó (*at cesura*)—escripso 182c, 353a; ujdí—vi 447a; querría (*1st person*)—querré 657b; podiesse—podié 741d; destruydos—destruc-  
tos 785d. (6 cases)

3. *Article added.*—la 177c 742b; el 764c; a la otra—al otra 590b (4 cases.)

4. *Object pronoun added.*—la 131d; ge 364b; se 348a; lis 399a; lo 667c; me 788d; te 797b, 804d. (8 cases.)

5. *Preposition added.*—de 126a, 304a, 601d; a 394d, 546b, 732c; en 431d, 567c. (8 cases.)

6. *Conjunction added.*—e 77a, 78d, 209c, 298c, 498d, 672a, 799d, 874d; ca 333c. (9 cases.)<sup>17</sup>

7. *Emphatic or other word added.*—bien 221c, 407d; buen 350c; su, sus 275d, 673a, 814b; tú 693c; mj 771c. (8 cases.)

8. *Apocope.*—In these words final *e* (or Berceo's dialect *i*) is lacking in MS. I. Our scribe's preference for the full forms may possibly be indicated in the final quatrains (686–777) of *La Vida de Santo Domingo* in which MS. E (of which our A is a part) and V<sup>2</sup> share common errors and peculiarities of vocabulary, while E alone has the full forms of *onde* 699c, 714d, 715b; *ende* 702d, 736d; *dende* 750d; *grande* 708a; *fuerte* 733a, 739c; *estonze* 731c; *diente* 769c; *ante* 689a. That is, the manuscript family to which A belongs does not contain his restored apocopes.

Staaff's study of apocopated pronouns<sup>18</sup> enables us to make the following observation in regard to the *Milagros*: of 448 full forms (of *me*, *te*, *se*, *le*, *li*) and 89 apocopated forms, manuscript I has only nine that make the hemistich irregular, and of these, seven are corrected by A, one is not found in A (165a), and only one remains with no manuscript evidence against the irregularity:

<sup>16</sup> This may be the key to *Loores* 17b, *Profeta se levantará*. I do not recall a form *erzdrá* (or *erzdré*), but it is possible. Cf. *iasdré* (203d) and *erzarse*=*levantarse*, *Fernán González* 750c.

<sup>17</sup> It is not clear why E's conjunction should be retained in *S. Dom.* 69a *e cadia fria elada* in order to make a monosyllable of *fria*, while MSS. HV read *caye f. e*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 273, Note 1.

<sup>18</sup> Erik Staaff, *Étude sur Les Pronoms Abrégés en Ancien Espagnol* (Uppsala, 1906).

*Enfogóse en la agua* (595d). Manuscript A too, while restoring the final *e* to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and particles, has been conservative in regard to object pronouns: against six expanded forms it has allowed forty-seven to remain apocopated in accord with the regular length of line, we must believe, however, out of orthographical rather than metrical considerations. Other than pronouns only thirteen of the short forms remain. two each of *diz*, *faz*, *val*, as listed below, and *siquier* 80a, *comoquier* 671d, *uid* 609b, and *fiz* 693a, 754d, 772b, 816d.

Whoever added the final vowel can hardly have had synalepha in mind. Of the 124 examples here listed only 52 (41.9 per cent) are followed by a word beginning with a vowel.

este, esti—est 103c, 105a, 134a, 134a<sub>II</sub>, 211d, 218c, 221a, 286a, 288b, 315c, 410a, 616d, 674d, 747a, 748a, 818a, 820d; esse—est 857d. (18 cases.)

-miente, -mente—ment 101b, 222a, 232d, 390a, 615d, 662b, 678c, 692b, 701b, 719c, 731c, 847a, 975b. (13 cases.)

ende—ent, end, en 90d, 128d, 175d, 303a, 332d, 381b, 408d, 422d, 617d, 815b, 858b, 896a, 908d. (13 cases.)

onde—ond, ont 330d, 350d, 387c(=388b), 415d, 441d, 580c, 737d, 828d, 888b. (9 cases.)

grande—grand 84c, 413d, 420b, 457a, 544d, 598a, 720d. (7 cases.)

gente—gent, yent 216c, 260a, 356b, 416c, 724d, 831d, 838d. (7 cases.)

-isti—ist (*preterite ending*) 135b, 202d, 272d, 454a, 609d, 779b. (6 cases.)

desende—desent 94d, 615d, 616a.

dize—diz 125d, 266d, 405b, 754b. *But* diz 92a, 909d.

dulze—dulz 173a, 234d, 298c, 879d.

estonze—estonz 243c, 294a, 431c, 502c.

fuerte—fuert 178b, 229b, 324a, 540d.

li—l 105a, 124a, 490d, 560d. *But* 47 *apocopated forms remain.*

faze—faz 310c, 323d, 352c. *But* faz 172c, 739c.

delante 321a, 389a; Guiralte 183a, 210b; muerte 487c, 823c; vale 325b, 861b (*but* val, *rime*, 551d, *impv.* 475a); deleyte 85d; elli—él 240c; englute 883c; essi—es 532b; escote 392d; fuente 867c; iaze 177b; Laurente 240b; luze 256a; puedc—puet 202b; princepe 295d; que me—quem 534c; siete 576a; semciant 321d; ueste 721d; valiente 87c; vine 729b. (124 cases.)

9. *Apocope of final o.*—commo—com 86a, 256c, 852b; pleyto—pleit 91d, 663c, 681c; Giraldo—Giralt 219a; todo—tod, tot 303b, 304d, 343d, 811d, 884b; cabo—cab 343c; uno de—un de 595a.

10. *Elision.*—de esso—desso 153d, 409d; para el—poral 260d, 482b, 552b; de onbre—domne 291a; sobre el—sobrel 357c, dar te a—darta 484d; dexas se ya—dessarsie 494d; contra el—contral 600b; Venjr me a—venir ma 767b.

11. *Aphesis.*—obispo—bispo 221a, 232a, 398b, 399a, 402d, 540c, 548a, 550c, etc. (30 cases in all); obispado—bispado 578d, 714b, 737b, 904b, 907b; yglesia—glesia 876d.

12. *Syncope.*—No examples.

13. *Word Order.*—150c, 232d, 354d, 855a, 867d.

Uncorrected by MS. I are 54 more hemistichs, which with the totals for groups 1–13, make for MS. A 367 octosyllabic hemistichs.

(A) *Hexasyllabic Hemistichs Peculiar to MS. A.*

1. *Vocabulary*.—dële Dios perdón—domne Dios lo perdón 103d; quanto que—todo quanto 133b; sabia—entendia 135d, bien querientes—sus connoçientes 151b; tal—atal 222b; Ca—a qui 227b; brauo—brabiello 228c; mala fama—mal testimonio 271d; traxieron—aduxieron 279d, 577a, 811c, 831b; tanta—atanta 280a; segujan—segudavan 382a; pies—piedes 386b, 738a; por—pora 447d; monge—bon omne 489a; después—dessende 493a; árbol (*at cesura*)—ardor 613b, siello—seiello 740c, 741d, 836b, 842c; sentado—assentado 753c; grande—grand día 790b; muy—sobra 830d (27 cases.)
2. *Wrong form of verb*.—vieron, ujeron—vidieron, veieron 86b, 305b, 882d; quiero—querría 75b, ujestes—uidiestes 94b; Asmó—asmando 338a; uer—ueer 215b; vidi—vidía 607c. (8 cases.)
3. *Article dropped*.—133e, 22Cb, 385c, 850b, 601b, 801d, 821c, 865a, 865b, 893a, 903c; del alma—de la alma 85b. (12 cases.)
4. *Object pronoun dropped*.—la 80c; lo 133b; li 149d, 295a, 339d; ge 174a; te 485d; 718d. (8 cases.)
6. *Conjunction lost*.—496a, 662b, 792d.
7. *Emphatic or other monosyllable dropped*.—él 175c, 211c; muy 226b; grand 351c; bien 440b, 880c; tú 728b, 798c; com 104b; end 138d; -mient 242d; sant 282b; [h]a 420d; y 654c; que 581a, 658d, 888b; Dios 896a. (18 cases.)
8. *Apocope of final e*.—Nol—Non li 181d; quier—quiere 671d, Sil—Si li 745d; Nol—Non lo 538a.
9. *Apocope of final o*.—segunt—segundo 256d, 417a.<sup>19</sup>
10. *Elision*.—ques—que es 139c; Fazer le—Fazer li [h]e 739d.
11. *Apheresis*.—spaçioso—espaçioso 436b.
12. *Syncope*.—bendicto—bene[d]ito (?) 76a, malditos—maleditos 217b.
13. *Word Order*.—Here the theory of permissible octosyllables is not applicable as it is impossible to retain the hemistich of eight syllables without accepting its companion of six. The one line in question is 150c *Non se sintió de ninguna cosa embargado*, in MS. I *cosa ninguna*. There are more similar cases in the other works of Berceo. Fitz-Gerald has allowed to stand in his critical edition *S. Dom.* 740d *Nol debia valer a cuita nul fiador*. This should read *Non li debie a coita valer nul fiador*. For order cf. *Milagros* 828c.

Adding to the 88 examples listed 23 more which are not corrected by manuscript I, we have for manuscript A 111 hemistichs of six syllables.

(A) *Hemistichs of Nine Syllables Peculiar to MS. A.*

Here follow seventeen hemistichs of nine syllables. They are subject to precisely the same classification as those of eight, except that several contain two kinds of irregularity. In other words, the scribe follows his system through regardless of length of line.

1. *Vocabulary*.—cada uno—quisque 82c, la Gloriosa—ella 102b; entendisti—tovist 230b; Don loco, mal auenturado—Don fol, malastrugado 340a; ende

<sup>19</sup> *S. Dom.* 581c (all MSS.) *segunt mj cu-idar* should read *segundo mj cuidar* as in *ib.* 459c, where *segunt* is the incorrect reading of E. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 162, 15.



estouo—i sovo 350c; E este—Dest (252a); Nol apretarán tanto tenazas de fierro mas fuerte (sic)—Nol premirién tenazas de fierro tan fuertmientre 242d.

2. *Wrong form of verb.*—naçido—nado (569a).

5. *Preposition added.*—a (*personal obj*) (146b).

6. *Conjunction.*—E este—Dest (252a).

7. *Word inserted.*—Era 610b, 875d; toda 666b.

8. *Apocope of e not observed.*—este—est (146b), (252a), (906b), Rogóle que le—Rogól quel 232c, este—Dest (252a); sofristi muerte—sofrist muert 453b; aparte—apart (563c); reciente—rezién (569a); fuerte mente—fuermient 907c.

11. *Aphesis.*—obispo—bispo (563c); obispado—bispado (906b).

These cases with three more (241b, 278b, 584c), in which MS. I shares the irregularity wholly or in part, make for MS. A a total of 20 hemistichs of nine syllables (*eneastílabos*).

(A) *Hemistichs of Five Syllables Peculiar to MS. A.*

7. *Dissyllabic word omitted.*—otras 132b; mui 484d; sofrir 596b.

(A) *Hemistichs of Ten Syllables Peculiar to MS. A.*

1, 8. *Vocabulary and Apocope.*—Assý fizieron los príncipes que le estauan enderredor—Sf f. l. p. quel sedién derredor 735d.

(B) *Hexasyllabic Hemistichs Peculiar to MS. I.*

1. *Vocabulary.*—él—el loco 81c; fer—fazer 150d, 547c; negada—denegada 181c; tardado—detardado 343b; Miguel—Migael 353b; grandes—granadas 486b; Quien—Qui en 569c; Plógol al obispo—Era el pueblo delli 578c; Con su—E en su 687b; tales—cabdales 808c; Dizién—Clamauan 896c; mal—mala 277d.

2. *Wrong form of verb.*—podrie—podría (*1st pers.*) 449c, 704b; avie—avía (*1st pers.*) 759a; vieron—ujdieron 879c; serie—sería (*1st pers.*) 450b; ver—veer 691d.

3. *Article dropped.*—el 131d, 257a; los 272b; -nas (=las) 588c.

4. *Object pronoun dropped.*—le 534c; te 733c; me 787d; lo 901d.

6. *Conjunction.*—128b, 847d.

7. *Emphatic or other word dropped.*—él 241d; non 291b; grant 378b, 569c; su 252b, 795b; tu 524a; ende 807b.

8. *Apocope.*—Primiól—primiólo 242b; nil—njin lo 286d; Prisol—priso li 356c; Plógol—plogo li 577c; est—este 616d; gent—gente 828d.

9. *Apocope of o.*—Quand—quando 439a.

10. *Elision.*—Desta—de esta 424d.

11. *Aphesis.*—bispo—obispo 711b.

12. *Syncope.*—bendicho—benedicho 485c; Endrezar—enderezar 288d.

13. *Word order.*—bon omne—omne bueno 283a; Quísolis don Cristo grant miraclo demostrar—Qjsolis grant mjráglo d. C. d. 441c.

Total, 50 hemistichs.

(B) *Octosyllabic Hemistichs Peculiar to MS. I.*

1. *Vocabulary.*—podrie (*1st pers.*), Sennora—podría, Madre 545c; E vido—Cuydó 684d; a un—el 758b; postremería—postremera 794c; enfermería—fermería 811d; Migael—Migel 317a.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> It is better, however, to read *Sant Migael de (la) Tumba*, cf. 433a.

2. *Wrong form of verb.*—sentía—sentí 488c; si non, serie—que sería (1st pers.) 450c.
  3. *Article added.*—la 102c, 224a, 234d, 504b, 768a, 852c, el 337a, 604c, 801c, un 285b.
  4. *Object pronoun added.*—lis 239c; se 595a.
  5. *Preposition added.*—de 326c; a 861b, 880c.
  6. *Conjunction.*—678c, 792d, 801c, 881a.
  7. *Emphatic word added.*—bien 96b; grant 741a.
  8. *A pocope.*—Acorrióli—Acorriól 88a; Viólo—Viól 243a; no lo—nol 489c; Quiquiere—quiquier 557c; Díssoli—Díxol 736a; Siquiere—siquier 817c.
  10. *Elided vowel supplied.*—ante el—antel 223a, 757b; Sobre el—sobrel 893c; poca de ora—poca ora 734a; de esto—desto 776c.
  12. *Syncopated vowel restored.*—miraculo 131b; Benedicha 458b.
  13. *Word order.*—misme çibdat (at cesura)—çidat mjsma 306a; see under *hexasyllables* for 441c; laudada seer (at cesura)—seer laudada 542d; No li querrá toller por fuerça lo que toviere—N. l. q. por fuerça quitar (toller) l. q. t. 868c.
- Total, 46 hemistichs.

(B) *Hemistichs of Nine Syllables Peculiar to MS. I.*

1. *Vocabulary.*—tan mala—tal 250c.
7. *Word added.*—toda 492d.

(B) *Hemistichs of Five Syllables Peculiar to MS. I.*

1. dictador—enterpretador 866b.

In the next three groups (C, D, E) there is no direct manuscript evidence against the irregularity, the authenticity of which must therefore stand or fall according to the evidence of parallel passages or to the relative conformity of the irregular lines with such laws of prosody as we can infer from the poet's usage. Our task is aided by the frequent repetitions in this class of verse.

Lang has set down<sup>21</sup> as authentic octosyllables in *Santo Domingo* eighty-three hemistichs that Fitz-Gerald had corrected in the introduction of his critical edition. In only one case, that of the syllabic value of *Maria* (57a), does he discuss the validity of these corrections. That cannot be done in detail here; however, it must be noted that twelve of these octosyllables contain *este* and four *obispo*. These are surely doubtful. Equally doubtful (as the work of the poet) are those hemistichs that are repeated in a perfect form elsewhere, e.g., *S. Dom.* 685b, *tollið se li de los oios* occurs as *t. s. l. de oios* in *S. Dom.* 725b, *Milag.* 63b, 489d; and compare *S. Dom.* 244b, *Tolliéronseme doios*. In this expression, as often,

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 591–592.—This list contains five hemistichs of nine syllables: 44c, *quando fue evangelistero*; 442c, *fuerte miente escarmentados*; 771b, *meti en nuestros coraçoñes*; 35d, 527b, *leuaronlo a la iglesia*; unless in these alone Professor Lang allows synalepha, in which case the last example is heptasyllabic.

the use or omission of the article follows the requirements of regular versification: cf. *S. Dom.* 624c, *Tuelle de los mis oios*, and *Milag.* 490c *de los oios toller*. Elsewhere<sup>22</sup> Lang tells us why such corrections are not permissible. Quoting *Apolonio* 5c, *ouo en este comedio* with other long hemistichs, he remarks (perhaps in view of *ibid.* 197a, *fue en este comedio*)<sup>23</sup> that "more than one of the cases in question may doubtless be reduced by correction or other critical devices, but the application of this procedure will in its turn reduce many heptasyllables to shorter forms." This, if applied to Berceo's lines, is to miss completely the poet's system of double prosodic values, a system not only governing his use of apocope, elision, dieresis, etc., but of much wider application. It extends to the choice of vocabulary and to what one might call padding. May I give a few common examples without references?

*Fer—fazer, omne—el omne, bon omne—omne bono, Cristo—don Cristo—Jesu Cristo—nuestro sennor don Cristo* (*S. Dom.* 31a), *Oria—don Oria*, at cesura *Sancto Sp̄ritu—Sp̄ritu Sancto, maguer—maguer que, tal—atal, el—elli, desguisado—desaguisado, gradir—gradescer, ofrir—ofreçer*, etc.

Here are a few passages that reveal in short compass this principle of double values. The list might be extended. It must be conceded that the poet missed excellent opportunities to "vary the monotony of his lines."

Que tolliese *dest omne este* tan grant dolor, *S. Dom.* 409c.  
 Perdieron *tod* esfuerzo e *todo* so sentido, *S. Mill.* 451c.  
*Ende* salió el démon, mas fue *ent* mal repiso, *S. Dom.* 62d.  
*Siquiera* a la madre, *siquier* a las sorores, *S. Oria* 146b.  
 Esto *cómo* cuntiera, *com* non eran çerteios, *Milag.* 104b.  
*Diste* conseio malo, *matest* al mi romero, *ibid.*, 202d.  
 Non cates *al mi* mérito, mas cata *tu* bondat, *ibid.*, 903d.  
 Vistié *a los* desnudos, apacié *los* famnientos, *ibid.*, 708a.  
 Tantas son *sus* merçedes, tantas *sus* caridades,  
 Tantas *las sus* virtudes, tantas *las sus* vondades, *ibid.*, 614ab.

Staaff's treatise reveals the principle at work in the poet's use of pronouns. The syllabic and non-syllabic forms are used with few exceptions in conformity to regular verse. This enables Staaff to make in the *Milagros* fifteen corrections that have been substantiated by new manuscript evidence from A. In thirteen cases the new manuscript brings no new evidence and in only five has Staaff gone astray.<sup>24</sup>

Sometimes there is more than enough evidence to disprove an irregularity but not enough to restore the original reading. In view of *S. Dom.*

<sup>22</sup> "Contributions to the Restoration of the Poema del Cid," *Rev. Hisp.* LXVI (1926), 14.

<sup>23</sup> Against *S. Dom.* 80d, *ouo en este comedio* are *S. Mill.* 144a, *demás en est c.*, *ibid.* 395a, *Didlis en est c.*, *Milag.* 161c, *Cuntiol en est c.*

<sup>24</sup> 181c, 202a, 233c, 242b, 695a.

250b, *meterlo a la pella*, Hanssen corrected *Milag.* 256c to read *que traen a [la] pella*, which seems probable, even considering 86a *la traen com a pella*. Fortunately MS. A, *como a pella*, decides the case. Marden, who allowed synalepha of like vowels between hemistichs in the *Poema de Fernán González*,<sup>25</sup> might have accepted as regular *Milag.* 337a, *Yendo por la carrera a complir el so depuerto*. Hanssen omits *a* as Berceo frequently does between *ir* and the infinitive. MS. A again decides by reading *complir su*. Selecting for correction the most difficult passages of the *Milagros*, Hanssen fails in eight,<sup>26</sup> succeeds in fourteen, and in fourteen more A adds no new evidence.

In the cases that follow the attempt has been made to gather the evidence rather than to offer definitive corrections. In most cases, however, the evidence is quite sufficient to discredit the irregularity. The reader will see by weighing individual cases that the concurrence of two manuscripts does not necessarily establish a reading. In the list below credit is given to Hanssen and Staaff by the letters H and S.

(C) *Hemistichs Octosyllabic in Both MSS.*<sup>27</sup>

- 83c Buscando sus(o) et iuso H.
- 91a Esripto es que (el) omne, cf. 3b, 5b.
- 105c (A)pareciól a un clérigo HS, cf. Loor. 125c.
- 130b Ben(e)dicha sea ella
- 138a Quand(o) ovo la Gloriosa, cf. S. Mill. 79b, 156a.
- 151a End(e) al día terzero
- 185a Quand(o) a essir obieron, or (a).
- 228b Apareciól al (o)bispo S, cf. 221a.
- 231c hasta (e)l trenteno día, cf. 575c, S. Dom. 514d.
- 262d Beati immaculati, *Berceo's Latin phrases sometimes show metrical anomalies*, cf. 221c, S. Laur. 46d.
- 277c (La) boca por que essié, or esse H.
- 325d io al (o)bispo don Tello.
- 335b Moviól(o) la ley del siglo S.
- 339d Com(o) qui sannosamientre S, cf. 777d, 210c.
- 351b Por qui fizo est(e) omne
- 378d En buscarli muert(e) mala, cf. 453b, 447a, 487c, 823c.
- 385b com(o) el de San Marzal, cf. 852b, S. Dom. 228c.
- 387b ant(e) fuera a prender, cf. S. Mill. 69b.
- 400c (la) eglesia quebrantar, cf. 410d.
- 401a quand(o) fueron maestrados.

<sup>25</sup> *Poema de Fernán González, Texto Crítico por C. C. Marden*, Baltimore, 1904. Synalepha between hemistichs: 26d, 43c, 68a, 164b, 233b, 242b, 281a, 241d, 360a, 410c, 424a, 471b, 535b, 558a, 558d, 578c, 623c, 650c, 667d, 740a.

<sup>26</sup> 233c, 250c, 256c, 337a, 378b, 571a, 741a, 801c.

<sup>27</sup> 584c is of nine syllables in MS. A, 797d is nondescript in MS. I.

- 452d Podriélo en (la) eglesia, *cf.* a eglesia 102cA  
 560b Fo poia l(a) abadessa H.  
 551d Io a Dios me (a)comiendo, *cf.* 671a  
 562d echadas dest(i) logar  
 571a Touose en la duenna el (o)bispo por errado.  
 574c Quand(o) quiso despedirse.  
 575d Desend(e) él pensarié.  
 584c Tan grand es cias com(o) eri, *cf.* S. Mill. 464b, 260d.  
 584d en calient(e) e en frío, *cf.* 473a, *or* (en).  
 595d Enfogós(e) en la agua S.  
 (675b Con grafios, con guizquios, A *reads* ezquinos, *perhaps* \*guizquinos  
*based on* guizque.)  
 680a Reptával(o) la aliama S.  
 597d a Dios e (a) la Gloriosa, *cf.* 159c.  
 743c Pero Dios se lo quiso, no por poder del peccado, "no entiendo la  
 frase" H.  
 793c Predicó (el) Evangelio, *cf.* Sacr. 51c, Loor. 177a, S. Mill. 157c.  
 797d No lo podrie (*1st pers.*) traer, A podría, *read* nol podría.  
 845b Este non iaz(e) en dubda, *cf.* 31b.  
 848b que en (la) eglesia era, *or* (e)glesia.  
 869b sennor d(e) Estremadura.  
 881b Ca en cosas de (e)glesia, *or* d(e) eglesia  
 886c marido de Teodora. *I have nothing to offer.*  
 889b Entraron en la (e)glesia, *cf.* 876b.  
 905a Por del (o)bispo de Avila.  
 Total, 42 cases.

(C) *Hemistichs Hexasyllabic in Both MSS.*<sup>28</sup>

- 181b [E] es plena de gracia, *or* Plena de gracia es, *cf.* 792a.  
 221c Salve Sancta Parena, *cf. note on* 262d.  
 256c que traíen [com] a pella, *cf.* 86a.  
 260b Quitósse de la alma [la] que tenié ligada, H tenía (3 syl.), *Menéndez*  
*Pidal* tenie (3 syl.), *cf.* 865bA, 276c, 335a, Sacr. 209b, 262d.<sup>29</sup>  
 315a Dios [el] nuestro sennor S, *cf.* 244a, 257aA, 842d.  
 355a Venié [hy] un iudezno, *cf.* S. Mill. 218a, S. Dom. 295a.  
 355d Avién con el[li] todos, *cf.* 371d.  
 357b el ninno iudezno, *read* ninnuelo 363a.  
 378b avian mal querencia, A avjan grant mala q., *read* a. g. mal querencia,  
*cf.* 573c, 821d, Juan Ruiz 417d.  
 393d Sin ti d[e] esta fiebre, *cf.* 424dA.  
 434d De San Miguel era, *read* Migael.  
 445c E por Sant Miguel, *read* Migael.  
 445d Es esti miraclo bien que lo escrivamos, A Esti tal miraglo bien es  
 que, *read* Esti miraclo es bien que.

<sup>28</sup> In A the following are of eight syllables: 256c, 378b, 896a.<sup>29</sup> F. Hanssen, *Gramática Histórica* (Halle, 1913), §234.

- 454d El miraclo vieio, *read* Esti m., *cf.* 907c, 735a, var.  
 458c Tu seas ben[e]dicho.  
 459c dar en est[i] conviento.  
 460d Bien te lo cuidaba, *read* cuidaría.  
 738a a tos pie[de]s caer, *cf.* 386b, 756c, 764a.  
 798c Quequier[e] que tú mandes.  
 832b Prender pan ben[ed]lito.  
 842d Dios [el] nuestro sennor  
 851b E era grant mérito, A Era de g. m., *read* E era de g. m.  
 868a *Read* Bien creo que qui esti miraclo [bien] oiere, *or* Bien creo est(i) miraclo que el que lo oiere, but(?).  
 896a End a pocos días, A Ende a p. de d., *read* Ende a. p. d.  
 907c El miraclo nuevo, *read* esti m. n., *cf.* 735a var.  
 Total, 25 cases.

(C) *Hemistichs of Nine Syllables*

- 184b Al apostol(o) d(e) Espanna, A apostol.  
 241b Fo a los purgatorios do merecié (seer) levado H.  
 278b A cogieronse de y ayna, I cojieron ssada hina, *read most naturally* cogieronse d'ahina, *but I have not found "de ahina" elsewhere, cf.* "de prisa."  
 560a onde estava asentado, A posado, *read* ond e. p.

(D) *Irregular Hemistichs in those parts of MS. I that have been lost from A.*  
*Octosyllables*

- 36b pora darnos (la) entrada—por(a) H.  
 53c que par(i)rie a Messia S—(a) H.  
 117d estava con (grand) querella H, *or* sedié.  
 155a los manzebos (más) livianos H.  
 157b (Ca) ellos non querién ir H.  
 158b Fue en buenos e (en) malos, *cf.* 159c.  
 200a Recudiól(i) un diablo S.  
 370d Methieron est(i) miraclo.  
 373a facién(li) mala ofrenda (?).  
 473a Entrant(e) de la iglesia, *cf.* 352d, 416a.  
 513d Ca sabia que otro día seria porfazada, Ca sabia otro día que seria porfazada H.  
 629d Quando xx. quando xxx., *read perhaps* veynt S. Dom. 457c, S. Mill. 124a.  
 627a Demandól có(m)o andava S.  
 649a Levól(o) a la eglesia.  
 (668a Sennor, quand(o) [al] non puedo.)  
 (724a Cuidávanse los omnes que con seso quebrava, *perhaps* Cuidávanse los omnes con seso que obrava.)

Total, 14 cases.

*Hexasyllables*

- 23d ruela noch[e] e día.

- 32a La ben[e]dicha Virgen.  
 56a Tiempo de qual[a]esma, *or* la q., *or* El tiempo.  
 112a Yssiéli por [la] boca S.  
 116a D[e] un clérigo otro, *cf.* 431a  
 121c El ve[c]r, el oír.  
 156a Díssol[i] Jesu Cristo S.  
 192d Que [la] tu carne misma, *or* meisma, *cf.* S. Dom. 227b, 78aE, Milag. 694b.  
 201d Iago, se[e]r villano.  
 364d De [a]tan fiera queja, *cf.* S. Mill. 66ab.  
 365c estorció bien [e] gent, *cf.* 402d.  
 506d Vivién segund[o] regla, *cf.* S. Mill. 462b.  
 512a Entendió el [o]bispo.  
 513d *See above, octosyllables.*

Total, 14 cases.

*Of Nine, Twelve, and Five Syllables*

- 516b Non avia alguna escusa (?).  
 520a Tú acorrist(i, Sennora, a) Theóphilo que era des(es)peñado II.  
 62d de [la] Na[ti]vidat, Lanchetas, Solalinde.

(E) *Passages in which MS. I does not follow the quarto codex.*

*Octosyllables*

- 144d contra (la) su magestat H.  
 515b La que fue para el mundo, *read* poral.  
 518a diz(e)lo la Escripura.  
 254b tan dulz(e) e tan cumplido.  
 524d Ca veo que m(e) segudan S, *cf.* 354c.  
 526b Fuent(e) de misericordia, *cf.* 35a, 126d, 867c.  
 527d Que tod(o) el mundo fable, *cf.* 543d.  
 528d f(aç)er edificación.

Leaving aside all corrections, what do we find is the condition of the manuscripts as regards irregularity? In manuscript A there are 709 quatrains (*coplas*) of the *Milagros*, one of them (866) of five verses. We then obtain from the above data these totals: of seven syllables, 5172 hemistichs; of eight, 367; of six, 111; of nine, 20; of five, 3; and of ten, 1. The total irregularity is therefore 8.84 per cent.

Our scribe's treatment of *Santo Domingo* is much the same. An examination of the irregular (therefore rejected) readings of manuscript E in Fitz-Gerald's edition gives the following results: of eight syllables, 259 hemistichs, of six, 78; of nine, 22; of five, 4. To these totals should be added those irregularities that the editor has incorporated into his text and corrected in the introduction:<sup>30</sup> 81 octosyllables, 12 hexasyllables,

<sup>30</sup> The same list in *Versification*, pp. 43-45, and (except sixes) in Lang's list. Cf. note 21.

and 5 of nine syllables. To this must be added a certain number of readings in the edition which cannot be maintained as correct in view of our growing knowledge of Berceo's prosody, viz., 20 octosyllables,<sup>31</sup> 21 hexasyllables,<sup>32</sup> 14 of which secure a regular length by reading the imperfect ending *ia* as dissyllabic, and one of nine syllables (57a). Resulting totals: 8, 360; 6, 111; 9, 28; 5, 4. *Santo Domingo* has 777 quatrains (two of them of five verses each). In manuscript E there are then 5717 regular hemistichs and an irregularity of 8.08 per cent.

In each case the different lengths of hemistich arrange themselves in descending frequency on this scale: 7,<sup>8,9,10</sup>. And this holds for MS. A of the *Milagros* likewise if we count only those irregular hemistichs for which a regular variant is found in I. The formula discovered by Menéndez Pidal for the *Cid* by counting only hemistichs of sure measure is 7,<sup>8,9,10</sup>, and for whole verses, 14,<sup>15,16,17,18</sup>. That for the *Roncesvalles*, by counting only verses with no conflicting vowels, is the same as we have obtained except that lengths of 4 and 13 syllables end the scale.<sup>33</sup> The formula also holds for the *Roncesvalles* as far as the fourth figure by including all hemistichs (except, of course, the destroyed 3b and 4b), counting syllables by hiatus, and giving either Old Spanish value to *myt*, *vio*, *mio*, *oy*, *ay*, *fui*, imperfect *-ia*, and *orient*. The total irregularity in the *Roncesvalles* is of course much greater, being over half.<sup>34</sup>

The figures for *La Vida de Santa Oria* are 7, 1536; 8, 79; 6, 19; 5, 3; 9, 2; 12, 1; irregularity 6.34 per cent. The scale remains the same for the first three lengths.

Turning to MS. I we find the same scale but a much smaller proportion of irregularity. There are 892 *coplas*, one (866) of five verses. Distribution: 7, 6940; 8, 100; 6, 89; 9, 6; 5, 2; 12, 1; irregularity 2.77 per cent.

That this regular departure from the standard heptasyllable is a function of scribal transmission rather than a product of poetic design may be induced from the data for *El Sacrificio de la Misa*, part of which we possess in a manuscript of the early fourteenth century (verses 1-250c), and for the rest (250c-297) we have only the Ibarreta copy which seems

<sup>31</sup> As follows, 69a, 73a, 73b, 83d, 201c, 204d, 206a, 217b, 219d, 245d, 443c, 511c, 683c, 685c, 714d, 740d, 762b, 765c.

<sup>32</sup> As follows, 82b, 304b, 553c, 581c, 702a, 703d; with *-ia*, 7a, 15c, 21b, 61c, 120d, 173a, 182d, 229c, 337c, 369d, 403a, 642b, 748a, 751d. In view of the readings of the new manuscripts it has become harder than before to claim any values for the imperfect tense (in *-er* and *-ir* verbs) in Berceo but *-ia* (2 syl.), *-iēs*, *-iē* (*-ia*, 2 syl., used only in rime), *-iemos*, *-iedes*, *-iēn*, in which the combination *ie* is always monosyllabic. The evidence also points to the total exclusion of monosyllabic *-ia*.

<sup>33</sup> *Rev. de Fil. Esp.*, iv, 126-127.

<sup>34</sup> Some of the irregularities of the *Roncesvalles* are very questionable. E.g., 26b *con grant dolor que avjée*, in an *a-e* assonance, had better be heptasyllabic and read *ave* (=ha), historical present as in 11b, 14a, 30b, 86b, 100b.



in this part to be based on a lost portion of the folio. The latter shows the same order of lengths and nearly the same proportion of irregularity as we have found for the different portions of the folio; 7, 338; 8, 27; 6, 7; 9, 5; 10, 1; irregularity 10.57 per cent. But the copyist of the first part shows a very definite tendency to contraction (especially apocope) as the sixes prevail over the eights; 7, 1880; 6, 77; 8, 39; 5, 1; 9, 1; irregularity 5.91 per cent.

Manuscripts A and I have 690 quatrains in common (5520+2 hemistichs). In group C above there are 53 irregularities in which the manuscripts concur, that is, less than 1 per cent of the whole of this rather lengthy portion of the poet's work. Aside from Berceo, Henríquez Urcía states, every fourth Alexandrine [verse?] in early Spanish poetry has an irregularity.<sup>35</sup> Lang believes that in the *Alixandre* about one-fourth of the hemistichs preserved in manuscripts O and P are octosyllables.<sup>36</sup> In the year 1916 Marden states of the *Apolonio* that "at least twenty-five per cent of his verses are metrically incorrect" and in 1922, "about twenty per cent of the hemistichs of the manuscript are irregular."<sup>37</sup>

#### WORD ORDER

There are in Berceo's works many correct verses which show that the poet has departed widely from the normal prose word order for the purpose of bringing the cesura into the middle of the line. That is, he has at times clearly avoided hemistichs of more or less than the standard measure. These are doubly convincing, for considering the manifest scribal disregard for meter the tendency would be to restore the prose order. In the following examples the cesura is marked, the transposed member is underlined> and the irregular lengths of hemistich avoided are indicated.

Milag. 21c	Ca los evangelistas: <i>quatro</i> que los dictavan (9+5).
S. Dom. 358d	Temién que <i>a fincar</i> : avrié en la prisión (9+5).
S. Dom. 391b	Fízose a la casa: <i>traer</i> del confessor (9+5, <i>or</i> 6+9).
Milag. 812b	Los tus gémitos <i>grandes</i> : las tus afflicciones (6+7).
Loores 5b	Ca por <i>Spiritu</i> Sancto: tu virtut entendieron (6+7).
Duelo 114d	Mas non quiso castigo: <i>prender</i> la iudería (7+8).
Milag. 554d	No li puede en cabo: <i>prestar</i> nulla guarida (7+8).
S. Oria 167b	Çerca anda del cabo: <i>Oria</i> de la carrera (6+8).

A larger group is formed by first hemistichs in which the normal order of words would result in an octosyllabic half-line ending with an accented syllable (*hemistiquio agudo*): e.g., S. Dom. 593b *allá que lo levassen* (7 syl.) instead of prose order *que lo levassen allá* (8 syl.). Granted the free-

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>36</sup> *Rev Hisp.*, LXVI (1926), 14.

<sup>37</sup> C. C. Marden, *Libro de Apolonio* (Baltimore, 1917, and Princeton, 1922), Pt. I, p. xiv, Pt. II, p. 32.

dom of introducing the octosyllable, these cases would point to an aversion to using the masculine verse-ending at the cesura. No such aversion is apparent. There are in the 911 coplas of the *Milagros* 969 masculine rime words, 26.5 per cent of the whole. Masculine endings for the first hemistich are 241 in number, almost exactly one-fourth of the rimes of this type. It seems that, either hemistich being allowed to end at random, one "acute" rime word induced three more. Each of the examples to follow is furnished with a companion in which the transposed member figures at the end of a regular hemistich thus showing its capacity to carry the rhythmic stress of a heptasyllable.

S. Dom.	250d	Porque <i>del sol</i> tan cerca: sedí esta estiella
S. Dom.	234c	Mas lucí que <i>el sol</i> : tant era de lumnosa
Milag.	136b	Ésta <i>es</i> en que somos: la cabeça iornada
Milag.	537d	Como muger que <i>es</i> : de tal cosa librada
S. Oria	89a	Dexemos <i>lo al</i> todo: a la siella tornemos
Loores	74d	Sobre todo <i>lo al</i> : en cruz quiso morir
Milag.	261d	<i>Del mal</i> si non te guardas: caerás en peor
Loores	177c	De partirme <i>del mal</i> : nunca non ovi cura
Milag.	689c	Aún si de <i>non</i> dices: ferté mayor mercado
Milag.	224d	Si dissiese que <i>non</i> : dizría falsedat
Sacrif.	245c	Quando <i>en cruz</i> fue puesta: la persona honesta
Sacrif.	94d	Al que morió <i>en cruz</i> : por el nuestro pecado
Milag.	757c	<i>De mí</i> hablarán todos: mesquino pecador
Duelo	30b	Más se dolió <i>de mí</i> : que non de su laçerio
S. Dom.	476b	Padre, yo <i>a ti</i> vengo: por salut demandar
Milag.	729b	Por esso vin <i>a ti</i> : por seguir tu mandado
S. Dom.	195b	Mártir <i>de Dios</i> amado: oye mi oración
Sacrif.	238b	Se non fuessen <i>de Dios</i> : de corazón amados
Milag.	452b	Rendieron <i>a Dios</i> graçias: e a Sancta María
Milag.	214a	Rendió graçias <i>a Dios</i> : e a Sancta María

The data presented throughout the study support the following conclusions in regard to Berceo's verse: (1) obligatory hiatus with no exceptions; (2) complete regularity of composition with no possibility of separating one type of manuscript irregularity (octosyllables) from the others as to nature or origin; and (3) irregularity in conformity with the ametric formula may on occasion be the product of scribal transmission.

H. H. ARNOLD

HONORÉ BONET: A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY  
CRITIC OF CHIVALRY

BY the end of the fourteenth century the institution of chivalry seemed more brilliant than ever before. It had covered itself with glory during the long years of the struggle between France and England, numbering among its heroes such exemplars of knighthood as the Black Prince and King John of France, Sir John Chandos and Bertrand du Guesclin. During the lull that occurred in the last years of the century, monarchs and princes, freed from the galling restrictions of war, vied with one another in the great mediæval pageant, the tournament; court life under the youthful Charles VI in extravagant reaction to the bourgeois régime of Charles *le Sage*, was once more aristocratic and magnificent, knights rode gaily forth on expeditions against the infidels or wandered off to foreign lands to join in jousts and tourneys.

Though chivalric splendor had never been more hollow, more engrossed with outward pomp to the exclusion of all nobler duties, contemporaries were still dazzled and admiring. Thus it is interesting to note some criticisms and denunciations of chivalry coming from a keen observer of events in the last quarter of this century, a writer whose literary merits are small, but whose perspicacity does him honor. The name of Honoré Bonet is known only to specialists in the literature of the fourteenth century, although students of jurisprudence recognize him as one of the first writers on international law. In his two works in French, *L'Arbre des Batailles* and *L'Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, mingled with many discussions of the laws of war and the tribulations of the church during the Great Schism, are to be found some of the clearest evidences we have of chivalric decadence, a keen probing of faults allied with proposals for reform, which, as we know from history, went unheeded.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Born in Provence between the years 1340 and 1347, Honoré Bonet became a monk in the Benedictine order. He studied at the university in Avignon for several years, and we find him mentioned in 1382 as the prior of Salon. Three years later he became associated with the rulers of Provence, whom he served successfully in diplomatic negotiations. His first work, *L'Arbre des Batailles*, was perhaps composed soon after he received his degree as Doctor of Decretals, in 1386. The work was dedicated to Charles VI, who repaid Bonet with a pension and an appointment of trust. From this time on he was closely linked with the royal court and after 1393 took up his residence at Paris. In 1394 he wrote his *Somnium super materia scismatis*, a work of conciliation, attempting to unite Christendom without recourse to armed intervention. His last work, *L'Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, appeared in 1398. The last known mention of Bonet is in the year 1405, but the date of his death is unknown. His was not a life of great achievements nor did he have any marked

*L'Arbre des Batailles* is usually considered Bonet's most important work. It gave him a great reputation for learning and probity among his contemporaries, and is perhaps the first work on international law, according to the Belgian jurist, Ernest Nys.<sup>2</sup> It was not intended as a work for the jurists but rather as a popular treatise for the use of heralds, princes, and especially knights engaged in war. The first and second parts giving the author's interpretation of history in the light of St. John's Apocalyptic vision of the seven angels, and a summary view of Roman history based on Orosius, contain several references to the Great Schism and the rival popes, but it is only in the third and fourth parts, which constitute three-quarters of the book, that we find discussion of battles and contemporary customs, with the author's incidental remarks on chivalry.

Bonet approaches the whole subject of the chivalric code of conduct and the laws of war from a practical viewpoint. He spends no time on chivalric metaphysics, in which the knight's prowess is derived from the love and worship of his lady. His book is a working manual for the knight, whom Bonet considers a soldier almost in the Roman tradition, although most mediæval knights were anything but that. He refuses to consider chivalric gallantry and the point of honor, seeking instead a sober and reasonable basis for his decisions. The success of the work proves in striking fashion how chivalry had changed, judging from its readiness to accept an eminently practicable code without insisting on the exaggerated standard that we find in such a work as the *Cent Ballades*, still in the literary tradition.<sup>3</sup> Much of this was probably due to the changes in the chivalric method of warfare which were introduced by Du Guesclin. The latter was a realist in war, though in no way inferior to his contemporaries in generosity and courtesy, with the result that the French once again felt the taste of victory. His death, and the accession of Charles VI, marked the return to the former system of heroic defeats, which found its climax in Agincourt.<sup>4</sup>

Bonet's classification of brave knights is realistic, almost cynical: the love of ladies as an incentive to bravery does not fall within his category; there is instead a list of prosaic motives not to be found in the customary treatises on chivalry. First of all, a knight will be "bien hardy" because he desires to win the glory of this world and have renown. Then follows

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influence on his time, yet it is easy to recognize in his works an honest and independent thinker. Cf. Ivor Arnold, *L'Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, Publ. de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Honoré Bonet, *L'Arbre des Batailles*, ed. Ernest Nys (Bruxelles-Paris, 1883), p. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Cent Ballades*, Soc. des Anciens Textes Français, 1905.

<sup>4</sup> C. Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages* (London, 1924), II, 198-199.

this statement: "Ung aultre chevalier sera hardy par paour de perdre l'honneur et le profit de son seigneur et pour paour d'estre prins s'il estoit couart." Some knights are bold because they have good armor, others because of proved weapons or long practice. A fine steed makes some knights brave (whether because of better chances of escape we do not know). There are those who work themselves up into a rage and become almost mad, while others are brave through plain ignorance, having no conception of true courage, "mais font ainsi qu'ils voient faire aux aultres plus avancez." Last in the list, but far from least: "Et si en a d'aultres qui sont hardis par convoitise de gaingner les richesses et non mie pour aultre chose."<sup>5</sup> Chivalry had already made itself famous by this phase of its activity.

What are some of the duties of these brave knights? Bonet solemnly considers whether it is the duty of a knight to attack or wait on the defense. There is no concern for the size and location of the enemy, tactics of battle are not in question, only the matter of bravery: "c'est clere chose et notoire que plus est loé ung baceler pour bien assaillir que pour bien attendre."<sup>6</sup> But Bonet invokes Aristotle to the contrary and decides that it is really "plus vertueuse" to wait on the defense: "car elle est de plus grande deliberation et plus froidement voit les perils de mort que ne fait celui qui assault, lequel en son courage a déjà prins ire par laquelle il ne peut coignoistre les perils où il se boute." However absurd such discussion might seem, French knighthood had consistently shown its belief in reckless, headlong assault, with dire results. Charles V and Du Guesclin, by daring to be unchivalric, forced their followers to wait until attacked, in order not to lose the advantage of numbers because of impetuosity. It seems as if Bonet had recognized the merits of the system and wished to give it his approval.

He next declares that it is the duty of a man to die for his lord rather than to abandon him in battle, even if he is only hired to fight. By the emphasis which he puts on this point Bonet seems to have realized what a world of difference lay between his view and the real events: in the battle of Poitiers whole battalions left the field in flight, with no intention of dying for their lord the king, present in person at the battle. A knight should be obedient to his commander:

Ung chevalier doit estre obedient à celui qui pour son seigneur est ordonné gouverneur de l'ost et si à lui n'est obedient il n'est mie bon chevalier mais est orgueilleux et outrageux.<sup>7</sup>

Infractions of discipline should be punished:

Après doit perdre le chief celui qui se part de la bataille contre le commandement

<sup>5</sup> *Arbre des Batailles*, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

de son seigneur siccome sont aucuns qui veulent faire hors de la bataille coups de lance ung pour ung. Pour soy moustrer bien hardy si laissent leur bataille et mal font . . .<sup>8</sup>

The same penalty is due the knight who stirs up dissension or quarrels in the army, which frequently happens in time of war, according to Bonet. In all these discussions may be seen his desire for more discipline, more order; he realized that there was such a thing as duty to the army as a whole, quite incompatible with the ordinary knight's thirst for self-display and individual valor.

In Bonet's opinion, the knights' neglect of their duties may be linked with the rapid growth of trickery and falsehood, which are destroying all feelings of trust and confidence. Safe conducts have become as subtle as legal documents, and have to be phrased in exactly the right way, or the person is liable to be held prisoner, "car trop plus leur plaist de trouver faulte en ung ou plusieurs saulfsconduits que de y trouver plaine assurance."<sup>9</sup>

The period of fair and open dealing seems to be passing:

par especial au temps de maintenant auquel nous voions tant de barat et tant de subtilitez trouver pour decepvoir et tromper l'ung l'autre. Aussi les gens ne ont aujourd'huy honte ne vergongne de mentir ne rompre leur foy. Et si est venu le monde en tel estat car ce que les droitz apellent traison on le nomme presentement subtilité et cautele, dont la foy viendra à neant, car l'ung n' aura quelque fiance en l'autre.<sup>10</sup>

The author is particularly indignant over the question of ransom. He pleads first of all for ordinary mercy and courtesy between Christians. If the captor will not allow his prisoner to go free, let him ask a reasonable ransom, one that the prisoner can pay well within his means, and not disinherit his wife and his children, his relatives and friends.

Et s'il fait aultrement il n'est pas gentil homme ainçois est tirant et non courtois. Mais nostre seigneur Dieu voit très bien comment les gens d'armes font le contraire; car sans pitié ne miséricorde ils prennent et font payer aux prisonniers grandes et excessives finances et raenchons et par especial aux povres gaigneurs qui labourent les terres et les vignes lesquels après Dieu donnent à vivre de leur labeur à tout le monde. Et en vérité j'ay grande douleur au cuer de voir et ouyr le grant martire que ils font sans pitié ne merchy aux povres labourers et aultres gens qui ne savent ne mal dire ne mal penser. . . . Et nul d'eux n'en a cure.<sup>11</sup>

Bonet is one of the first to argue for the rights of non-combatants, bitterly denouncing the inconsistency between chivalric ideals and con-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

temporary reality. Why, he asks, if France makes war on England, should the poor peasants and shepherds be molested? They take no active part any more than priests or hermits. According to the standard of honor of the age, what fame can one have in killing or imprisoning someone who never wore armor, who did not even know how to put on a coat of mail or close the visor of a helmet?

Que je voulsisse jugier que ce fust honneur ou vaillance de feir ung tel povre homme et innocent qui ne scet fors mengier du pain sec aupres de ses brebis par les champs et par les hayes et buissons, je ne pourroie faire par nulle raison.<sup>12</sup>

He denounces chivalry for its part in such sordid affairs and marks its decadence. Although the tilling of the soil is by its very nature a reason for immunity,

Dieu scet très bien comment les gens d'armes le gardent aujourd'huy et par ma foy, c'est moult mal fait. . . . A Dieu plaise de mettre es cuers des rois de ordonner comment en toutes guerres les povres laboureurs soient seurement et tenus paisibles, car aujourd'huy toutes les guerres sont contre les povres gens laboureurs, contre les biens et meubles qu'ils ont. Pourquoi je ne l'appelle pas guerre mais très bien me semble estre pilleries et roberie. Aussi ce n'est pas la manière de guerroyer selon l'ordonnance de deue chevalerie ne de l'ancienne coustume des nobles batailleurs lesquels soustenoient justice, dames veves, enfans orphelins et povres gens. Et aujourd'huy partout ils font le contraire. Et qui ne scet partout bouter les feus, rober les eglises, occuper leur droit et emprisonner les prestres, il n'est pas souffisant pour mener guerre. Et pour ce les chevaliers de maintenant n'ont pas la gloire et le los des anciens bachelers jadis regnans ne ja leur faits ne devoient venir à grant perfection de vertu.<sup>13</sup>

It is notable that many of the mediæval clergy had a much truer sympathy and regard for the sufferings of the oppressed peasants than their more cultured successors in the Renaissance and seventeenth century.

In the last pages of the work, the author explains the delinquencies of contemporary knighthood as due to its changed way of living. Not only the virtues of the knights of old had disappeared but their splendid physique as well. In Bonet's opinion, the perfect knight should not be nourished too delicately,

car ainsi il ne vault guaires à la guerre por laquelle nous disons que la chevalerie du jourd'huy n'est mie de la proues se qu'elle fut du temps passé, car selon les loix anciennes les chevaliers mangoient feves et lard de porc et viandes grosses. Ils gesoient dur et portoient le harnois le plus du temps. Aussi ils demouroient au dehors des citez et goustoient l'air de la champaigne. . . . Si ne disputoient pas de coustume des vins lequel estoit le meilleur, ainçois beuvoient de l'eau clere pource que toute paine et travail sceussent endurer.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

This is not sermonizing on the part of Bonet: the whole temper of chivalry had changed, the knights were losing their warlike skill and letting mercenaries do more and more of the actual fighting. The weakness of chivalry is brought out clearly in his other work.

*L'Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun* was written in 1398, while the discussion of the crushing defeat suffered by the Christians at Nicopolis<sup>15</sup> was still rife. Bonet at this time was in Paris, living at the *maison de la Tournelle*, the former residence of Jean de Meun, which the latter had bequeathed to the Dominican Order. This certainly must have prompted the idea of Bonet's work, which was to have the great critic and satirist of a former age appear to encourage the discussion of later faults. Sheltering himself, then, under the fame and popularity of Jean de Meun, Bonet begins his satire, making use of one of the trite mediæval forms, the dream, as a basis for his work, which is composed of a quantity of distinctly mediocre verses with a few passages of excellent prose.

The scene is laid in the *maison de la Tournelle* mentioned above; Bonet has just retired to the garden after dining and has fallen asleep. In a dream there appears to him "un grant clerc bien fourré de menu ver," Master Jean de Meun, who reproaches the author for not having protested against the evils which are destroying France and Christendom itself. After a feeble attempt at defense, Bonet is startled by the appearance of four new figures. One is a doctor, another a Jew, the third a Saracen, and the last a Jacobin. Called upon by Jean de Meun to explain their presence, the doctor and the Jew defend their positions at length. Then the Saracen, the most important of the four, takes up the discussion. He has been sent by the Sultan to study the Christian nations, their governments and their methods of warfare, and especially the customs of the French, "Car les François sont entre nous, Sus tous crestiens nommés plus prou, plus fiers, en armes plus vaillants."<sup>16</sup> Jean de Meun begs the Saracen to tell what he has learned about French customs, whereupon the Saracen begins his story, telling of his trip from the Orient and his arrival at Rome.

There the Saracen learns of the Great Schism. This discord among Christians amazes him, and gives him encouragement as well, for the Mohammedans, united in their faith, have no such weakness. However,

<sup>15</sup> The battle of Nicopolis (1396), between the Burgundians and their Hungarian allies on the one side, and the troops of the Sultan Bajazet on the other, was a great disaster for the Christians. It demonstrated the improved military skill of the Turks, and made the name of the Janissaries known to western Europe.

<sup>16</sup> *L'Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun*, Publ. de l'Université de Strasbourg (1926), vv. 315 ff.



the Saracens never really fear these Christian knights, "Entre nous estes pou doubtez," and this is why:

Vous estes gent, car apris l'ay,  
 Qui vivés dilicieusement;  
 Se vous n'avez pain de froment,  
 Char de mouton, beuf et pourcel,  
 Perdriz, poucins, chappons, chevrel,  
 Canars, faysans, et connins gras,  
 Et que demain ne faillist pas  
 Habondance plus qu'aujourd'huy  
 Vous estes venus a l'annuy;  
 Et se vo lit mol blanc n'avez  
 Pour une nuyt, estes foulez;  
 Chemise blanche sur le corps,  
 Ou autrement vous estes mors,  
 Et se bon vins n'avez en teste  
 Pour non riens est toute la feste  
 Mais nous Sarrazins tout envers,  
 Com scet monseigneur de Nevers.<sup>17</sup>

The allusion to *monseigneur de Nevers* helps to explain the preceding lines. Jean, count of Nevers, later the notorious Jean sans Peur of Burgundy, was the leader of the Nicopolis expedition and one of the few captives spared. The captivity was not at all cruel or extreme, yet the knights suffered greatly: accustomed to the service of squires and pages, as well as fine living in general, they could not stomach the coarse cookery of the Turks, and many of them contracted serious maladies. Bajazet later took pity on the count of Nevers and gave him better food.<sup>18</sup> A tragic ending indeed for those who set out so boastfully on the expedition! This was one of the faults of later-day chivalry: its fighting men were not trained as soldiers and could not live a soldier's life.

The Saracen points out the contrasting life of the Moslem warrior: clear water and a little bread is a large meal for a Saracen, and he has no thought of finewine or the meat which is in season; and when it comes to sleeping, he does not bother to undress, nor does he seek out hay to lie on, but simply picks firm ground. He cares nothing for fine cooking, roasts or warm pies; such things render a man delicate, so that he cannot stand hunger or cold and if he sleeps in the open, he loses his strength and health.<sup>19</sup> He tells the French to consider the ways of their forefathers, which were true and sound.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, vv. 421 ff.

<sup>18</sup> D. Le Roux, *La France en Orient au quatorzième siècle* (Paris, 1886), I, 287 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Apparicion*, vv. 437 ff.

Ne vouloyent fussent pansart;  
 Ceulx leur donnoient fevez et lart  
 Et l'eaue pure, lit de paille,  
 Couchier avec cote de maille,  
 Demourance hors des cités  
 Pour estre des champs plus privés  
 Et fussent tousjours ordonné  
 Et prestz, quand seioient mandé.<sup>20</sup>

And yet, continues the Saracen, these French think that by bathing, by soft living, by pleasure seeking, by worrying constantly about food, that one becomes a brave knight, a doughty squire, or a strong henchman. He scornfully quotes Valerius Maximus regarding the virtues of Cato the Elder, a "chevalier saige, grant et bon," who never was fastidious about his diet or his garb. He never wanted pastry or cake to satisfy his hunger, nor did he care what color the cloth of his garments happened to be, provided the material was warm. Like a true soldier, "Oncques mauvais pain ne blasma, Ne bevrage ne refusa": this is the best regimen of the knight, asserts the Saracen, who next quotes St. Bernard to the effect that rich garments only engender envy among one's neighbors and that one should endeavor to win favor by good deeds rather than by brilliant attire.<sup>21</sup>

The training of children is at fault too. The French nourish their children so daintily, they are so carefully clothed in their youth, that when they come to manhood they cannot bear heat or cold, or eat food not seasoned to their taste.<sup>22</sup> The Saracen thinks that the youngster should have plenty of good food, in order to give him strong limbs, but should not be fed on pastry and the like, for these things merely rob him of vigor; nor should he be richly clothed, but should be brought up to endure changes of temperature.

Nous disons que vous n'estes saiges  
 Quant vous voulés faire passaiges  
 Contre Sarrazins ou paiens,  
 Quant prenez ainsy tendres gens  
 Ne regardés se ilz pourront  
 Porter les grans maulx qu'ilz auront  
 En chevauchier tant longue voye,  
 Qui les plus forts souvent ennoye;  
 Mais que le partir soit joly,  
 Vous ne regardés la fin.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, vv. 459 ff. Cf. *Arbre des Batailles*, p. 255.

<sup>21</sup> St. Bernard, *De laudibus novae militiae*. Cf. E. Prestage, *Chivalry* (London, 1928), p. 48.

<sup>22</sup> *Apparicion*, vv. 482 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, vv. 507 ff.

The last two verses refer plainly to the magnificent display of wealth shown in the Nicopolis expedition. Everything was aglitter with gold and silver; the Burgundian arms, embroidered in gold, covered the pennons and banners, while the very weapons were specially embossed. The tents were of satin, green satin being the prevailing hue, and furnished elaborately. Each knight vied with his neighbor in displaying his splendid attire. It was more like a pleasure excursion than a crusade against the Turks.<sup>24</sup>

Pour ce meurent ilz en la voye,  
 Ou font a leurs annemis joye;  
 Et quant ce vient a la bataille  
 Leurs coups sont legeres, sans faille:  
 A trois coups ferir force fault,  
 Et sont perduz par ce deffault.  
 D'une autre chose vous dy tant  
 Que vous vous armez trop pesant,  
 Tant que quant estes tout armez,  
 En pou d'eure estes foulez . . .  
 Et se un homme d'armes chiet,  
 A tart relevera son chief,  
 Et plusieurs meurent estouffez  
 Des vostres, car trop sont armez.<sup>25</sup>

Here Bonet has hit upon one of the capital faults of the knight's equipment. The armor was so heavy that it wearied to exhaustion all but the very strong. In fact, few knights wore their armor while riding about on expeditions, as the strain would have been too great; the squire was always at hand to arm them quickly and surely. In a long battle many fainted from the oppressive weight and heat of these iron prisons. If they were on foot and tried to hurry, woe betide them, for once fallen, they had to be helped up. The light-armed Saracens had all the advantages of speed and consummate horsemanship, which frequently enabled them to hold their own, though they were no match for the heavy masses of feudal cavalry in a pitched battle.

At this point the Saracen introduces a fresh argument, in the form of a query, one that contained sound truth but which had little appeal for chivalry, whose pride could not brook the proposal. Whenever the French make war on the Saracens, he says, they leave behind the peasants, who do not know what comfort means, to tend the vineyards and fields, strong men who could live better on cheese than nobles on capons, for they have never been accustomed to luxuries.

<sup>24</sup> Le Roulx, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

<sup>25</sup> *Apparicion*, vv. 517 ff.

Vous tenez qu'ilz ne vauldriont rien:  
 S'ilz avoient un pou coustumé  
 Simple cote en leur costé  
 Ilz nous feroient plus grant guerre  
 Que tous les gentilz d'Angleterre,  
 Mais qu'ilz eussent ordonnance  
 D'un bon cappitaine de France.  
 Prenez exemple de Portugal,  
 Se les vilains firent le mal  
 Qui n'a guerez prindrent gent d'armes  
 Dont maintes dames gettent lermes . . .<sup>26</sup>

The great master of war, Vegetius, says that laborers are effective soldiers; if one will but read Valerius Maximus, he proves the same point. But the French leave in repose those who could better stand the long road, the many hardships; for, brought up as peasants, these men do not fear rough beds or coarse bread, or wind or rain or great hunger. They can stand all kinds of toils, their arms are strong enough to give great blows and their strength is lasting, for they have been accustomed to hardships; all that is necessary is to teach them to wear armor. If they are sick or wounded, they are not so weakened as are the nobles, after having endured all kinds of suffering, because they are not used to dainty food.<sup>27</sup>

Such is Bonet's argument for an army of real warriors, to replace the idolent and half-trained nobles, whose pride and arrogance were hardly compatible with military organization. Agincourt was soon to furnish a terrible lesson to French chivalry, destroying the very flower of the institution and leaving the country helpless. In this short work Bonet brings together most of the reasons for chivalric decadence: the loss of religious inspiration, the love of pomp and luxury at the expense of sufficient training for war, defects in armor, rashness and indolence. His two works together give a surprisingly clear picture of the state of chivalry as it really was at the end of the fourteenth century.

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<sup>26</sup> This refers to the battle of Aljubarota (1385), in which the Portuguese peasants, who had risen en masse, fought with great bravery and success.

<sup>27</sup> *Apparicion*, vv. 543 ff.

## XXIII

## "THE QUESTION OF HALSAM"

IN British Museum Addit. MS. 34360 on folio 22 occurs one stanza of rime royal entitled "The question of halsam." It is smooth in meter, well-balanced in thought, and practically perfect in stanza form, comparing very favorably in these respects with other minor lyrics of the early fifteenth century. The popularity of this poem is attested by its presence in many manuscripts of that century and by the fact that Caxton printed it together with a second seven-line stanza also ascribed to Halsham.<sup>1</sup> Both of these lyrics are found in Bodley 3896, f. 195a (MS. Fairfax 16), which affords not only the earliest,<sup>2</sup> but the most authentic text of these pieces:

The worlde so wide / thaire so remuable  
 The sely man / so litel of stature  
 The grove and grounde / of<sup>3</sup> clothinge so mutable  
 The fire so hoote / and subtil of nature  
 The water neuer in oon / what creature  
 That made is of these foure / thus flyttyng  
 May stedfast be as here / in his lyving

The more I goo / the ferther I am behinde  
 The ferther behinde / the ner my wayes ende  
 The more I seche / þe worse kan I fynde  
 The lighter leve / the lother for to wende  
 The bet y serve / the more al out of mynde<sup>4</sup>  
 Is thys ffortune not I / or infortune  
 Though I go lowse / tyed am I with a Lune

The first lyric or stanza occurs alone in Brit. Mus. Addit. 34360, f. 22a, and with the second in five manuscripts:<sup>5</sup> Bodley 3896, f. 195a;

<sup>1</sup> Dr. E. Flügel, "Kleinere Mitteilungen aus Handschriften," *Anglia*, xiv, 463, n. Flügel also states that these two "balades" as they are called in one manuscript, were adapted under Henry VIII as "dreistimmige lieder."

<sup>2</sup> Professor Carleton Brown in his *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, I, 48, places this manuscript in the first half of the fifteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript reads *and* for *of*, evidently a scribal error, since four out of the six MSS. use *of*. I understand the line to mean "The grove (trees in general) and the ground so changeable in their clothing."

<sup>4</sup> To make the rime scheme of the stanza accurate, *mynde* should rime with *wende*, not with *fynde*. All versions now read *mynde*, but it is possible that the archetype showed Kentish influence. If so, *mende* would be used and the rime would be correct. In the poems of the Kentish Gower the spellings *mende* and *mynde* are both found. See glossary of *The Works of John Gower* (English), edited by G. C. Macaulay.

<sup>5</sup> Brown, Carleton, *op. cit.*, II, 336-337, no. 2252.

Addit. MS. 16165, f. 244a; the Harleian MSS. 7333, f. 148a and 7578, f. 20a; and Huth 7, f. 144. No variation save in dialect is found with the exception of one obviously corrupt line in Harley 7578.

The second lyric, found by itself in Camb. Un. Ff. 1.6, f. 151a and Addit. 5465, f. 2b, and combined with the first as listed above,<sup>6</sup> shows more variation. In some manuscripts lines are lost or transposed.<sup>7</sup> When the various readings of the last two lines are compared, the authenticity of the Fairfax text is established, for the end-words *infortune* and *Lune*, which occur only in the Fairfax manuscript, preserve perfectly the concluding *cc* rime. The word *Lune* is entered in the *Oxford Dictionary* with the definition *leash for a hawk*.<sup>8</sup> The first example cited is from Malory's *Arthur* vi, xvi. The appearance of *lune* in the lyric thus supplies an earlier use of this word than any previously recorded. *Lune* is a variant of *loyn*,<sup>9</sup> and several later scribes used this more common spelling, thereby doing violence to the rime. In Addit. 16165 and the two Harley manuscripts, 7333 and 7578, all of the middle of the fifteenth century,<sup>10</sup> the spelling is *loyne*, *loygne*, and *loynne*, respectively. The scribe of Camb. Un. Ff., evidently not familiar with the word, has changed it to *lyne*. This form is also used in Huth (1460-70)<sup>11</sup> and in Addit. 5465 (early sixteenth century).<sup>12</sup> Further deviation from the original may be seen in the changes in order made in the last two manuscripts. Huth reads:<sup>13</sup>

Though I goo loose I am teyde with a lyne  
Is hit / fortune or Infortune thus I fynde./

Since the original riming word *Lune* was now lost, the puzzled Huth scribe, or perhaps some earlier scribe whom he followed, tried to find a rime or at least assonance by juggling the order. These futile efforts only serve to emphasize the superiority of the Fairfax text (Bodley 3896), which I have printed in full above, as our closest approximation of the archetype.

The intrinsic excellence of "The worlde so wide" and of "The more I

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 331, no. 2212.

<sup>7</sup> Transcripts of the lyrics in Bodley 3896, Addit. MSS. 16165, 34360, and 5465, and Harley 7578 were made for me by Miss E. G. Parker of Oxford and Miss Edith S. Scroggs of London. I have a rotograph of the Cambridge University text. The Harley 7333 version is given by Flugel in *Anglia*, xiv, 463, n., as well as by Wright and Halliwell in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 234. The Huth text as transcribed by Furnivall may be found in *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, ix, 342-343. <sup>8</sup> *Oxford Dictionary*, *Lune*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. in the British Museum*, 1846-47, pp. 155-156. Brown, Carleton, *op. cit.*, I, 355, 356, 394. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 472. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 382.

<sup>13</sup> Furnivall's transcript printed in *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, ix, 342-343. Addit. 5465 gives similar lines:

"thoo I go lose yet am I teyd w<sup>t</sup> a lyne  
it is fortune or In fortune this I fynde."

goo" makes them worthy of consideration, but their interest is enhanced by the use which later authors made of them. For in addition to appearing alone, together, or with another stanza beginning "Wurship / wommen / wyne / vnweldy age,"<sup>14</sup> each of these lyrics serves as the opening strophe for a longer poem usually assigned to Lydgate.<sup>15</sup>

This situation raises the problem of authorship. Have we here two fragments from a long poem originally written by Lydgate, or have we two lyrics written by another author and used by Lydgate? That the latter is the right solution I am convinced for the following reasons. First, a long poem broken up would be likely to remain in the same combination, whereas these two stanzas appear in four ways. Secondly, Lydgate frequently borrowed. Miss Hammond calls attention to a similar use by Lydgate of Chaucer's line, "This world nys but a thurghfare ful of wo."<sup>16</sup> Finally, the concluding lines of "The more I goo" were not originally in the form Lydgate used. Instead of the rime *infortune-Lune*, he adopts the later version in which the rime is spoiled:

Is this fortune, or is it infortune?  
Though I go loose, I tyed am withe a lyne.<sup>17</sup>

This internal evidence precludes, I believe, any further necessity for supposing that Lydgate was the author. It brings us, however, to the question: If these poems were not written by Lydgate, then by whom were they written?

In attempting to find an answer, we must return to the manuscript mentioned at the beginning of this article. Here and in two other manuscripts we find an ascription of authorship. Harley 7333 carries above the poems this heading: "Halsam squiere made thes ij balades." In Addit. 16165 they are entitled "two verses made in wyse of balade by Halsham Esquier." These two codices are believed to be Shirley's.<sup>18</sup> In no version in which more than the two stanzas are given does the name of an author appear.

Scholars in the past have either refused to accept "Halsam squiere" as the author or have made no attempt to identify him. Halliwell and Skeat, for example, in spite of Shirley's ascription of these stanzas to

<sup>14</sup> See *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, II, 399, no. 2693.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 331, no. 2211. Halliwell, James Orchard, *A Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* (Percy Society, 1840), pp. 193 ff., 74 ff. MacCracken, Henry Noble, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser.*, 107, xvii, xxx, no. 45, no. 153.

<sup>16</sup> Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, "Two British Museum Manuscripts (Harley 2251 and Addis. 34360): A Contribution to the Bibliography of John Lydgate," *Anglia*, xxviii (1905), p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Halliwell, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>18</sup> Flügel, *op. cit.*, p. 463. *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1846-47, pp. 155-156.

Halsham, believe that they were actually the work of Lydgate.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Ritson, Furnivall, Flügel, Miss Hammond, and MacCracken mention the Halsham ascription with apparent faith.<sup>20</sup> Very little argument has been presented by either side, nor has anyone thus far endeavored to find out who "Halsham" really was.

We have as foundation the three ascriptions to Halsham, two of which occur in Shirley MSS. John Shirley (1366?-1456) offers the evidence of a scribe accustomed to copying the work of Chaucer and Lydgate, and contemporary with them. Now if a "Halsham Esquier" can be found in the same period, a man living not too far from Lydgate's neighborhood, and one of apparent education and ability, Shirley's statement of his authorship will appear even more dependable. Such a man was Johannes Halsham, armiger, whose inquisition post mortem is recorded in the third year of Henry V (1415) and who died seised of lands in Sussex, Kent, Norfolk, and Wilts.<sup>21</sup>

John Halsham was the son of Robert Halsham,<sup>22</sup> commissioner of peace<sup>23</sup> and at least seven times a member of Parliament between 1351 and 1372.<sup>24</sup> Robert was also steward for life of the Honor of Bramber.<sup>25</sup> According to Elwes and Robinson,<sup>26</sup> John's mother was Joan, daughter and heir of Richard de Coombe (or Combes), who held the manor of Appelsham of John de Mowbray, lord of Bramber.<sup>27</sup> In the inquisition for Richard, held in 1350, Joan was reported as aged seventeen years and more.<sup>28</sup> One may then surmise that her son John was born somewhere in the sixth decade of the century and was probably from ten to fifteen years younger than Chaucer.

Although John Halsham spent most of his life on his lands in West Grinstead, Sussex (part of the Honor of Bramber), as a respected and increasingly prominent country squire, he passed some portion of his youth in Yorkshire. We have records of a family of de Halshams living

<sup>19</sup> Halliwell, *op. cit.*, p. 193, note. Skeat, *The Chaucer Canon* (1900), p. 145.

<sup>20</sup> Ritson, *Bibliographia Poetica: A Catalogue of English Poets* (London, 1802), p. 57. Furnivall, *Notes and Queries, Fifth Series*, ix, 342-343. Flügel, *op. cit.*, p. 463. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 4. MacCracken, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

<sup>21</sup> *Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem* (London, 1828), iv, 13.

<sup>22</sup> Elwes, Dudley George Cary, and Robinson, Rev. Charles J., *A History of the Castles, Mansions, and Manors of Western Sussex* (London, 1876), p. 109. See also *Notes and Queries, Fifth Series*, vii, 407.

<sup>23</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1349-75, passim.*

<sup>24</sup> "A Return (so far as can be ascertained) of the Members of Parliament for the County and Boroughs of Sussex," compiled from the return of members of Parliament ordered by the House of Commons to be printed March 1, 1878, by Alan H. Stenning, *Esq., Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xxx, 183-187.

<sup>25</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1367-70*, p. 221.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>27</sup> *Cal. of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (London, 1916), ix, 370.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*



in and around Halsham in Holderness.<sup>29</sup> These may have been relatives and were perhaps the incentive for the Yorkshire visit or visits. Or the young Halsham may have been with Thomas de Mowbray, then lord of Bramber and Earl of Nottingham<sup>30</sup> (later of Norfolk) when the Earl went up to his Yorkshire holdings<sup>31</sup> near the lands of the Percies. Whatever the explanation of his presence, there is no doubt that John Halsham was in Yorkshire in 1384.

In that year he enters upon the scene in romantic and somewhat sensational fashion by running off with the wife of Sir Ralph Percy, third son of Henry Percy, first Earl of Northumberland. The *Patent Rolls* record the appointment of a commission of oyer and terminer dated February 16, "touching the persons who at Semere, co. York, abducted Philippa, wife of Ralph de Percy, knight, and still detain her."<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the king himself interposed to stay these proceedings against Halsham by two orders issued on May 28, 1384. The second supplies some additional details:<sup>33</sup>

To the same, being justices lately appointed to hear and determine an alleged trespass by John Halsham committed against Ralph de Percy knight, namely the rape and abduction of Philippa wife of the said Ralph with goods and chattels of her husband, damages 3,000£. Writ of *supersedeas* until St. Peter's Chains . . . as for particular causes him now moving, the king desires to find a remedy by way of agreement touching the debates between the said parties. . . .

By June 7 John had obtained pardon "for the rape of Philippa de Artheles, and all other felonies and trespasses by him perpetrated."<sup>34</sup> The pardon was granted on the supplication of the king's kinsman, the

<sup>29</sup> From the time of Richard de Halsam, who died about 1301 (*Yorkshire Inquisitions*, III, *Yorkshire Arch. Soc. Record Ser.*, XXXI, 144), there are numerous records of Halsams or Halshams—the name is spelled either way—in Halsham or adjacent towns. In the *Close Rolls* for 1354 (*Cal. Cl. R.*, 1354–60, p. 41) reference is made to the heir of John de Halsham, a minor in the king's wardship. Whether or not the heir was named John is not stated. At any rate a John de Halsham of the same neighborhood gained some publicity ten years later by poaching in the free warren and parks at Burstwyk—about four miles from Halsham—belonging to the king's daughter Isabel. The commission issued on her complaint (*Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1361–64, p. 539) lists John Halsham's name among the thirty or more charged with this misdemeanor.

<sup>30</sup> Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, I, 128. *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, published since 1917 by the Oxford University Press), XIII, 1127 ff.

<sup>31</sup> The Mowbrays held lands in Yorkshire "which stretched in a great crescent from Thirsk, whose valley is still called the Vale of Mowbray, to Kirkby Malzeard and the sources of the Nidd, with the outlying castle of Black Burton in Lonsdale" (*D.N.B.*, XIII, 1125). Thirsk is about thirty-five miles from Seamer, the site of John Halsham's activities. See also Dugdale's *Baronage*, I, 127, 130.

<sup>32</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1381–85, p. 423.

<sup>33</sup> *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1381–85, p. 452.

<sup>34</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1381–85, p. 399.

Earl of Oxford. The Earl of Nottingham (Mowbray) also joined in the request.<sup>35</sup> A writ dated July 10, 1384, to the sheriff of York, orders him to "de-arrest" and deliver to John de Halsham and Philippa Dartheles, his wife, certain goods and chattels of theirs arrested in Dancastre.<sup>36</sup>

What the details of the adjustment were I have not yet discovered. Was the lady a willing victim? Were the goods and chattels part of her own inheritance? Did the Percies agree not to prosecute to avoid publicity? In Burke's *Peerage* I find the statement that the marriage of Philippa and Ralph was annulled.<sup>37</sup> How was this action accomplished? I have not yet given up hope of finding answers to these questions, but at present I can only offer a survey of the lady's history as a basis of surmise.

She and her elder sister Elizabeth were daughters and co-heiresses of David Strabolgi, the last Earl of Athol in the direct Strabolgi line.<sup>38</sup> He had died by October 15, 1369, when the *Fine Rolls* show an order to the escheators of the various counties in which he had property to take his lands into the king's hand since his heirs were minors.<sup>39</sup> His widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Lord Ferrers, held most of the lands in wardship for the daughters,<sup>40</sup> but on her death in 1375, Henry Lord Percy obtained the wardship of these.<sup>41</sup> He had already obtained in 1373 the right to the marriage of the heiresses.<sup>42</sup> In 1375 Elizabeth was fourteen and Philippa thirteen. By July 12, 1377, he had married them to his second and third sons respectively, and a partition of their inheritance had been made in Chancery.<sup>43</sup> Philippa thus became the sister-in-law of the famous Hotspur, eldest son of Henry Percy, now Earl of Northumberland. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*<sup>44</sup> Hotspur was born in 1364. I have found no date for Ralph, but as third son he was still younger and must have been a boy of ten or eleven when the marriage took place. By 1384 when John Halsham carried her off, Philippa was a woman of twenty-two bound to a boy about seventeen or eighteen. Such a case might well win the sympathy of the king, who, according to the records just quoted, made an effort to adjust the affair.

The marriage of John and Philippa took place in Combes Church, Sussex. Evidence in regard to it is to be found in the *Episcopal Register*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 439.

<sup>36</sup> *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1331-85, p. 459.

<sup>37</sup> Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage and Baronetage*, 91st edition (1933), p. 2245.

<sup>38</sup> Dugdale, *op cit*, II, 96.

<sup>39</sup> *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, 1369-77, VIII, 57.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 65.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 306.

<sup>42</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1370-74, 330.

<sup>43</sup> *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, 1377-83, IX, 5.

<sup>44</sup> xv, 840.

of Robert Rede, Lord Bishop of Chichester.<sup>45</sup> This contains an inquiry into the legitimacy of Hugh, son of John and Philippa, in connection with a claim on twenty acres of land in Combes. The suit was pending before the Justices of Westminster in 1405, and therefore a royal writ was sent to the bishop ordering an investigation. The bishop immediately sent a clerk to the church of West Grinstead, where the following testimony was collected. The other claimant for the land "asserted that he would not produce any witnesses, but that Hugh Halsham was and is the true son of John Halsham Esq. surviving and of Philippa Atheles his wife, deceased, born in true and lawful matrimony, and that there had never been any doubt of his legitimacy." In addition Sir Richard Daas, Chaplain Rector of Combes, "asserted the legitimacy of Hugh Halsham and stated that about twenty years and more ago the banns of his parents had been called in the churches of West Grenstede and Combes, and the marriage solemnized in Combes Church on the morrow of the Octave of the Epiphany, with due ceremonies and no objection made." A list of persons who attended the wedding is appended as further testimony. Six years later another son, Richard, went through a similar investigation to prove his claim to a messuage in Horsham.<sup>46</sup>

Philippa did not lose her Strabolgi inheritance when she married John Halsham, for a document of 1388 shows her and her husband in control of certain manors in Wilts, Kent, and Norfolk, part of the deceased Earl's property.<sup>47</sup> Other records prove that Philippa obtained her share of the knights' fees and advowsons of churches, which had been held by her father.<sup>48</sup>

Eleven years after the marriage Philippa died and was buried in West Grinstead Church, where the monumental brass erected to her memory may still be seen. Although she died in 1395, the monument was not executed until about 1441, when the tomb of Sir Hugh Halsham and his wife was erected.<sup>49</sup> Philippa is represented in kirtle and mantle with hands uplifted in prayer. She wears the horned head-dress of the period.<sup>50</sup> At her feet is a dog with bells on its collar. The inscription, restored from Sir William Burrell's manuscripts, reads "Hic jacet Philippa, quondam Uxor Johannis Halsham, Armigeri; et una filiarum et heredis, Davidis Strabolge, nuper comitis de Atthell; que obiit primodie Novembris Anno D'ni Mil'mo ccc°LXXXV°. Cuj' a'i'e propicietur

<sup>45</sup> *The Episcopal Register of Robert Rede, Lord Bishop of Chichester, Sussex Record Society*, VIII; vol. I of the Register, pp. 89-90.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 132-133.

<sup>47</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1385-89, p. 421.

<sup>48</sup> *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1389-92, pp. 367-370.

<sup>49</sup> Boutell, Rev. Charles, *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, p. 92.

<sup>50</sup> André, J. Lewis, "Female Head-Dresses Exemplified by Sussex Brasses," *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, XLII, 8.

Deus."<sup>51</sup> A shield at her feet shows the Halsham arms, an argent chevron engrailed between three leopards' faces gules, quartering a lion rampant with a fess, and impaling the Strabolgi arms, a paly of six or and sable.<sup>52</sup>

After his wife's death John Halsham's interest apparently turned toward public affairs. Many records show his activity as commissioner of peace.<sup>53</sup> He was also named in the commissions of array for Sussex in 1402, 1403, and 1405 "to array all men at arms . . . for the defence of the sea coast against the king's enemies, who intend invasion."<sup>54</sup> Another evidence of Halsham's prominence is his appointment on a commission in 1405 to collect a loan for the king on security of a grant already made by Parliament for war, but not payable till "Martinmas next."<sup>55</sup> John was one of three appointed for Sussex.

Before 1403 John Halsham had married a second time, choosing a lady named Matilda or Maud.<sup>56</sup> Her last name is believed to have been Mawley.<sup>57</sup> She bore him a son John<sup>58</sup> and at least one daughter.<sup>59</sup> In 1403 the Halshams received the manorial rights of West Grinstead by grant of Henry IV,<sup>60</sup> and in 1411 John added to his property by the purchase of 127 acres.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Turner, Rev. Edward, "Brasses in Sussex Churches," *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxiii, 161.

<sup>52</sup> André, J. Lewis, "West Grinstead Church and the Recent Discoveries in that Edifice," *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxviii, 52.

<sup>53</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1396-99, p. 227. *Ibid.*, 1401-05, p. 520. *Ibid.*, 1405-08, pp. 355, 498.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 1401-05, pp. 115, 288, 290, and 1405-08, p. 62.

<sup>55</sup> *Cal. of Fine Rolls*, 1399-1405, xii, 317-318. Also *Foedera*, viii, 412.

<sup>56</sup> Bishop Rede's *Register*, i, 185, *Sussex Record Soc.*, vol. viii.

<sup>57</sup> Elwes and Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

<sup>58</sup> *Sussex Feet of Fines*, iii, 265, no. 3117, *Sussex Record Soc.*, vol. xxiii. Matilda (Maud) married Lord St. John after John Halsham's death. Philippa also had a son John, who was named in her inquisition post mortem as her heir (*Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, viii, 239). His age is given as ten years in 1395, so that we may suppose he was her first born. Since Hugh, after his father's death, was in possession of his mother's property, it is thought that John died young (*Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, iv, 198).

<sup>59</sup> Elwes in his corrected Halsham pedigree (*op. cit.*, p. 284) gives as Matilda's daughters Joan, who married first Sir John Bowne and then Sir Robert Roos, and also a daughter Margaret. I believe that this Joan is the same as Ann mentioned in the deed recorded in the *Sussex Feet of Fines* for 32 Henry VI, no. 3117 (see preceding note) as the daughter of John Halsham and "late the wife of Robert Roos, knight." There may have been a daughter Margaret, but since Matilda's son John married a Margaret (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 3117), there is a chance that Elwes mistook the daughter-in-law for an own daughter. Hugh, in his will, mentions a sister, Philippa Fauconer, wife of Sir Thomas Fauconer, Lord Mayor of London in 1415 (Elwes, *op. cit.*, 284; *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, xi, 315, *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1413-16, *passim*). Her name would suggest that she was the daughter of the first wife. I should, therefore, list John Halsham's offspring as follows: (1) Philippa's children: John (died young), Hugh, Richard, Philippa; (2) Matilda's children: John, Ann, and perhaps Margaret. <sup>60</sup> Bishop Rede's *Register*, i, 185.

<sup>61</sup> *Feet of Fines*, iii, 224, no. 2802, *Sussex Record Soc.*, xxiii.

John Halsham died some time previous to April 17, 1415, for on that date Henry V granted to another man the lordship of Old Shorham, co. Sussex, "as John Halsham had it of the king's grant while he lived."<sup>62</sup> His inquisition post mortem was held in the same year. This lists his property, the larger portion of which came to him through Philippa Strabolgi, his first wife, and was located in Norfolk, Kent, and Wilts. He himself held the Sussex manors of Appelsham, West Grinstead, and Noteham, and had the advowson of the church at Combes, near West Grinstead.<sup>63</sup>

Now, it has doubtless occurred to my readers that a number of Halshams have been mentioned in this investigation. What proof have we that John Halsham is the author of the lyrics rather than any other Halsham? I have found no proof outside of the manuscript ascriptions described earlier, that he or *any other Halsham* wrote poetry. My identification must, therefore, rest on other evidence. In the first place, I have endeavored to show by his life records that John Halsham was a man of spirit, ability, and intelligence who might have written poetry. In the second place, I have pointed out that his holdings in Sussex, Kent, and Norfolk place him in the part of England in which Lydgate might have encountered his work. Lydgate was apparently the younger man, being born about 1370 according to the evidence in the *Fall of Princes*.<sup>64</sup> Although we do not know the date of Halsham's birth, the Yorkshire affair proves him to be a man of mature daring and initiative by 1384. He is, therefore, a likely person in age, locale, and character.

Finally I offer the evidence obtained through reliance on the word *squiere* or *esquyer* used by Shirley. Since this title does not appear in the records of John Halsham until 1401,<sup>65</sup> it is evidently not his by hereditary right. I judge him to be an esquire by office, among whom, according to Camden, are justices of the peace and others who bear offices of trust under the crown.<sup>66</sup> In the numerous records of Halshams which I have inspected, I have found *esquire* used only for John Halsham and for his son Hugh, and once for his son John. However, since Hugh soon became a knight,<sup>67</sup> it seems improbable that he would be called Halsham esquire by Shirley. The younger John may also be disregarded, for as the son of the second marriage, he would be a much younger

<sup>62</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1413-16, p. 303.

<sup>63</sup> *Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem*, IV, 13.

<sup>64</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, XII, 306.

<sup>65</sup> *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1399-1402, p. 322.

<sup>66</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., VIII, 715.

<sup>67</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1416-22, p. 197.

man than Lydgate and thus hardly likely to have provided that poet with themes. John Halsham, the father, although referred to by Dugdale as Sir, never attained this title according to contemporary records. He could properly be called "Halsam squiere" until the day of his death, as is proven by his inquisition post mortem, where the Latin equivalent *armiger* is used.

In the person of John Halsham esquire, a man of suitable title, age, locale, and character, I believe I have found the answer to "The Question of Halsam," at least so far as it concerns the identity of the author. It may be possible by further search to gain further evidence of his poetic accomplishment. But in any case it is a satisfaction to find the man who wrote at least two lyrics with some skill and whose use of rime royal suggests that he was an early imitator of Chaucer.

I have also noted a Squire Richard Sellyng, to whom verse in rime royal is ascribed in the Shirley MS. Harley 7333.<sup>68</sup> References in the *Patent Rolls* show him to have been a military man of some importance in the French campaigns. In 1434 and 1435 he was one of a small commission to take a muster at Calais.<sup>69</sup> The next year the castle of Banelyngham (Balinghem) in Picardy, of which he was then in charge, was captured by the French. Sellyng was accused of betrayal and his goods were confiscated, but on his petition and the favorable testimony of the mayor and other citizens of the town of Balinghem, his property was returned.<sup>70</sup> I mention Sellyng<sup>71</sup> here merely to show the apparent reliability of Shirley's ascriptions. Halsham and Sellyng are perhaps only two out of a number of laymen, busy with political and military affairs, who yet found opportunity to try their hand at Chaucer's favorite rime.

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<sup>68</sup> Brown, *op. cit.*, I, 355.

<sup>69</sup> *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1429-36, pp. 359, 476.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 1436-41, p. 27.

<sup>71</sup> Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas Brockhill, married a Richard Sellyng, whom I take to be the squire, although no title is given. Thomas Brockhill died in 1437 and was buried in Saltwood Church, Kent (*Archaeologia Cantiana*, xviii, 423). I find many references to the Selling family in Kent, but of an earlier date, and am, therefore, not able to prove definitely that Squire Richard Sellyng belonged to this prominent family (*Arch. Cant.*, iv, 308; xi, 331, 350, xiv, 204).

## XXIV

PAROLE IDENTICHE IN THE SONNET  
AND OTHER VERSE FORMS

SOME time during the first half of the fifteenth century there came into being a new type of sonnet the existence of which writers of Italian manuals of versification have either overlooked, ignored, looked upon as an isolated phenomenon, or connected with other devices that bear to it but a remote historical relationship.<sup>1</sup> The most immediate model of this new form is the *sonetto equivoco*—a favorite artifice from the first century of Italian literature to the end of the Trecento—in which the *rime equivoe* of the simple variety are extended to all of the fourteen verses.<sup>2</sup> Petrarch's *Quand'io son tutto*. . . is the best known example of a sonnet with equivocal rime words.

Quand'io son tutto volto in quella parte  
Ove 'l bel viso di madonna luce,  
E m'è rimasa nel pensier la luce  
Che m'arde e strugge dentro a parte a parte,  
I' che temo del cor che mi si parte,  
E veggio presso il fin de la mia luce,  
Vòmmene in guisa d'orbo senza luce,  
Che non sa ove si vada e pur si parte.  
Così davanti ai colpi de la morte  
Fuggo. ma non sì ratto che 'l desio  
Meco non venga, come venir sole.  
Tacito vo; chè le parole morte  
Farian pianger la gente; et i' desio  
Che le lagrime mie si spargan sole.  
(*Il canzoniere* [ed. Scherillo, Milan, 1918], 121-122.)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I refer specifically to P. E. Guarnerio, *Manuale di versificazione italiana* (Milan, 1913); F. Flamini, *Notizia storica dei versi e metri italiani* (Leghorn, 1919); T. Casini, *Le forme metriche italiane* (Florence, 1910); G. Federzoni, *Dei versi e dei metri italiani* (Bologna, 1912); F. D'Ovidio, *Versificazione romana* (Naples, 1932).

<sup>2</sup> The term *rime equivoe* means that the rime words are identical in sound but different in meaning. Simple *rime equivoe* consist of single words in contrast to compound *rime equivoe* in which either one of the two rime words is made up of two words (*ama—chi'ama*) or it has a prefix which the other rime word does not have (*parte—di parte*).

<sup>3</sup> L. E. Kastner, author of *A History of French Versification* (Oxford, 1903), in a note in his edition of *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh and London, 1913), I, 205, says of a *sonetto identico* by this Elizabethan poet: "originally the idea seems to have been suggested by the fourteenth sonnet of Petrarch's *Rime*, in which the octave is constructed on the rime words *parte* and *luce*." Not the Petrarchan sonnet alone, but rather the type to which it belonged developed into the *sonetto identico*. Another example related to Petrarch's poem is a sonnet by Giacomo da Lentino whose octave has

Since the *rime equivoche* sonnets often contained rimes identical in sound and in meaning (i.e., non-equivocal rimes)<sup>4</sup> whether from a conscious or involuntary effort on the part of the sonneteer, it was an easy step to increase the number of the *parole identiche* in a sonnet. Eventually this led to a shift of emphasis: the primary object of the composer was to repeat the identical alternating rime-words with little or no equivocation. The development of the *sonetto identico*, as we shall call this new type of sonnet, was no doubt further stimulated by the fact that *parole identiche* in rime had been in vogue for a long time,<sup>5</sup> and also by the fact that at least one other verse form, the sestina, is based essentially on the identical non-equivocal rime principle.

One of the earliest sonnets of the *identico* type is by Francesco Benedetti, who lived in the first half of the Quattrocento.

Creato il primo padre in questa vita  
 Per il peccato acquistò eterna morte,  
 Ne fo' alchun che potesse per morte  
 Giamai sodisfare a tanta vita.  
 A Dio venne pietà e prese vita,  
 Con la qual poi sostenne accerba morte,  
 E fo di tanto premio la soa morte  
 Che a tutti noi ne rendè la vita.  
 Che chiusa era per giustizia e gratia  
 A l'humana natura, et ogni gloria  
 S'el non fosse diffusa tanta gratia.  
 Se cossì morte, vita, gratia e gloria  
 Fo a tutto il mondo, io spero ch'anchor gratia  
 Mi serrà morte, vita, gratia, gloria.

(*Le rime del codice Isoldiano* [ed. L. Frati, Bologna, 1913], 220.)

It will be observed that in this poem two sets of rime words are employed, one for the octave and another for the sestet. But whereas the equivocal rime word pattern remained fixed in its retention of a double set of rime words, the non-equivocal pattern was modified by the ex-

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the rime words *spera* and *parte*. See *Poeti del primo secolo della lingua italiana* . . . (Florence, 1816), I, 315. Cf. also K. K. Hasselkuss, *Der Petrarkismus in der Sprache der englischen Sonettidichter der Renaissance* (Münster. i. Westfahl. 1927), pp. 226-227.

<sup>4</sup> See L. Biadene, "Morfologia del sonetto nei sec. XIII e XIV," *Studj di filologia romanza*, IV (1889), 154.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Freymond, *Über den Reichen Reim bei altfranzösischen Dichtern* . . . *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, VI, 212 ff.; Tobler, *Vom Französischen Versbau alter u. neuer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 157; Kastner, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Parodi has apparently contributed the first Italian study on the subject in connection with work on the *Divine Comedy*. See "La rima e i vocaboli in rima nella *Divina Commedia* (Rime equivoche e di parole identiche)," *Bullettino della Società Dantesca italiana*, n. s. III (1896), 141-142.



tension of both the rime words of the octave to the entire sonnet.<sup>6</sup> One of the earliest poems illustrative of this modification is a sonnet by Aquilano. On account of its rime scheme it misses being a perfect example by one rime—the last.

Il tanto dir di sì par che sia no,  
 Dimmi una volta un no che torni in sì;  
 Se a te, signora sta il no e'l sì  
 Non far che tanto il sì diventi no.  
 Non mi pasco, signor, sempre di no,  
 Vita non posso aver senza un bel sì;  
 Così tra il sì e 'l no, e'l no il sì,  
 Par che ogni cosa si trasmuta in no,  
 Non è tua usanza de negar il sì,  
 Se or volesti confirmar il no;  
 La vita e nichilata senza sì.  
 Pero signor, scanza de dirmi no  
 Che lieto viverò dicendo sì,  
 Che 'l ciel col sì ognor placar si può.

(*Le rime* [ed. Menghini, Bologna, 1894], 144, 1)

The growth of the *sonetto identico* was rather slow during the fifteenth century, but in the sixteenth century it became so popular that it largely supplanted the *sonetto equivoco*. Both the single and double set patterns continued side by side, but with a distinct preference for the single type formula.

On the basis of its rime words the *sonetto identico* falls into two main subdivisions. In the first of them the pair or pairs of rime words need not have fixed relationship to one another. Here equivocal rime words are relatively frequent, since the freedom of choice made it easy to choose rime words capable of equivocation. The two sonnets cited in full below bring out the identical rime pattern illustrative of the first subdivision.

Lodate o fanciulletti il gran signore  
 Lodate tutti il suo mirabil nome;  
 Benedetto sia sempre il santo nome  
 De l'increato, eterno, alto signore.  
 D'ogni signor si lodi hoggi il signore:  
 L'orto e l'ocaso essalti il suo bel nome.  
 Sovra ogni gente è grande il suo gran nome:  
 Va sovra il ciel la gloria del signore.  
 Chi è come Iddio nostro? il qual dal cielo  
 Mira gli humili; e pover alza, e 'nsieme  
 Gli fa beati in terra, e quindi in cielo.  
 Co principi gli pon ne troni insieme:

<sup>6</sup> This extension, incidentally, gave rise to a new type of *sonetto continuo*.

Sparge grazie alle sterili dal cielo,  
Che rallegrar le fa co figli insieme.

(C. Tolomei in *Delle Rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani* [ed. Atanagi, Venice, 1565], 26a, II.)

Mi tolse il cor, quando mi disse adio  
Il di ch'io mi partij, mia bella Filli,  
E sempre mi starà nell'alma Filli  
E nella mente un dir sì dolce adio.  
Qual pastore udio mai da ninfa adio  
Così soave? com'udij da Filli  
Quel caro di ch'io trasformaimi in Filli  
E mandai per l'orecchie all'alma adio.  
I miei dolci pensieri saràn di Filli  
E i sogni miei m'apporteranno adio  
Sempre la notte, e con adio mia Filli  
Dovunque leggerò fie scritto adio;  
E scrivendo e cantando dirò Filli  
Filli io mi parto; e dirà Filli, adio.

(Bertini, *Delle rime*, I, Florence, 1583.)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The quatrains of other sonnets allied to the compositions of Tolomei and Bertini just cited are as follows:

L'esca che voi da faggi ombrosi e querce  
Sazio d'ogn' altro, e'ngordo di tal cibo  
Prendete in novo e prezioso cibo;  
Vivo e lieto hor vi tien tra selve, e querce . . .  
(C. Tolomei, *op. cit.*, 166, II.)

Poi che gli ardenti miei gravi sospiri  
Vanno, qual guida, inanzi al tristo pianto;  
Occhi temprate homai sì largo pianto  
Che forse scemeranno anco is sospiri . . .  
(L. Paterno: *Rime* [Venice, 1560], 124.)

Quando spunta nel Ciel la lucid 'alba,  
E quando poscia splendon mille stelle,  
Sentì Mari pastor dir mest' a l'alba  
Queste parole, e dirle anco a le stelle . . .  
(L. Orlandino dal Greco: *Rime degli Accademici Accesi di Palermo* [Palermo, 1726], 229, I.)

Sgora dal mar d'immensa eterna luce  
Luce, che l'aureo sol l'immote stelle  
Forma, e l'avviva sì ch'indi la luce  
Muove, ch'alluma in ciel l'erranti stelle . . .  
(A. Marchetti: *Rime scelte de' poeti illustri de' nostri tempi*, Lucca, 1709.)

The octaves of the following sonnets are also built on two rime words: Minturno, "Come adivien . . ." with the rime words *cielo* and *sole* in his *Rime e prose* (Venice, 1569);

Of this classification is the most famous example of the *sonetto identico*—Berni's satirico-comic sonnet, *Ser Cecco*. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Ser Cecco non può star senza la Corte,  
Ne la Corte può star senza ser Cecco:  
E ser Cecco ha bisogno de la Corte,  
E la Corte ha bisogno di ser Cecco.  
Chi vuol saper che cosa sia ser Cecco  
Pensi, e contempi che cosa è la Corte,  
Questo Ser Cecco somiglia la Corte,  
E questa Corte somiglia ser Cecco.  
E tanto tempo viverà a la Corte,  
Quanto sarà la vita di ser Cecco,  
Perch'è tutt'uno ser Cecco e la Corte.  
Quand'un riscontra per la via ser Cecco,  
Pensi di riscontrare anche la Corte  
Perchè ambedue son la Corte e ser Cecco . .

(*Rime piacevoli*, II, 1609.)

From the sixteenth century down to Giusti and Carducci, Berni's poem served as a model for a number of other sonnets, though not all preserve the *rimalizzo* in every verse.

Fassi noto a ciascun com'oggi il Varchi,  
Renunzia il Varchi e vuol sol mastro Feo.  
E tanto piace al Varchi mastro,  
Ch'ei non vuol più sentir nominar Varchi . . .  
(*Le rime burlesche edite e inedite di Anton  
Francesco Grazzini detto il Lasca* [Florence,  
1882], 25.)

Sebbene a molti par che tu sia corbo  
A me par che tu tenga più del gufo,  
Pero che quanto è sciocco e goffo il gufo,  
Tant'è cattivo e malizioso il corbo . . .  
(*Idem*, *op. cit.*, 97.)

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Minturno, "Odiar la notte . . ." with the rime words *giorno* and *sole*, *op. cit.*; Academico Trasformato, "Quando fia Amor . . ." with the rime words *sole* and *luce* in *Rime de gli academici occulti* (Brescia, 1567), 124. Other sonnets having only two alternating rime words for both octave and sestet are Montenero, "Donna perchè veder . . ." with the rimes *morto* and *cielo* in *Rime di diversi signori napoletani et altri . . . Libro settimo* (Venice, 1556); Muzio, "Se cos' a me . . ." with the rimes *bella* and *core* in *Rime diverse* (Venice, 1551), p. 29; Bertini, "Adio mi disse . . ." and "Vorrei cantar . . ." with the rimes *Filli* and *adio* (*op. cit.*).

<sup>3</sup> It differs from all of the poems cited above in having a *rimalmezzo*, which is also a *parola identica*, in addition to the fact that it is a *sonetto caudato*.

Io vidi un giorno una civetta, e 'l Chioccia  
 Acccolato appresso la civetta;  
 E alla fisionomia della civetta  
 Somigliava a capel quella del Chioccia . . .  
 (*Rime burlesche del Signor Gius. Valeriano,*  
*Cav. Vannetti* [Roveredo, 1756], 25.)

Una volta il vocabolo Tedeschi  
 Sonò diverso a quello di granduca,  
 E un buon Toscano che dicea granduca,  
 Non si credette mai di dir Tedeschi . . .  
 (Giusti: *Tutti gli scritti* [Florence, 1924], 141.)

Pietro Fanfani sta ne le postille  
 E le postille stanno nel Fanfani:  
 In principio eran sole le postille,  
 Poi le postille fecero il Fanfani . . .<sup>9</sup>  
 (*Opere di Giosuè Carducci: Juvenilia* [Bologna,  
 1909], 193.)

Before the fifteenth century two antonyms having the same consonantal rime are frequently found at the end of each of two successive verses such as *ama-disama*, *spense-accense*, *amica-nemica*. But two contrasting rime words having different consonantal rimes such as *morte-vita*, *giorno-notte*, *pace-guerra* are rather rare, indicating that this usage had not become fixed as a rhetorical device. Nor can the use of this artifice, which was soon to become the common property of the Petrarchists, hark back directly to the ideal model of all of the collections of love-poems of the time—Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, itself a great storehouse of antitheses. Only once does Petrarch bring together at the end of two consecutive verses one of the three groups mentioned above—*vita-morte*—in the *canzone*: "Perchè la vita è breve . . ." vv. 38–39. One is, therefore, tempted to believe that the model was originally found outside the realm of amorous poetry, probably in religious or elegized compositions in which the repetition of rimes like *vita* and *morte* was calculated to make an effect upon the reader. Indeed, the two earliest examples we have gathered, both of which were written in the early Quattrocento, are religious sonnets.<sup>10</sup> However, once the artifice was transferred to erotic poetry, it is easy to see how the taste for antitheses developed from the imitation of Petrarch made it a stock poetical device.

<sup>9</sup> See G. Surra: "Impronte Giustiniane nella poesia di Giosuè Carducci" in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXI (1913), 63.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., the sonnet already cited: *Creato il primo padre* . . . and another sonnet with its octave constructed on the words *vita* and *morte*, "Sapi che cruda e tenebrosa morte," by Ulisse Aleotti in A. Segarizzi's study "Ulisse Aleotti, rimatore veneziano del secolo xv," *Giornale storico* . . . , XLVII (1906), 61.

Poems illustrative of this artifice may be said to belong to the second subdivision of the *poesie identiche*, and naturally fall into different groups according to the antithetical rime words employed. The most popular antonyms were, of course, *vita* and *morte*. One of the first religious poems with this device to appear in a Petrarchistic collection of verse is the following sonnet by Marmitta. It was plagiarized by S. della Croce.

Poi, che in questa mortal noiosa vita  
 Il fin di tutti i mali è sol la morte,  
 Per non viver più in grembo a l'empia morte,  
 Che morto tiemmi in sì dolente vita,  
 Forza è ch'io stesso rompa di mia vita  
 Lo stame, & toglì con inganno a morte  
 La gloria, ch'ella spera nel dar morte  
 A me, c'ho in odio il lume della vita,  
 So ben che cosa lieve fia la morte  
 A sì gran mal, però già la vita  
 Viver non seppi. hor saprò gir a morte,  
 Così disse il buon Tosco, e a l'altra vita  
 Tosto ne gî, cangiando in chiara morte  
 La sua infelice, & tenebrosa vita.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Other poems either religious or elegaic in tone are:

Anchor che'n questa nostra mortal vita  
 Il fin di tutti i mali sia la morte,  
 Per non si dar in preda a l'empia morte  
 Meglio è haver trista e sconsolata vita . . .  
 (S. della Croce in *Rime di diversi signori  
 napoletani et altri* . . . Libro quinto, Venice, 1552)

Aveziamoci a morir poiche per morte  
 A fin si vien d'una noiosa vita,  
 Che altro che miserie ha questa vita,  
 Angoscie e pene assai più rie che morte? . . .  
 (Argisto Giuffredì, *Rime degli Accademici Accesi* . . . , 1, 67.)

[The first verse comes from the beginning of F. Carrafa's sonnet: "Avezzienci a morir, poi che la Morte . . ." see *I fiori delle rime de' poeti illustri* . . . (ed. Ruscelli, Venice, 1569), 89v. In the same volume (168v.) is a similar line by Guidiccioni:.]

Da te morto Giesù, nasce la vita  
 Che morendo per l'huom mort'hai la morte;  
 E dal tuo amor in noi quella morte  
 Che col morir ne scorge a miglior vita . . .  
 (G. Fiamma, *Rime spirituali* [Venice, 1570], 332.)

O de l'ombre dannata immortal morte,  
 Vita mortal, che sei tu? Morte o vita?  
 Se sei vita, com'hai continua morte?  
 Se morte, come duri eterna vita? . . .  
 (L. Gandini, *Rime* [Venice, 1581], 31.)

(*Rime di diversi . . . Libro primo . . .* [Venice, 1549], 100 )

Bembo was apparently the first Petrarchist to use the *vita-morte* artifice in an erotic composition—a *canzone*.

E cosa natural fuggir da morte;  
E quanto può ciascun tenersi in vita.  
Ahi crudo amor! ma io cercando morte  
Vo sempre, e pur così mi serbo in vita.  
Che perchè 'l mio dolor passa ogni morte,  
Corio a por giù questa gravosa vita.  
Poi, quand'io son già ben presso a la morte,  
E sento dal mio cor partir la vita,  
Tanto diletto prendo della morte,  
Ch'a forza quel gioir mi torna in vita.

(*Rime* [Verona, 1750], 218–219 )

Although the poem is among those he eventually refused to regard as his own, it served as a model for a string of similar compositions.<sup>12</sup>

Padie non pianger più mia dolce morte,  
Poichè mercè del Cielo, a l'alta vita  
Poggiai che se fu breve la mia vita,  
Non m'apparve al morir ombra di morte . . .

(G. Le Rape, *Rime degli Accad. Accessi*, *op. cit.*, I, 206 )

Per far che morte a noi donasse vita,  
Et per trarne da grave eterna morte  
Quel, che a mortai dispensa et morte et vita  
Pronto hoggi corse a voluntaria morte . . .

(M. Valerio Sali, *Rime scelte d'alcuni poeti bassanesi che fiorono nel secolo XVI* [Venice, 1769], 88.)

Sommo Signor che con sì oscura morte  
Cangiando l'immortal felice vita,  
Desti a noi peccator la propria vita  
Per liberarci da perpetua morte . . .

(Incerto, *Delle rime di diversi nobili et eccellenti poeti . . . Libro secondo* [Venice, 1548], 128v.)

See also *Rime spirituali* (Venice, 1550), 28v. Other sonnets using *vita* and *morte* as alternating rime words are S. della Croce, "Ben fu sciocco colui . . .," *op. cit.*; L. Orlandini dal Greco, "Donna real . . .," *Rime degli Accad. Accessi*, *op. cit.*, II, 118; Aurelio Botticella, "Oggi hebbe il mio signor . . .," *Rime degli Accad. Accessi*, *op. cit.*, I, 114; G. Le Rape, "Siccome si mostrò . . .," *Rime degli Accad. Accessi*, *op. cit.*, I, 214; B. Giangrandi, "Se questa fragil, egra e mortal vita . . .," *Rime scelte di poeti ravennati* (Ravenna, 1739), p. 62.

<sup>12</sup> Compare

Affliger chi per voi cara ha la vita;  
Che vien mancando, et è vicina a morte  
E vostra empia durezza che di morte  
Vaga procura il fin de l'altrui vita . . .  
(M. Valerio Sali, *op. cit.*, 77.)

Another variety of poems in *vita-morte* makes use of the antonym of each rime word as a *rimalmezzo*. This coupling of a word—*vita* or *morte*—with an antonym—*morte* or *vita* or a derivative in the same verse, but without the intention of forming a *rimalmezzo*, had become an established tradition in early Italian poetry, a fact which could not have failed to be influential in aiding the development of this particular artifice.<sup>13</sup>

One of the most perfect examples of this variety is the following sonnet by Lodovico Paterno.<sup>14</sup>

Io con credea giamai, che la mia vita  
Potesse per amar giunger a morte;  
Ahi fallace credenza: incauta morte  
Più veloce, che stral va la mia vita . . .

(M. Valerio Sali, *op. cit.*, 67.)

Io vo chiamando dolcemente morte  
Che mi sottraggi a questa fragil vita;  
Non perch'io creda, che sia dolce morte,  
Ma per finir l'amaro della vita . . .

(L. Martelli, *Opere* [Florence, 1548], 27-28)

F. Denalio, "Se lunge io son da voi . . .," *Prima parte delle rime* (Bologna, 1580), p. 19 and Il Solingo, "Se voi sete 'l mio cor . . .," *Rime degli Accademici Occulti* (Brescia, 1567), p. 102, also wrote amorous sonnets with the rime words *vita* and *morte*. Likewise amatory in subject-matter, but making use of the *vita-morte* rime only in the sestet is a sonnet by Collatino da Collalto beginning, "Muzio, se di saper pur hai disio . . .," in Gaspara Stampa-Veronica Franco, *Rime* (Bari, 1913), p. 218.

<sup>13</sup> Compare Calvacanti, "Quando di morte mi conven trar vita," *Poeti del primo secolo della lingua italiana* (Florence, 1816), II, 287; Domenico Cavalca, "Morendo Christo in croce ci diè vita . . .," *Raccolta di antiche rime toscane* (Palermo, 1817), III, 179; Giacomo da Lentino, "La vita che mi diè fu la mia morte . . .," *Poeti del primo secolo . . .*, I, 293; Petrarch, "Egualemente mi spiace morte e vita . . .," *op. cit.*, 288; *idem*, "Odiar vita mi fanno e bramar morte . . .," *op. cit.*, 503.

<sup>14</sup> Others less complete are:

Com'hai potuto dar la morte o morte,  
A chi morte toglieva e dava vita?  
Come non ti cangiasti o morte in vita  
Presso la vita mia nel darle morte? . . .

(L. Groto, *Rime* [Venice, 1581], 101)

La vita, amor, ch'io vivo, è proprio morte,  
Anzi peggior che morte è la mia vita;  
Suol finire morte una penosa vita;  
Ma la mia vita non ha fin per morte . . .

(G. Gosellini, *Rime* [Venice, 1581], 101.)

Se io non ho vita in questa morta vita  
Nè viver posso in questa viva morte,  
Parmi ch'ella non sia vita nè morte  
Questa, dove ognor moro e resto in vita . . .

(F. Copetta de' Beccuti, *Rime* [Venice, 1751], 64.)

S'io da vita volar potessi a morte,  
 Et con morte cangiar quest' aspra vita;  
 Vera morte non fora hor la mia vita,  
 Ch'in vita mi sostien per doppia morte.  
 Oh, se mia vita andasse in grembo a morte,  
 Non di morte havrei tinta hoggi mia vita:  
 Ma morte acquisterebbe, & polso & vita;  
 Vita, in cui perde ogni ragion poi morte.  
 Che non t'appressi a dolce morte, o vita?  
 S'haver vita non puoi qui senza morte,  
 Et se morte non fassi altro che vita.  
 Ma tu vita felice, altera morte,  
 Che morte hai nome, & sei pur viva vita,  
 Porgi a la vita mia sì chiar la morte.  
 (*Le nuove fiamme* [Lyons, 1568], 128-129.)

It was not long before new varieties came to light such as *pace-guerra*, *giorno-notte*, *ghiaccio-foco*, *acqua-foco*, etc. These compositions are miscellaneous in content, though amatory subjects seem to predominate. It will be noticed that some of them also make use of the antonym of the terminal word as a *rimamezzo*. This is partly because pairs of words like *pace-guerra* and *notte-giorno*, as in the case of *morte-vita*, were traditionally often coupled in the same verse.<sup>15</sup>

The following sonnet by Scipione Gonzaga illustrates the use of *guerra-pace*.

Dopo una lunga e travagliosa guerra  
 Et un lungo aspettar quieta pace,  
 Godessi il mondo una tranquilla pace,  
 Ne così si vedrà che fosse in guerra;  
 Quando fortuna che di mescer guerra,  
 Non lasciò mai ne la più ferma pace,  
 Volse turbar questa sì cara pace,  
 Con nuovo insulto e non usata guerra.  
 Pero che mentre il gran folgor di guerra,  
 Henrico invitto, d'inviolabil pace  
 Cerca segni mostrar con finta guerra,  
 Morte nemica d'ogni nostra pace,  
 Cangia la finta in sanguinosa guerra .

<sup>15</sup> Compare Petrarch, "Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerra . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 288; *idem*, "E breve guerra per eterna pace . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 453; *idem*, "A tanta pace e m'a lassato in guerra . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 428; *idem*, "E mi tolse di pace e pose in guerra . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 536; *idem*, "Pò far chiara la notte, oscuro il giorno . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 370; *idem*, "E i giorni oscuri e le dogliose notti" and "I chiari giorni e le tranquille notti . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 503-504.



(*Rime di diversi autori eccellentissimi* .  
*Libro nono*, Cremona, 1560.)<sup>16</sup>

Remigio Nannini (Fiorentino) wrote a sonnet in *notte-giorno*.

Deh non ritorni a rimendarne il giorno  
 L'alba, e mai sempre adombri oscura notte  
 Queste selve, e quest'antri, e sia la notte  
 Il sole a gli occhi miei l'aurora il giorno  
 Brami Damon per veder Filli il giorno,  
 Ch'io più che mille giorni amo una notte,  
 Dolce serena e riposata notte,  
 Qual mia fia mai di te più caro giorno?  
 Così Mopso cantava a mezza notte  
 A la sua Silvia in braccio, ogni aspro giorno  
 Posto in oblio per così dolce notte.  
 Ne credendo che mai venisse il giorno  
 Richiuse gli occhi, onde sparì la notte,  
 Sì ch'abbracciati gli scoperse il giorno.  
 (*I fiore delle rime* . . *op. cit.*, 266.)<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Other sonnets in *pace-guerra* are:

Felice chi da guerra ha tregua e pace,  
 E ricco di trofei, ch'acquistò in guerra  
 Non temendo dell'aspra e cruda guerra  
 Trionfa altero in sua tranquilla pace . . .  
 (C. Morelli, *Rime* [Cosenza, 1595], 34.)

Non bramo, ne desio, ne vo più guerra,  
 Anzi ricerco a tutte l'hore pace;  
 E pur non posso ritrovar mia pace,  
 Che quanto io miro mi rassembra guerra . . .  
 (*idem*, *op. cit.*)

Havrà mai fine questa dura guerra,  
 Che mi fate, o pensier? datemi pace:  
 Ch'io son già stanco in così lunga guerra,  
 E pur dovreste poi prestarmi pace . . .  
 (Orlandini dal Greco, *op. cit.*, 297, 1)

<sup>17</sup> Three Sicilian poets, Bartolomeo Bonanni, ["Ecco or sen va . . .," *Rime degli Accad.* *Accesi*, I, 118,] Argisto Giuffredi, and Orlandini dal Greco likewise adopted the same rimes.

O felici pastor, che in questa notte  
 Apriste gli occhi nel più chiaro giorno  
 Che fosse mai, mercè di lui che'l giorno  
 Creò da prima, e fece poi la notte . . .  
 (Giuffredi, *Rime degli Accad. Accesi*, 68, 1.)

Quando fia mai (Signor) quel santo giorno  
 Che non m'ingombri più terrena notte? . . .  
 (*idem*, *op. cit.*, 68, 1.)

A sonnet in *foco-ghiaccio* was composed by Cesare Simonetti.

Lasso ch'io ardo in vero ardente foco;  
 Che spegner, non lo può neve ne ghiaccio,  
 Freddo timor hor mi transforma in ghiaccio  
 Hor d'ardente desir mi cangia in foco.  
 Amor altro non è che vivo foco  
 Et la gelosa tema horribil ghiaccio;  
 Ma come huom viver può tra fiamme et ghiaccio  
 Et che 'l gelo ogn'hor più s'avanza e'l foco?  
 Amor tu vedi ben, c'ha il cor di ghiaccio  
 Madonna, e a miei sospir, che son di foco  
 Fredda è via più che freddo marmo o ghiaccio.  
 Opra lo strale, opra la rete, e 'l foco  
 Fere, annoda, & accende un'vivo ghiaccio,  
 Che mare. terra, & ciel vince 'l tuo foco.  
 (Rime, Padua, 1586.)<sup>18</sup>

There is another sonnet-variant of theme in *pianto* and *foco* by T. A. Balli.

Sparite, o fiere Larve, ecco qui il giorno  
 Onde fu estinta al fin la cieca notte  
 Che il dì ne tolse, e n'arrecò la notte  
 Per non riveder più l'aurora e 'l giorno . . .  
 (Orlandini dal Greco, *Rime degli Accad. Accesi* . . . , 131, II.)

<sup>18</sup> Simonetti furnishes a further example in the same rimes: *Lasso tra due contrarii in freddo ghiaccio* . . . (*op. cit.*) while others are supplied by Giuffredi, A. Botticella, and Piasentini.

Che non puoi far Amor? se d'un gran ghiaccio  
 Nascer facesti un Mongibel di foco?  
 Ma che puoi far, se col tuo ardente foco  
 Un cor non puoi scaldar fatto di ghiaccio? . . .  
 (Giuffredi, *Rime degli Accad. Accesi, op. cit.*, 59, I.)

In alto e nuovo Mar di vivo ghiaccio  
 Vidi vaga Sirena sparger foco,  
 Il cui dolce cantar me fe di ghiaccio  
 E 'l guardo onesto mi converse in foco . . .  
 (Botticella, *Rime degli Accad. Accesi, op. cit.*, 105, I.)

Se questa mia nemica è tutta ghiaccio,  
 Amor, ond'ha così possente foco,  
 Che sgombrando dal petto il duro ghiaccio,  
 Non lascia parte in me che non sia foco? . . .  
 (M. Piasentini, *Rime di vari* . . . [Orvieto, 1596], 33)

Giuffredi wrote a sonnet in *ghiaccio-foco*, "Romper credei . . .," *op. cit.*, I, 94, which was answered *per le rime* by his friend Gabrieli in "Se di tua donna . . .," *op. cit.*, I, 94.

Amor, se vuoi ch'io mi consumi in pianto  
 Ragion è ben, che tu mi spegni il foco;  
 E non che cresca il foco e cresca il pianto;  
 E più ch'abondi il pianto abondi el foco . . .  
 (*Rime degli Accad. Accesi, op. cit.*, 368, 1)

Orlandini dal Greco devised a further variation by his use of the contrasting rime words *terra* and *cielo*.

Si mostra a noi fiorita ogn'hor la terra,  
 E si vede sereno e bello il cielo;  
 Mentre la mia Siringa alberga in terra  
 Molto più vaga de l'Aurora in cielo . . .  
 (*Rime degli Accad. Accesi, op. cit.*, 269, 1)

After the artifice of the *parole identiche* had become firmly intrenched as a rhetorical device very largely by means of its use in the sonnet, it found its way into other verse forms. It was first introduced into the *strambotto*, as in the following composition by Serafino Aquilano.

Come esser po chio rida e pianga a un trato  
 Come esser po chio speri e tema a un punto  
 Come esser po chio brami e sprezi a un trato  
 Come esser po chio arda e giacia a un punto  
 Come esser po chio canti e giema a un trato  
 Come esser po chio viva e mora a un punto.  
 Egliè che morte fa l'ultima forza  
 Si come in lume quando al fin amorza.  
 (*Opere* [Venice, 1519], L.)

When the *strambotto* was banished by Bembo and his school, the artifice was occasionally employed during the sixteenth century in the octave stanzas of longer compositions, as in an octave in Muzzarello's *Fabula di Narciso*.

Allor rimase priva della voce,  
 Che da se stessa non può far parola,  
 L'infelice Eco, e se ode un'altra voce,  
 Risponde sempre al fin della parola,  
 Ripetendo il tenor di quella voce  
 Raddoppia il suon de l'ultima parola  
 Così ad ognun dopo il parlar risponde  
 Ne parla prima ma sempre risponde.  
 (V. Cian in "Ancora di Giovanni Muzzarelli,"  
*Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, xxxviii  
 [1901], 86.)

The only exception to this practice which I have been able to find is an octave attributed to Alamanni in *Rime di diversi signori napoletani e*

*d'altri nobiliss. ingegni . . . Libro Quinto* (Venice, 1555), p. 465, bearing the rime words *vita* and *sempre*, and an octave by Ventimiglia in *Rime degli Accad. Accesi . . .*, *op. cit.*, II, 45, bearing the rime words *foco* and *neve*.

But the most popular of the octaves of this class—soon imitated by French, Spanish, and Italian writers—is a lucubration in Anguillara's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: it combines in its eight verses the device of the *parole identiche* and that of the *replicazione*.

Pria che'l ciel fosse, il mar, la terra, e'l foco,  
Era il foco, la terra, il cielo, e'l mare;  
Ma'l mar rendeva il ciel, la terra, e'l foco,  
Deforme il foco, il ciel, la terra, e'l mare.  
Che ivi era e terra, e cielo, e mare, e foco,  
Dove era e cielo, e terra, e foco e mare:  
La terra, il foco, e'l mare era nel cielo;  
Nel mar, nel foco, e ne la terra, il cielo.  
(*Metamorfosi di Ovidio* [Venice, 1571], I, 3.)

Even more amazing, however, is a monstrosity by Mauritio Moro, whose fifty octaves have only two alternating rimes—*ghiaccio* and *foco*. We quote only the first stanza.

Amor io canto di Madonna il ghiaccio  
E degli begli occhi ardenti il vivo foco.  
Pena del cor amante e sì gran ghiaccio  
Esca de' lumi, sì mirabil foco.  
Serba (o gran meraviglia) incendio'l ghiaccio,  
Nutre 'l rigido seno e ghiaccio e foco,  
Per me scopersi un foco e per se un ghiaccio  
Ne l'alta forza tua stempra quel ghiaccio . . .  
(*I tre giardini dei madrigali . . . Libro primo . . .*, Venice, 1602.)

The following anonymous sixteenth-century poem is proof that our device was also applied to the *barzellette*.

Gran beltà promette un sì,	L'amor mio non merta un no,
Gentilezza è non dir no;	Ne tu dei negarmi un sì:
Bella sei: tu dei dir sì;	Però presto dimme un sì
Sei gentil: non dei dir no!	Ch'io so' morto se odo un no. <sup>19</sup>

Bembo, in a composition we have already quoted, appears to have been the first to introduce the device into a short *canzone*. In the longer

<sup>19</sup> In *Cinque barzellette tratte dalle raccolte musicali di Andrea Antico da Montona*, Bologna: R. Tipografia, 1887.

*canzoni* or rather *canzoni-sestine* I have met with only two instances in which the artifice of the *parole identiche* is carried out. These compositions were written by Claudio Tolomei and Il Ferme. Through his famous *sestina doppia*: "Amor tu vedi ben che questa donna . . ." the influence of Dante, needless to say, is obvious.

Chi non sa ben, com'una fiera donna  
L'altrui misere membra volga in pietra,  
Mira il guardo crudel de la mia donna;  
Che ha forza di cangiar ciascuno in pietra . . .  
(*Rime di diversi . . . Libro secondo, op. cit., 6v.-7v* )

Sarebbe ogni un voler dar lume al sole  
Lodar volendo la mia dolce Pietra  
Datane in terra, come al mondo il sole  
Ma l'avanza ella, & io quasi di pietra . . .  
(*Il sesto libro delle rime di diversi eccellenti autori . . . [Venice, 1553], 173-174.*)

The idea of combining the device of the *rime derivative* and that of the *parole identiche* also started in the fifteenth century, but was happily destined never to become popular. Serafino, as might be expected, furnishes us with an example in a *strambotto*.

Io vivo, non so come al mondo viva,  
Senz'alma e senza cor & pur son vivo;  
S'io vivo el to bel volto vuol ch'i viva,  
& in un momento mi fa morto e vivo . . .  
(*Le Rime, op. cit., pp. xlii-xliii.*)

Of greater interest is the following sonnet by Lodovico Paterno.

Deh, quando sarà mai quel giorno o Dafne,  
Che non seguirai più l'orme di Dafni?  
S'ancor ti sprezza il giovinetto Dafni,  
Volgiti ad altr'obietto, o stolta Dafne.  
Hier finì del altr'anno un mese, o Dafne  
Ch'ad ognihor hai pregato il tuo bel Dafni:  
Tanto in un grave error t'indurò o Dafne.  
Ciò volgea fra se stessa; & ecco Dafni  
Le sovragiunse da man destra, e, o Dafne  
Eterno, disse, amico hor ti fia Dafne.  
In vece di risposta corse Dafne,  
Come folgor ardente a baciare Dafni,  
Ma ratto egli sparì beffando Dafne.  
(*Nuove fiamme, Lyons, 1568.*)

Girolamo Muzio undertook to combine the device of the *parole identiche* with that of the *consonanze* in his sonnet "Aura che move . . ." It will be noticed that the only difference between the two rimes is the fact that in one word, *pene*, the *n* is single, whereas in the word, *penne*, it is double.

Aura che movi le veloci penne  
Verso colei che move le mie pene,  
Già non han l'ale tue cotante penne,  
Quant'io porto nel cor gravose pene  
Ma se giamai battesti le tue penne  
Punta da'sproni d'amorose pene,  
Ben mi dovresti un dì prestar le penne  
Per isgombrarmi 'l cor da l'aspre pene  
L'alma mia al suo desir portan le penne,  
Ch'amor fatto pietoso a le sue pene  
Ad hora ad hora a lei porge le penne.  
Così senz'alma mi ripongo in pene,  
Ma s'una volta mi darai le penne,  
Sarò con l'alma, & sarò fuor di pene.<sup>20</sup>  
(*Il secondo volume delle rime scelte . . .*,  
Venice, 1565.)

Curious as the Muzio sonnet may seem, even more so is another type of sonnet which combines the devices of the *replicazione*, *aliterazione*, and the *parole identiche*. The usual two alternating rimes are here reduced to a monorime.

Una fiamma ch'eccede ogni gran fiamma,  
(Anchor che fiamma non infiammi fiamma)  
Con le sue fiamme infiamma ogn'altra fiamma,  
Che sia infiammata, e ne la fa sua fiamma;  
Io che infiammato mi pascio di fiamma  
(Com'huom tenuto a l'amorosa fiamma)  
Tosto infiammato fui da questa fiamma,  
Ne mi voglio infiammar di nuova fiamma.  
Fiamma infiammata de la vera fiamma,  
Infiamma anchor con la pietosa fiamma,  
La fiamma tua da la mia ardente fiamma,  
Che infiammata non fia mai altra fiamma,  
Come la fiamma mia de la tua fiamma  
E infiammato sarò l'istessa fiamma.<sup>21</sup>  
(L. Borra, *Le amorose rime*, Venice, 1542.)

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Biadene, "Morfologia del sonetto . . .," p. 154.

<sup>21</sup> Also attributed to Mantegna in *Rime di diversi . . . Libro quinto . . .* On Borra see F. Borri, "Luigi Borri, poeta parmigiano del Cinquecento" in *Aurea Parma*, xvi (1931).

Un bel lume, ch'illumina ogni lume,  
 Anzi toglie col lume a i lumi il lume,  
 Illuminò coi lumi ogni mio lume,  
 Più che mai lume illuminasse lume:  
 Erano i lumi miei privi del lume,  
 Che mena i lumi illuminati al lume,  
 Quand' i miei lumi illuminò del lume,  
 Chi toglie a i lumi ogni terreno lume  
 Lume da vero illuminato lume,  
 Poi ch'i miei lumi van sprezzando 'l lume  
 Cieco apo i lumi del tuo chiaro lume,  
 Fa anchor co i lumi i miei lumi pel lume  
 Scorta del lume, che ci adduce il lume,  
 A te sian lume, com'a me il tuo lume.

(A. Mantegna, *Rime di diversi* . . . *Libro*  
*quinto, op. cit.*)

Il mio sole luce, e rilucendo, luce  
 A gli occhi miei da con sua dolce luce;  
 E se adombrata non si sia la luce  
 Da qualche nube; eterna havrà la luce . .

(F. Lanci, *Per donne romane: Rime di diversi*  
 [ed. Manfredi, Bologna, 1575], 762, II.)

Deserving of consideration in a separate group are a number of poems belonging to the seventeenth, eighteenth, and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries. By this time the Petrarchistic movement had been replaced by Marinism, neo-classicism, etc., and the device of the identical rime words (which may be considered as a typical expression of Petrarchism) was banished from higher literary circles. Nevertheless, it continued to attract a few minor poets and can frequently be found in popular and dialect poetry, notably in the province of Naples, where it was employed for satirical or jocular purposes, and in Sicily, where it was applied to subject-matter of all sorts. The frequent use of the artifice by the Sicilian Petrarchists of the *Accademia degli Accesi* of Palermo had apparently given it the necessary stamp of authority to insure its transmittance and diffusion in the island for a considerable period of time. The *ottava identica* became at this stage even more popular than the sonnet.

Two interesting examples in the field of popular poetry are the following:

Parto, resto, non parto, io parto o resto?  
 Vorrei restare, ma convien che parto;  
 Per cagione d'amor convien che resto

Per cagione d'onor convien che parto.  
 Su vincala l'amor; io già mi resto,  
 Ma che diràn di me se poi non parto?  
 Pena e per me se parto, e più se resto:  
 Sempre pena è per me, o resto o parto.<sup>22</sup>  
 (In D'Ancona, *La poesia popolare italiana*  
 [Leghorn, 1906], 442-443.)

Ma chi deve amar voi, se non v'amo io,  
 Chi de' amar me, se non m'amate voi?  
 Chi de' speiar in voi, se non sper'io,  
 Chi de' sperare in me, sola che voi?  
 Vostro ben, vostra speme esser vogl'io;  
 Mio ben, mia speme esser vogliate voi,  
 E sete alfin dentr'al mio miser cuore  
 Mio ben, mia speme degna del mio amore.<sup>23</sup>  
 (In D'Ancona, *op. cit.*, 458.)

In the Neapolitan dialect we have this amusing instance:

S'ha da fa co no pazzo, e co no ciuccio,  
 Che non saie qual e cchiu, si ciuccio, o pazzo.  
 Cride, ch'e pazzo, e tte lo truove ciuccio,  
 Pienze ch'e cciuccio, e tte lo vide pazzo.  
 E mentre 'n dubbeio staie ntra pazzo e ciuccio,  
 Te resce sempe ciuccio e sempe pazzo.  
 Ca chisso d'ogne tiempo e pazzo e cciuccio,  
 Ca chisso d'ogne tiempo e ciuccio e ppazzo.  
 Nzomma si lo vuoje pazzo e pazzo e cciuccio,  
 E si ciuccio lo vuoje e cciuccio e ppazzo,  
 Ch'è cciuccio e pazzo quant'è pazzo e ciuccio,

<sup>22</sup> D'Ancona (p. 443) also cites versions in Calabrian and in the dialect of Caprignano. For other dialect versions see also G. Vignoli, "Il folk-lore di Castro dei Volsci," *Studi di Romanzi*, XIII (1917), 150. Cf. also a strambotto by Luigi Pulci in *Operette inedite* 16-18, beginning: "Vo'mi partire & non mi so partire. . ."

<sup>23</sup> This version is from a codex of the seventeenth century. For later versions with the same rime scheme see D'Ancona, *op. cit.*, p. 458. In the Vignoli article just cited another version is reproduced with bibliographical notes, pp. 144-145, indicating where further versions of the octave may be found. Also in the seventeenth century a similar pro-nominal *rima identica* device was used by Francesco Melosio in a six-line stanza.

E una minchioneria, credilo a me;  
 Questi non stentan già per me oper te,  
 Ma si ridon bensì di te e di me,  
 E vengan pur mille malanni a te.  
 Io son disposto sol vivere a me,  
 E cancar venga a Francia a Spagna e a te.

See D. Gnoli, "Un freddurista nel Seicento," *Nuova Antologia*, LVI (1881) 583.



Anze, è tanto se vede e cciuccio e ppazzo,  
 Che sempe è assaie chiu pazzo che n'è ciuccio:  
 Che sempe è assaie chiu ciuccio che n'è pazzo.<sup>24</sup>

In his *Castalia mormorante* (Naples, 1679) Gio. Battista Santoro, presumably a Neapolitan, gives us several Tuscanized sonnet versions in which the artifice of the *parole identiche* is used. These we shall designate only by their rime words: *monte-mare* (p. 28); *anno-giorno* (p. 85); *vita-morte* (p. 140); *huomo-Dio* (p. 141); *Apollo-Astrea* (p. 197).

In Sicilian we have more abundant material to draw upon. Melchiorre Pome in *La lira, a due corde. Sonetti e canzoni siciliane, eroiche e sacre Corda seconda* (Palermo, 1732), wrote ottavas ending with the alternating rime words *curuna-canna* (67), *spata-libru* (68), and the following stanza (p. 62) in *Amuri-Fortuna*.

Ad ogni miu capricciu arrisi Amuri,  
 A li mei imprisi militau Fortuna,  
 O chi triumfi mi prumisi Amuri,  
 O quanti glorij mi mustrau Fortuna.

<sup>24</sup> J. A. Parmiero in *La violejda, Collezione di tutti i poemi in lingua napoletana* (Naples, 1788), xxxii, 60.

Other interesting illustrations are:

E tanto digno de Vernacchie e Buffe  
 Chisto, che ssempe vò Buffe e Bernacchie,  
 Che quanno e cchino di Vernacchie e Buffe  
 Tanto vole cchiu Buffe e cchiu Vernacchie . . .  
 (Parmiero, *op. cit.*, 76.)

Se a lo pertuso se nne stà lo Ragno;  
 Si pe li fatte suoie va lo zelluso;  
 E ba la Mosca a ttrommenta lo Ragno;  
 E la Coppola lieve a lo zelluso . . .  
 (Parmiero, *op. cit.*, 103.)

T'avante essere Ammico è Nnamorato  
 Ma non si Nnamorato e si Ammico;  
 N'aviste tratte maje de Nnamorato,  
 Ne viste aggio maje 'ntè parte Ammico . . .  
 (*Poesie napoletane di Domenico Piccinni*  
 [Naples, 1826], 180.)

Compà per chiajetare nce vo l'oro,  
 E tutto puoje avere co denare.  
 Li muorte pure fa parlare l'orò,  
 E niente oggi se fa senza denare . . .  
 (Geremia Priscolo: *Mescuglia di chellete devote e passaiarelle, Parte seconna* (Naples, 1831), p. 89.)

Ora sù cecu, mi tradiu l'Amuri;  
 Ora sù nudu mi spughiau Fortuna.  
 Mi rubbau l'occhii, e si li misi Amuri;  
 'Nchiuvau la Rota, e si partiu Fortuna.

The Rev. Sacerdote D. D. Stefano, Beneficial Melchiorre, in his *Poesie siciliane, giucose, serie, e morali* (Palerma, 1795) published octaves in *patri-figghiu* (p. 19), *hic-haec* (p. 177), *celu-terra* (p. 275), a series of four octaves in *vita-morte* (p. 288-89). A stanza on p. 11 in *hic-haec: Sopra l'Articolo della Menzogna* was recited in the Accademia del Buon-gusto.

Chi ci ha stato pri un hoc, un haec un hic?  
 Cui dici chi minsogna avissi l'haec,  
 Cui la chiama Diabolus, e avi hic,  
 E comu Masculinu escludi l'haec.  
 Cui la chiama mendacium, e voli hic;  
 E comu neutru avi hoc, e un avi l'haec;  
 Chi si applichi cui voli all'hoc, e all'hic;  
 Pirch'iu mi appighirrà a l'articulu haec.

In the *Poesie siciliane* (Catania, 1816, 2) by Carlo Felice Gambino there is a curious octave in *Anna-annu*. Another octave in *timu-amu* appears on p. 125.

V'amu miu Criaturi, e non vi timu.  
 Pirchi non timu veramenti v'amu:  
 Comu amannuvi è signu ca non timu,  
 Si non vi timu è signu ca iu v'amu.  
 Cui non v'ama vi timi; iu non vi timu.  
 Miu Diu si v'amu, e timu, amu e non amu.  
 Sapiti sulu amannuvi chi timu?  
 Ca no lu sacciu si abbastanza v'amu.

Antonio Veneziano, *Muse siciliane* (Palermo, 1645), 121, imitated the Anguillara octave which we have already cited.

A un motu lu miu focu, acqua, e airu e terra  
 Transelementa terra, airu, acqua e focu,  
 Und'iu perdu in miu focu, airu, acqua e terra,  
 All'occhi l'acqua, a la facci la terra,  
 L'airu a la vucca a lu cori lu focu,  
 Acqua di chiantu, culuri di terra,  
 Suspiri d'airu, arduri di focu.

Another Sicilian, Tommaso Campailla in his poem in *volgare italiano, L'Adamo ovvero il mondo creato, poema filosofico* (Siracusa, ed. 1783), canto vi, 36, also imitated Anguillara. In the same work four further

examples of octaves illustrative of the device of the *parole identiche* may be found in Canto VII, 116, VIII, 179, IX, 93, XX, 58. Additional Tuscanized compositions employing the artifice were written by Melchiorre Pome, *op. cit.* They are all sonnets and bear the rimes: *mano-senno* (52), *cielo-mare* (139), *sole-alba* (151), *marmo-foco* (206).

Other lingering traces of the device of the *parole identiche* in the literary language may be found in the *Rime piacevoli di Giov. Battista Fagioli, parte sesta* (Florence, 1734), which contains two sonnets in *cielo-terra* (pp. 1 and 86). In a manuscript at the University of Chicago Library (MSS XXX, *Poesie italiane*) there are three anonymous sonnets in *pace-guerra*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> We reproduce two of them in full partly because they are inedita and partly because they illustrate a use of the *sonetto identico* which we have not as yet discussed in that we are dealing with an original sonnet and an answer or parody of the same *per le rime*.

La Guerra Aralda di Pace dedicata alle  
glorie immortali di Luigi il Grande, Re  
di Francia e di Navarra.

Guerra a Cesare muove e propon Pace  
Pronto sempre egualmente a Pace e Guerra  
Quel Re sì glorioso in Guerra e Pace,  
Arbitro della Pace, e della Guerra.  
Guerra dic'egli io porto, esorto Pace,  
Ciò che vuol scielga il mondo o Pace o Guerra  
Giusta è la Guerra a chi non vuol la Pace,  
Bell' è la Pace a chi non vuol la Guerra.  
Fin di mia Guerra è il non voler la Guerra,  
Voler la Guerra infin d'altrui Pace;  
O facciam Pace in Pace o Guerra in Guerra.  
Che gran Re? Che gran Guerra? Che gran Pace?  
Mandar la Pace a principiar la Guerra,  
Mandar la Guerra ad esibir la Pace.  
(fol. 424)

*Risposta verace*

Perfido violator di Guerra e Pace,  
Pronto al mal egualmente in Pace e Guerra,  
Della fede nemico e della Pace  
Muove a Pietro ad Augusto al mondo Guerra,  
Se Guerra porti, a che esortar la Pace?  
Se Pace esorti a che portar la Guerra?  
A Guerra ingiusta a chi desia la Pace?  
Giusta è la Pace a chi non muove Guerra.  
Il fin della tua Guerra è voler Guerra  
Con chi non ama che il sol fin di Pace  
Onde non fai che pur la Pace in Guerra.

Though it is now very rarely used for other than satirical purposes in the poetry of our times, the device has not completely gone out of existence in the field of the religious lyric. Nino Oxilia, a young poet who met his death in the World War, has supplied us with an example through his collection—*Gli orti: liriche* (Milan, 1918).

*Dio*

Chiudo gli occhi e non vedo altro che buio,  
 Apro gli occhi e non vedo altro che luce.  
 Se fisso a lungo la violenta luce  
 Mi si velano gli occhi e sento il buio.  
 Se gli occhi fisso a lungo dentro il buio  
 Stellano gli occhi ed io sento la luce.  
 Così ritrovo Dio dentro alla luce.  
 Così ritrovo Dio se fisso il buio.<sup>26</sup>

The device of the *parole identiche* prevalent in sixteenth-century Italy soon penetrated into other parts of Europe along with the epidemic of Petrarchism. In France, Du Bellay imitated the anonymous sonnet in *Delle rime di diversi . . .* in his *Olive*, sonnet cx.

Dieu, qui changeant avec obscure mort  
 Ta bienheureuse & immortelle vie,  
 Fus aux pecheurs prodigue de ta vie,  
 Pour les tirer de l'eternelle mort:  
 Celle pitié coupable de ta mort  
 Guide les paz de ma facheuse vie,  
 Tant que par toy, a plus joyeuse vie  
 Je, soy conduit du travail de la mort.  
 N'avise point, o Seigneur! que ma vie  
 Se soit noyée aux ondes de la mort  
 Qui me destrait d'une si doulce vie:  
 Oste la palme a cet' iniuste mort,  
 Qui ia s'en va superbe de ma vie  
 Et mort soit tousiour pour moy la mort.  
 (Marty-Laveaux ed. 136, 1)

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Re indegno, Guerra infame, affiitta Pace;  
 Offrir la Pace per voler la Guerra  
 Voler Guerra, e non voler la Pace.

The third composition is a religious sonnet beginning: *Nat'è Gesù, ei della Pace e Guerra . . .* (371). Compare with the two sonnets cited above, a sonnet by A. Caro and a parody of the same by Lorenzino de' Medici in Del Lungo's article "Il Kaiser in due sonetti del cinquecento," *Giornale d'Italia*, Rome, Nov. 20, 1918.

<sup>26</sup> This poem is also quoted in a biographical sketch of Oxilia by M. D. in *Nuova antologia*, Nov. 16, 1918, pp. 205-07.

But this attempt, which might be expected to have brought about a number of imitations, proved abortive. Perhaps it was because the artifice of the *parole identiche* was associated with the *rime equivоче* in the minds of French writers, who ostracized both devices as products of the hated Marotiques.<sup>27</sup> At any rate, a detailed examination of all the major and many minor writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has resulted in the finding of only one more example of the Italian *parole identiche*, an octave in Du Bartas' *La Première semaine* (Paris, 1603), p. 37, which is an imitation of Anguillara's stanza. Readers must, therefore, not accept at its face value the statement regarding the popularity of French versions of this kind made by Janet G. Scott in *Les sonnets élizabéthains* (Paris, 1929), pp. 40-41.

In Great Britain it fared slightly better. Two examples by Drummond and two by Sidney were pointed out some years ago by L. E. Kastner in "Drummond of Hawthornden and the Poets of the Pléiade," *MLR* iv (1908), 340-341. One of Sidney's sonnets: "Since that the stormy rage . . .," *Arcadia*, Bk. III, has the alternating rime words *dark* and *light*. The other is in *Astrophel* and *Stella*, son. LXXXIX.

Now that of absence the most irksome night  
With darkest shade doth overcome my day;  
Since Stella's eyes, wont to give me my day,  
Leaving my hemisphere, leave me in night;  
Each day seems long and longs for long-stayed night;  
The night, as tedious, woos th' approach of day;  
Tired with the dusty toils of busy day,  
Languish'd with horrors of the silent night;  
Suffering the both of day and night;  
While no night is more dark than is my day.  
Nor no day hath less quiet than my night,  
With such bad mixture of my night and day,  
That living thus in blackest winter night  
I feel the flames of hottest Summer day.

Drummond wrote two sonnets with the alternating rime words *life* and *death*. One of them "Life to give life . . ." is in his *Flowers of Sion*; the other, quoted below, may be found in Vol. I of his *Poetical Works*, (ed. Kastner, Manchester, 1913), p. 45.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Du Bellay's vigorous attack against the rime équivoque which was doubtless influential in banning the device in *La Défense et Illustration de la Langue Française* (ed. Chamard, Paris, 1904), pp. 263-265. Estienne Pasquier in his *Œuvres* (Amsterdam, 1723), I, 738, was one of the few who appreciated the device. "Je mettois volontiers entre nos jeux Poëtiques ce sonnet de du Bellay auquel il s'est joué sur ces deux paroles vie et mort, ce que n'estort que c'est une belle et sainte Oraison qu'il fait a Dieu."

So grievous is my Paine, so painful Life  
 That oft I find mee in the Armes of Death,  
 But (Breath halfe gone) that Tyrant called Death  
 Who other killes, restoreth mee to Life;  
 For while I think how Woe shall end with Life,  
 And that I quiet Peace shall ioye by Death,  
 That Thought even doth o'erpowr the Paines of Death  
 And call me home againe to lothed Life;  
 Thus doth mine will transcend both Life and Death,  
 While no Death is so bad as is my Life  
 Nor no Life such which doth not ende by Death,  
 And Protean changes t'wine my Death and Life:  
 O happie those who in their Birthe finde Death,  
 But to languish Heaven affordeth Life.

The device of the *parole identiche* flourished in Spain, as can be seen from the twenty-seven examples listed below. Quite as early as the Italians the Spaniards showed a great predilection for contrasting rime words in consecutive lines, particularly favoring the opposites *muerte* and *vida* or their derivatives.<sup>28</sup> None of them are, however, *parole identiche*—these were introduced into Spain from Italy not earlier than 1550—but they clearly served to predispose the Spaniards to a ready acceptance of the Italian metrical artifice. Probably the first instance of a Spanish poem with identical rimes in opposites is a sonnet by Hernando de Acuña.

Alma pues hoy el que formò la vida,  
 Y el que tiene poder sobre la muerte,  
 Solo por remediar tu eterna muerte  
 Diò el precio inestimable de su vida.  
 Mira que es justo que en tì tengan vida  
 Los mèritos y pasos de su muerte;  
 Y conoce que es viento, sombra o muerte,  
 Quanto el error del mundo llama vida;  
 Y asì podràs saliendo desta muerte,  
 Entrar en posesi3n de aquella vida,  
 Que no acabarà tiempo ni muerte:  
 Endereza el camino a mejor vida,  
 Dexa el siniestro que te lleva a muerte  
 Que el derecho es mäs llano y va a la vida.  
 (*Varias poestas* [Madrid, 1804], 213–214.)<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Instances of *muerte* and *vida* as end words in successive lines in the *Cancionero del Siglo XV*, *Nueva biblioteca de autores espa1oles*, II, which represents only a small portion of the poetic material of the century, are numerous enough to convince anyone that the device was very popular. Compare pp. 19, 38, 47, 125, 228, 247, 256, 531 (3 examples), 567 (2), 592 (2) and 716.

<sup>29</sup> Other sonnets employing the alternating rime words *vida* and *muerte* are the following:

The most refreshing and graceful Spanish poem in *vida-muerte* is an inedited sonnet in the manuscript *cancionero Flores de varia poesía*,<sup>30</sup> (Mexico, 1577), which occurs after the name of Licenciado Dueñas.

¿Qué es esto, dime Juan? Mi fe de muerte  
 Calla, que vivo estás? Esta no es vida.  
 ¿Qué sientes? Eso no diré en mi vida.  
 Guarda que morirás. Yo quiero muerte.  
 ¿Con qué te alegrarás? Con esta muerte.

---

Christo, Jesus, escudo a nuestra muerte  
 Camino cierto, la verdad y vida  
 Despues de haber en trabajosa vida  
 Al padre satisfecho con su muerte . . .  
 (López de Úbeda, *Vergel del flores divinas*,  
 [Alcalá de Henares, 1588], 69v )

De tí muerto Jesu, nace la vida,  
 Que muriendo a la muerte diste muerte  
 Y de tu amor, nos vino aquella muerte  
 Que nos levanta a nueva y mejor vida . . .  
 (Pedro de Padilla, *Cancionero espiritual*  
 [Madrid, 1585], 87v.)

Translated from Fiamma's *Da te morto Giesu . . . Rime spirituali*, 332.

El dolor grave de tu acerba muerte  
 Dexó en tan triste soledad mi vida  
 Ilustre caro amigo, que la vida  
 En mí, sin tí, es retrato de la muerte . . .  
 (Pedro Láinez in *MS Esp 314* of the Bibliothèque  
 Nationale of Paris, fol. 162.)

La vida que yo paso es propia muerte,  
 Y aun deve ser peor tan triste vida,  
 Porque suele dar sin muerte a la vida,  
 Y esta vida no acaba con la muerte . . .  
 (*idem*, *op. cit.* fol. 23v )

Translated from Goselini's *La Vita, Amor, ch'io vivo . . . Rime*, 1581.

Triste de mí que bivo ya sin vida  
 Y procurando estoy siempre la muerte,  
 Pareciendo me ser mejor la muerte,  
 Que no tan trabajosa y triste vida . . .  
 (Silvestre, *Obras* iv, Lisbon, 1592, 376.)

Other sonnets in *vida-muerte* were written by Manuel Ledesma (*Cancionero* of the Academia de los Nocturnos (Valencia, 1914), 90, iv), Gregorio Ferrer in the same *cancionero*, III, 60, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo in *El pastor de Filida* (*Orígenes de la novela*, 47, II), and an anonymous poet in the *Revue hispanique* xxxvii (1916), 289.

<sup>30</sup> MS. 2973 (previously M-268) and copy 7982 (previously V-366) in the Biblioteca nacional matritense.

¿Porqué desseas morirte? Por la vida.  
 ¿Quién te podrá hazer bien? Quien es mi muerte  
 ¿Quién es tu vida? Quien me da la muerte.  
 ¿Pues luego amor te mata? El da la vida.  
 ¿De que mal mueres? Que no es mal mi muerte  
 Mal es si te haze mal. Tal sea mi vida.  
 ¿Tal vida es para que? Para tal muerte.  
 ¿Desseas alguna cosa? Que (en) mi vida  
 Quisiese conocer quien me da muerte.

(fol. 236)

A very curious sonnet by Mercader in derivatives of *vida-muerte* deserves citation in full.

Tanto lloro el pensar que siempre	bivo
Y tanto siento el ver que no me	muero
Que en creyendo que vivo entonces	muero
Y en sintiendo que muero, entonces	bivo.
Enbuelto en la mortal angustia	bivo,
Y viendo della el fin, contento	muero;
Así que es la vida el gusto con que	muero,
Con tanto miedo de morirme	bivo,
Que puedo asegurar que siempre	muero
Y que pues no soy muerto siempre	bivo,
De suerte que en un tiempo vivo y	muero,
Pues con la muerte de la pena	bivo,
Y porque no se acabe, no me	muero.

(*El prado de Valencia* [ed. Merimée, Toulouse, 1907], 210.)

Just as the *vida-morte* rime probably had its origin in a religious composition, an innovation in *gloria-pena* introduced by the Spaniards perhaps had a like source. One of these compositions Pedro de Padilla includes in his *Cancionero espiritual* as a pendant to his *vida-muerte* translation from Fiamma.

A todo lo que el mundo llama gloria  
 Dan los siervos de Dios nombre de pena,  
 Porque es cosa imposible no ser pena,  
 Lo que priva de eterno bien y gloria.  
 Que mal puede quadrar nombre de gloria,  
 Al bien que se pretende con tal pena,  
 Y el temor de perdelle da más pena  
 Que posseelle puede causar gloria.  
 Solo Dios tiene verdadera gloria  
 En premio prometido de una pena  
 Que siempre fué a los justos dulce gloria



Porque tan breve y limitada pena  
 No menos asegura que una gloria,  
 Libre de miedo, sobresalto y pena.  
 (*Op. cit.*, 200v.)<sup>31</sup>

Two non-religious sonnet imitations of the above device are reprinted by Foulchè del Bosc in "136 sonnets anonymes", *Revue hispanique*, vi (1899), 388, 398.

In two hybrid sonnets, one in *hielo-fuego*, *vida-muerte* and the other in *fuego-nieve*, *hielo-llama*, Herrera may be following the procedure of Petrarch's sonnet, "Quando'io son . . ."; but in combining two popular forms of the Renaissance *parole identiche* he has done something for which we find no direct parallel among the Italians.

Ardo Amor, y non enciende el fuego al hielo,  
 Y con el hielo no entropezzo al fuego;  
 Contrasta el muerto hielo al vivo fuego  
 Todo soy vivo fuego y muerto hielo.  
 No tiene el frio polo tanto hielo  
 Ni ocupa el cerco eterio tanto fuego,  
 Tan igual es mi pena que ni el fuego  
 Me ofende más ni menos daña el hielo.  
 Muero y vivo en la vida, y en la muerte,  
 Y la muerte no acaba ni la vida,  
 Porque la vida crece con la muerte.  
 Tu que puedes hacer la muerte vida,  
 Porque me tienes vivo en esta muerte?  
 Porque me tienes muerto en esta vida?  
 (*Biblioteca de autores españoles*, xxxii, 342.)

Amor en mi se muestra ardiente fuego  
 Y en las entrañas de mi Luz es nieve;  
 Fuego no hay que ella no torne nieve  
 Ni nieve que no mude yo en mi fuego  
 La fría zona abraso con mi fuego  
 La torrida mi Luz convierte en nieve;  
 Pero no puedo yo encender su nieve,  
 Ni ella entibiar la fuerza de mi fuego.  
 Contrastan igualmente hielo y llama;  
 Que fuera de otra suerte el mundo hielo,  
 O su máquina toda viva llama;  
 Mas fuera que risuelto ya en hielo  
 O el corazón desvanecido en llama,

<sup>31</sup> This sonnet was falsely appropriated by Diego Murillo or his editors in the *Divina dulce e provechosa poesía por el padre Fr. Diego Murillo* (Zaragoza, 1616), p. 131.

Ni temiera su llama ni su hielo.  
(*Op. cit.*, 313.)

Lomas Cantoral's sonnet in *día-noche* is a translation of Fiorentino's poem in *giorno-notte*: "Deh non ritorni . . ."

Ay nunca buelva a descubrir al día  
El alva, mas perpétua y ciega noche  
Cubra este fresco valle, y sea la noche  
A mis ojos, Aurora, Sol, y día . . .  
(*Obras poéticas* [Madrid, 1578], 93, II.)<sup>32</sup>

Though Spanish examples of the *parole identiche* in opposites are common, instances of the other variety in which the rime words need not bear any strict relationship to one another are very rare. The only example of the latter that we have been able to discover is a sonnet by Pedro de Quiros.

A oposición del sol y de los cielos  
Hizo el divino autor tu cielo y soles,  
Fabricando aquí un cielo con dos soles,  
Como allí, Celia, un sol y muchos cielos.  
Allí es cristal el sol, zafir los cielos;  
Vense aquí en breve cielo grandes soles;  
Vese allí breve sol en grandes cielos.  
Vencen al cielo y sol tu cielo y soles  
Que solo por ser mas que sol y cielos,  
Cielos son en beldad y en luz son soles.  
Si no les opusieran sol y cielos,  
Que siendo tan helados no son soles,  
Que siendo tan crueles no son cielos.  
(*Poesías divinas y humanas* [Seville, 1887], 8-9.)

Besides making use of the device of the *parole identiche* in their sonnets, the Spaniards also employed it in some of their octaves. One of these in *claro-oscuro* was addressed by Bernardo de Guimerá to El Brocense.

<sup>32</sup> Coming also from the pen of the same author is the only example of the *rima derivativa* which we have found in Spanish.

Sale la aurora colorada y blanca	Sale encendido el Dios de Cinthio blanco
Con tierno seno regalado y blanco	Y al rayo ardiente de su lumbre blanca
Huye la oscuridad al rostro blanco	Nace el roxo Narciso el lyrio blanco
Y de perlas se ve la tierra blanca.	Abre el sol de su luz mi diosa blanca
Aperece riendo mi luz blanca	Y al vivo resplandor dorado y blanco
De carmesí adornada verde y blanco	Rayos de luz engendró de mí blanca.
Y vuelve al descubrir del bulto blanco	( <i>Op. cit.</i> , 228, III)
Mi noche en clara luz su frente blanca	

Qual hace el rutilante Apolo claro  
 Todo cuanto la noche tuvo oscuro,  
 Así vos maestro mío, lo más oscuro  
 Hacéys con excelente ingenio claro  
 ¿Qué autor uvo hasta agora menos claro  
 O que menos deviera estar oscuro  
 Que Juan de Mena? cuyo poema oscuro,  
 Queda por vuestra industria buelto claro.<sup>33</sup>

Diego d'Avalos y Figueroa in his *Miscelánea Austral* (Lima, Peru, 1603), p. 20, translated Alamanni's stanza in *vita-sempre*, *op. cit.*; while Hojeda in *La Cristiada*, *Biblioteca de autores españoles* xxix, Bk. III, 425, wrote an octave in *vida-muerte*. In addition to these there are several octaves modelled upon Anguillara's *jeu de mots*, *op. cit.*, by Balbuena in *El Bernardo* (B. A. E. xvii, 300), Acevedo in *Creación del mundo* (B. A. E. xxix, 247) and Tejada in Gallardo's *Ensayo de una biblioteca española* . . . (Madrid, 1863), iv, 1069-70. two examples.<sup>34</sup>

In Portugal where the tradition of the *rima equivoca* prevailed longer than in other countries, the artifice of the *parole identiche* is seldom found. We quote a sonnet by Fray Agostin da Cruz and an octave by Pedro Andrade de Caminha both belonging to the first division of the *sonetto identico* and *ottava identica*.

Amor truxe a Jesus da gloria a cruz,  
 Amor nos leva a nos da cruz a gloria,  
 Amor nos descobrió gloria na cruz,  
 Amor nos deo na cruz posse da gloria.  
 Amor me de a gloria pela cruz  
 Amor de cruz ensena amor de gloria,  
 Amor que gloria quer, funda-se em cruz.  
 Amor fundado em cruz para na gloria.  
 Amor e peso igual de gloria e cruz  
 Amor nuve e de cruz, e sol de gloria.

<sup>33</sup> In Sanctii Brocensis, *Opera Omnia* (Geneva, 1776), iv, 222. See E. Buceta, "La crítica de la oscuridad sobre poetas anteriores a Góngora," *Revista de filología española*, viii (1921), 180.

<sup>34</sup> In closing our discussion of the subject with reference to Spain it is of some interest to cite a curious opinion on the *rima equivoca* given by Juan Díaz Rengifo in his *Arte poética española* (Salamanca, 1592), p. 123. "De mas de esto muchos usan *él, de él, a él*, como consonantes diferentes, siendo uno el significado con diferentes modos; luego tambien se podría usar *el cielo, de el cielo a el cielo*, aunque fuese una la cosa significada, pues el modo de significarse es tambien diferente." But on p. 124 he says: "Y si un vocablo se pusiere por consonante de sí mismo, no haviendo variedad en la significación, causara enfado. De donde concluyo, que es de esencia de el consonante el ser diverso en el significado, aunque en la voz sea uno mismo, y que no basta de ordinario la diversidad de los casos, sino que es menester haya diversidad en las cosas."

Amor porto e de gloria en mar de cruz,  
 Amor ama na cruz, goza de gloria,  
 Amor une ceo, terra, gloria e cruz,  
 Amor donde ha mor cruz, tira mor gloria.  
 (*Obras* [Coimbra, 1918], 198)<sup>35</sup>

Muitas vezes dao versos nome e vida  
 A muitos que nam tem vida. nem nome:  
 Filis da a quem canta nome e vida  
 E o versos em que a canta vida e nome;  
 Que como faltara nome nem vida  
 A quem cantar tal vida e de tal nome?  
 Quem quizer nome e vida, cante a Filis.  
 Que vida e nome da o canto de Filis.  
 (*Poezias* [ed. Caminha, Lisbon, 1791], 394.)

Although the sonnet form appeared in Germany for the first time in 1556 in Wirsung's translation of a work of Ochino, it was not until the last part of the seventeenth century that it became established, largely through the efforts of Weckerlin. Since by that time the vogue of the *parole identiche* had practically disappeared, we cannot expect to find many examples of our artifice in this language. Among the few writers who employed it was Franz Freiherrn Gaudy, who gives us—*Sammliche Werke* (ed. A. Mueller Berlin, 1844) VIII, 56—a bizarre adaptation of Berni's *Ser Cecco* . . .

Don Pedro kann nicht leben ohne Frauen,  
 So wenig wie die Frauen ohne Pedro,  
 Und wo du Frauen siehst, triffst du Don Pedro  
 Und wo Don Pedro'n, triffst du auch die Frauen.  
 Doch was beginnt Don Pedro mit den Frauen?  
 Dasselbe was die Frauen mit Don Pedro:  
 Stadtklatschereien referirt Don Pedro,  
 Stadtklatscherei'n berichten ihm die Frauen.  
 Die Frauen, sie verehren hoch Don Pedro,  
 Und hoch verehrt Don Pedro auch die Frauen.  
 O sel'ge Frauen, dreimal sel'ger Pedro!  
 Mich überlauft ein Frösteln und ein Grauen,  
 Muss ich die Frau'n und ihren theuren Pedro  
 Bei'm Hofedienst der Assembleen schauen!

By extending the study on the *parole identiche* made by Parodi we have shown that the device has had a practically unbroken continuity from the earliest period of Italian literature to the present time. It was

<sup>35</sup> Also in the Coimbra *Archivio bibliografico* (1901), p. 192.

first employed rather infrequently, and was limited to two or three repetitions, identical in meaning, of the same rime word. During the first part of the Quattrocento its use was greatly expanded, and found its most natural habitat in the octave of the sonnet, whose two normal rimes made it easy to pair the identical rime words. Later, perhaps not until the beginning of the Cinquecento, the device was further extended to the sestet. This extension was doubtless patterned on a similar practice, which was regarded as elegant, that prevailed in the use of the *rima equivoca*<sup>36</sup>. Indeed, the *sonetto identico* seems to be scarcely more than an illegitimate offspring of the *sonetto equivoco*. The *sonetto continuo* form of the *sonetto identico* was adopted with alacrity by the Petrarchists, who showed a special preference for identical rime words in which the two rime words are antonyms, a natural expression of their excessive love of antitheses developed by their bookish imitation of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. After Petrarchism, the provinces largely inherited the new rhetorical tradition. The simple type of our first subdivision of the *parole identiche* artifice also became popular and many fresh variations of the *jeu de mots* composed of alternating contrasting rime words made their appearance. Berni's satirical sonnet, an original application of a device crystallized by the school of Petrarch, found echoes in dialectal and Tuscanized poems, not only serving as a stimulating influence in the diffusion of the artifice, but also as a powerful agency in keeping it alive until our day.

The spread of Petrarchism outside of Italy brought about the introduction of the *parole identiche* into other countries. In France, England, Portugal, and Germany, it soon died from inanition. But in Spain, in the guise of the form most favored by the Italian Petrarchists—the *parole identiche* in opposites—it proved to be just what the Spaniards wanted in order to give vent in a new way to their inordinate affection for contrasts in rime, the outgrowth, as we have seen, of a long native tradition. The fact that the bulk of the Spanish poems using this device were written during the last quarter of the sixteenth century is highly significant in that it demonstrates how the more artificial manifestations of Petrarchism (including the imitations of the Quattrocentists like Tebaldeo, Aquilano, and Panfilo Sasso) were playing their part in helping to create the movements known a little later as *conceptismo* and *culturanismo*.

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<sup>36</sup> Antonio da Tempo writes, in the oldest of Italian verse treatises: "Non tamen necesse est, quod totus sonettus habeat equivocationes, licet pulchrius et elegantius facere sive compilare unum sonettum totaliter in consonantibus equivocis quam particulariter." (*Delle rime volgari* [Bologna ed. 1869], p. 161.)

SIDNEY'S *ASTROPHEL AND STELLA* RECONSIDERED

THE question I propose to discuss is that of the autobiographical element in Sidney's sonnet sequence, *Astrophel and Stella*. The discussion appears in all the older important studies of Sidney: those of Grosart, Symonds, Pollard, Fox-Bourne, Lee, Drinkwater, and Wallace, as well as in the two recent biographies by Miss Denkinger and Mrs. Wilson, and the study by Dr. Purcell.<sup>1</sup> But the verdict of these critics is divided. Also in my belief I have found certain new and valid arguments that the sonnets are not autobiographical, that is, that they do not record a deeply felt love of Sidney for Stella.

The argument in favor of the autobiographical nature of the poems rests primarily upon the reader's emotional reaction to the text. The critics who accept this argument admit that the first thirty-two sonnets are conventional and artificial; they add, however, that with sonnet 33, which expresses Astrophel's regret at losing Stella through his own hesitancy, the tone changes, and feeling so poignant is expressed that it must be based on reality. The object of his passion was traditionally Penelope Devereux, who, in 1576, was engaged to Sidney, and who, in 1581, married Lord Rich. This identification was supported by two sonnets, 24 and 37, which pun sarcastically on the word "rich," and which were interpreted as attacks on Stella's husband. *Astrophel and Stella* was accordingly assigned to the year 1581 and after.

While agreeing with these critics that the tone of the series from 1 to 33 is light and artificial, I cannot agree that it changes materially afterward, certainly not until 62 at least.<sup>2</sup> In general, up to this sonnet Sidney

<sup>1</sup> Grosart, A. B., *The Complete Poems of . . . Sidney*, 1877; Symonds, J. A., *Sir Philip Sidney* (English Men of Letters Series), 1886; Pollard, A. W., *Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel and Stella*, 1888; Fox-Bourne, H. R., *Sir Philip Sidney*, 1891; Lee, S. L., *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, 1904; Drinkwater, J., *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Muses Library), 1910; Wallace, M. W., *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1915; Denkinger, E., *Immortal Sidney*, 1931; Wilson, Mona, *Astrophel and Stella*, 1931; Wilson, Mona, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 1932; Purcell, J. M., *Sidney's Stella*, 1934. In addition to these authors, there are comments in the important histories of English literature, and in special studies of Renaissance and Elizabethan literature.

<sup>2</sup> I can find no spark of genuine passion, and hence no change of tone, in the following: 42, Turn not away your eyes; if they kill me, a death caused by love is a triumph; 43, Cupid plays in Stella's eyes, lips, etc., but when he wishes to be undisturbed he retires to her heart, for no one can approach there; 44, Stella is pitiless, her nature is so heavenly that his complaints turn to tunes of joy at her ears; 46, He pities Cupid whom she has banished from her face, and will intercede for Cupid; 48, He is wounded by her eyes; let her keep gazing at him and slay him with speed; 49, As he rides his horse, so love rides him; the curb is fear, the saddle is fancy, etc.

rings infinite changes on the Petrarchan cruel mistress theme. After 62, in which Stella admits that she loves Astrophel with reservations, the tone does grow warmer, but artificialities persist to the end.<sup>4</sup> I think that those who find deep emotion in the later poems have deceived themselves by assuming that the moods of regret and bitterness recorded in Sonnet 33 were permanent, and by allowing this assumption to color their reading. After 33 there are admittedly a number of sonnets that show some feeling, but it does not follow that they must therefore be autobiographical. Those who hold this view seem to me to forget the nature of lyric poetry or to define it very narrowly. They say: There is deep emotion here, the poem moves us profoundly when we read it. Therefore it must spring from the poet's own experience, and must reflect his firm convictions and his true character. They would surely hesitate to apply this standard of judgment to other types of poetry, such as narrative or dramatic poetry, yet lyric poetry is of the same stuff; it may display emotions other than settled convictions, and may make statements that are incorrect in fact. If we must take it literally, we arrive at absurdities. Shakespeare, for instance, was not elderly, although he says he was, when he wrote:

That time of year thou mayst in me behold  
 When yellow leaves, or none or few, do hang  
 Upon those boughs which shake against the cold.

I do not deny that a great deal of lyric poetry is written from the heart; I only protest against the theory that it must necessarily be so written. It can equally well spring from the poet's dramatic imagination working on the mood of the moment. Examples come readily to mind: Burns's lyrics, Byron's lyrics, Wordsworth's "Lucy" poems. Who would pronounce with certainty on the element of reality in them by merely reading the text?

If, therefore, we can find no proof of autobiography in the tone of the *Astrophel and Stella* sonnets taken by themselves, we must look beyond the text for supporting evidence in Sidney's character and environment.

<sup>4</sup> In 79 her kiss is the sweetness of sweetness, the pleasingest consort which guides Venus's chariot, the best charge and bravest retreat in Cupid's fight, a double key to her heart, a nest of young joys, a schoolmaster of delight, a friendly fray, a pretty death, poor hope's first wealth, a hostage of promised weal, and the breakfast of love; in 80 her sweet swelling lip is a succession of equally striking things; 89 is a *tour de force*, with every line ending in either "night" or "day"; in 101, when Stella is sick, Sweetness, Grace, and Beauty are sick, Joy weeps, Love moans, and Nature "sweats with care"; in 102 Stella's cheeks are pale in order that love may have paper perfectly white on which to write his story in beauty's reddest ink.

As for his character, all the critics, if I understand them, are in general agreement. He was serious, even grave, hot-tempered, but not impulsive in other ways; had a high sense of chivalrous and idealistic honor; and was ambitious to have a part in affairs of state. This evidence makes it seem very unlikely that Sidney would fall violently in love with any married woman, particularly the moment she married someone else, that he would be so carried away by his love as to try to make her his mistress, and that he would record these actions in poetry. Yet, with one exception, the critics have overlooked this difficulty.<sup>4</sup>

As for his environment, we must remember that he was not a modern gentleman but a Renaissance courtier, and hence was governed by a different code. A knowledge of literature was of course expected of him, but in judging it he stressed the moral element far more than we should be inclined to do. To be convinced of this, we have only to recall whole sections of his *Defence of Poesy*, in which, echoing the classic critics, he prefers poetry to history or philosophy as a means of inculcating truth and virtue. Poetry's advantage over history, we may remember, lies in the circumstance that it is not tied down to facts. Taken as a whole, *The Defence of Poesy* indicates that Sidney regarded poetry as an art and not as an expression of reality.

In addition to reading poetry, the Renaissance courtier was expected to write it. In meeting this social obligation, Sidney would find that he had a literary vehicle ready to his hand in a Neo-Platonic sonnet sequence modelled on Petrarch's sonnets to Laura. So many of these had been written that the poetry had become fixed in a conventional form: the man's love, roused by the lady's beauty, is at first sensuous; she refuses to yield and he bemoans her cruelty; gradually, under the influence of her staunch Platonism, his sensuous love is refined and elevated to spiritual love, and finally, if the process is carried to completion, to religious love which leaves behind earthly love in any form. Obviously, these poems were not taken very seriously, the more ardent was the declaration of passion, the more complimented the lady felt, and the more readily she handed the poems about to her friends. The question of the indelicacy of such a proceeding did not arise. So it is in Sidney's case, for *Astrophel and Stella* circulated freely in manuscript, as is proved by refer-

<sup>4</sup> My view is shared by Fox-Bourne (*Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 241), Courthopc (*A History of English Poetry*, II, 228), Fletcher (*Modern Philology*, v, 264), and Drinkwater (*The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 52). Wallace, the only one of the opposition who seems conscious of this difficulty, says that Sidney would have condoned moral lapses and justified himself in his own eyes during the affair with Stella (*The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 237 and 255). In my opinion, Wallace makes Sidney indulge in far too much sophistry that is modern in tone.



ences in the text itself.<sup>5</sup> It is perhaps unsafe to argue that the poems, unless known to be convention, would have given offence in the somewhat free and easy court of Elizabeth, or that their moral respectability is guaranteed by the later editorial sanction of such a woman as Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, but it is not unsafe to argue that Sidney himself would have shrunk from exposing his real feelings in such a manner.<sup>6</sup>

We should, moreover, remember that *Astrophel and Stella*, preceded by only a few individual sonnets, is the first sequence of love sonnets in English. This important fact I have never seen sufficiently emphasized. Sidney was a pioneer. His model, since the prevailing literary theory of the 1570's called for imitation rather than originality of form and substance, had, therefore, to be a foreign one. Accordingly, he turned to Petrarch and to his host of Italian and French imitators. For a man like Sidney, who was a poet only among other things, to attain a high degree of success in transplanting a difficult foreign literary convention is in itself a great accomplishment. It is too much to expect a man in his circumstances and with his background to launch forth on the uncharted seas of personal revelation. "Real love" is a term incapable of exact definition, but nevertheless there can be no mistaking what, in Sidney's case, the critics mean by it. They mean a love for a specific woman which is

<sup>5</sup> Such are the following:

She heard my plaints, and did not only hear,  
But them, so sweet is she, most sweetly sing,

(Sonnet 57)

How falls it then, that with so smooth an ease  
My thoughts I speak; and what I speak doth flow  
In verse, and that my verse best wits doth please?

(Sonnet 74)

My Muse, to some ears not unsweet;  
I thought each place was dark but where thy light would be,  
And all ears worse than deaf that heard not out thy story.  
I said thou wert most fair . . .

(Sonnet 84)

And all I said so well, as no man it denied.

(Song 5)

<sup>6</sup> Only three critics have faced this difficulty: Miss Denkinger argues that only Stella would recognize the signs of true passion. The others, looking merely for convention, would find that and no more (*Immortal Sidney*, p. 180). This argument is too flattering to our self-esteem. How could a fact obvious to us be hidden from Sidney's contemporaries? We are in possession of no evidence unknown to them. I do not think our brains more acute than any then functioning in Elizabeth's court. Symonds (*Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 148) and Wallace (*The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 255-256) say that the poems did not circulate and Wallace adds that "probably many of his best friends, like Languet, were unaware of their existence" (*ibid.*, p. 231). Yet, as we have just seen, the fact of their general circulation is proved.

both physical and spiritual, a love so deep that, for a time at least, the whole course of his life was changed. This is the emotion that in all probability is lacking in *Astrophel and Stella*.

How then did the poems come to be written? From what source did Sidney get his emotional inspiration? For certainly emotion of some kind is necessary in the creation of fine poetry; it cannot be produced from the brain alone. If he had a definite woman in his mind and heart, he might well have felt for her a Platonic affection. Neo-Platonism was in the air he breathed and must have deeply affected a nature as idealistic as his. Indeed, since Neo-Platonism was, in literature, blended with the Petrarchan mistress-servant convention, going back as this does to chivalry and courtly love, it would have had a double appeal. To Sidney such a Platonic affection might well have furnished sufficient motive power for his poetry. But whether or not Platonic love animated him, his purely artistic impulse was certainly strong. There are many indications that Sidney was fundamentally an artist, a man bent simply on creating beauty. This statement does not rule out the possibility of real emotion; it means that to an artist a little reality goes a long way, the emotion being largely supplied by the very act of creation. Grierson puts it well when he says:

Poetry is the language of passion, but the passion which moves the poet most constantly is the delight of making poetry, and very little is sufficient to quicken the imagination to its congenial task. Our soberer minds are apt to think that there must be an actual, particular experience behind every sincere poem. But history refutes the idea of such a simple relation between experience and art.<sup>7</sup>

In creating, then, the artist is in a partly emotional, partly critical state of mind; he is strongly moved, but at the same time is able to hold his work at arm's length and analyse it. This artistic detachment, as it might be called, may appear in the writer's attitude toward either the substance or the form of his work. He may be interested in the general dramatic possibilities of the situation he is creating or in the technique of his art. In his various works, Sidney shows an interest in both aspects of writing. The *Arcadia*, with its lyrics in classical quantitative meters, shows him experimenting in the technique of poetry.<sup>8</sup> *The Defence of Poesy*, as we have seen, indicates that Sidney regarded poetry as dramatic art; and one of its few original passages again displays his interest in technique, the passage in which he discusses the fitness of various lan-

<sup>7</sup> Grierson, H. J. C., *Donne's Poetical Works* (1929), II, xxiii.

<sup>8</sup> This fact is of course connected with Sidney's membership in the Areopagus, a group interested in metrical experiment.

guages for poetry and similar prosodical matters.<sup>9</sup> In the case of *Astrophel and Stella*, also, there are strong indications that he regarded this sequence, like any poetry, as dramatic art. In this connection the date of composition is of some importance. The traditional date, 1581, is based largely on an interpretation of sonnet 30 which assigns to that year allusions to the political situation in various European countries. Dr. Purcell, however, argues for the year 1573, and my own independent investigation has tended to corroborate this view. There is a strong, though not conclusive case for the opinion that one sonnet at least was written in this earlier year.<sup>10</sup> If this point could be definitely established, it would be almost decisive, for in 1573 Sidney was in Italy in the midst of the grand tour that occupied him for three years. He was absorbed in the political, social, and artistic life of the countries he visited. His correspondence with Languet gives no hint of his being in love, and shows him to be in a state of mind wholly different from the passion and despair of *Astrophel*. He was, however, in direct contact with poets who were daily writing love sonnets to their mistresses, imaginary, Platonic, or otherwise in such enormous numbers that about three thousand were published in four years (1570-73) in northern Italy alone.<sup>11</sup> He very naturally tried his hand at the game, his motive being, perhaps, the same one that later animated both Spenser and Milton; he would write poetry that would put England on an artistic level with other countries. The date, however, is not vital to my argument. Even if we accept 1581 as correct, we should remember the great influence that Sidney's Italian experience must have had on his poetry. The Petrarchan tradition to

<sup>9</sup> There is one passage that Wallace (*The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 248) finds significant: "But as I never desired the title [of poet] so have I neglected the means to come by it. Only, overmastered by some thoughts, I yielded an inky tribute unto them" Of this Wallace says. "Surely the natural interpretation of these words is that Sidney sought in his sonnets, or in those of them which he has in mind, to give expression to an overmastering passion which possessed him." To my mind a more natural interpretation is that Sidney is yielding to the poetic urge, to the overmastering desire for artistic expression which every artist must feel.

<sup>10</sup> The historical argument may be reinforced by a psychological one. The poem is a mere rhetorical exercise. A series of questions are asked Sidney regarding, in order, Turkey, Poland, France, Holland, Ireland, Scotland, he answers at random because he is thinking of *Stella*. It seems likely that he would begin the poem with references to what would first occur to him, the political events most in his mind at the time. In Italy in 1573 there was great concern over a possible Turkish naval attack, and Sidney was anxious to visit Poland, as he later did. In England in 1581, neither of these countries had any importance for him. Elizabeth's French marriage was the question that was of first importance, to which the sonnet makes no allusion.

<sup>11</sup> This estimate is based on the bibliography of Hugues Vaganay, *Le Sonnet en Italie et en France en XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*.

which he had been long exposed would have been hardly less fresh in his mind later in England than in Italy itself. It seems highly probable, therefore, that Sidney's artistry was responsible for the substance of *Astrophel and Stella*. And not only for its substance but for its form also, as is shown by the metrics of the interspersed lyrics. This fact has never before been noted, but it is highly significant. We find the metrical structure of the songs to be as follows:

1. iambic, 5 feet. a a b a. a's feminine rhymes
2. trochaic, 4 feet. a b b a. a's feminine rhymes.
3. iambic, 4 lines 6 feet, 2 lines 5 feet. a a b b c c. c's feminine rhymes.
4. trochaic, 4 feet. a a b b c c.
5. iambic, 6 feet. a a b c c b. almost all b's feminine rhymes
6. iambic, 3 feet. a b a b c c.
7. iambic 7 feet. a a b b c c.
8. trochaic, 4 feet. a a b b. b's feminine rhymes.
9. trochaic, 4 feet. a b a b b. b's feminine rhymes.
10. trochaic, 4 feet. a a b c c b. b's feminine rhymes.
11. trochaic, 4 feet. a b a b a. b's feminine rhymes.

Throughout the table, the suggestion of metrical experiment is strong, but it is almost overwhelming in the last four songs, where, keeping the same meter, Sidney has tried various rhyme schemes. It seems nearly certain that in this portion at least of *Astrophel and Stella* he is the conscious artist deliberately exploring the possibilities of lyric poetry, and not the lover hurried on by the pressure of a passionate reality. Yet 8 and 10 record his two attempts to persuade Stella to yield, and are the two poems which are supposed to be the most intimate in tone. I do not say that metrical experiment cannot go with real emotion, but I do say that it is very unlikely to do so.

I assume, then, that in writing *Astrophel and Stella* Sidney had a mixture of motives. He was just possibly giving utterance to a Platonic affection, perhaps emulating his Italian friends, perhaps honoring his country by his poetical efforts, and almost certainly giving himself the pleasure of artistic self-expression. Any of these motives, singly or in combination, would be quite sufficient to serve as the driving power of the poems.<sup>11a</sup>

If we assume such a mixture of motives, we find that *Astrophel and Stella* may be readily analysed. The story is a simple one, and the plot

<sup>11a</sup> Miss L. E. Pearson (*Elizabethan Love Conventions*, 1933, pp. 84-103) feels that *Astrophel and Stella* is a deliberate exposition of Sidney's philosophy of love: the necessity of the triumph of spiritual over physical love.

would require little dramatic imagination to construct.<sup>12</sup> The action does not begin until sonnet 62; up to this point Stella has given her lover no encouragement and he is in despair.<sup>13</sup> But Sidney has by this time rung all the changes he can think of on the themes of praise and desperation and now seeks variety. This he provides in two ways. he introduces songs, nine of the eleven coming between sonnets 63 and 87, and he makes Stella admit a qualified affection. This new situation provides material for ten sonnets, he expresses great gladness and rejoices in the signs of yielding he detects in her; in spite of her Platonic admonitions, he feels real desire. Then, proceeding a step further, he steals a kiss while she is asleep. This stolen sweet gives a fresh inspiration, expressed with extreme ingenuity, for ten more sonnets. Finally, having exhausted the poetic possibilities of even this prodigious kiss, Astrophel, like Oliver Twist, asks for more. Then follow her refusals, and his relapse into despair, though despair of a somewhat different quality from that shown in the beginning. Sidney intended, I think, to have Astrophel in the end shake off his love, following the approved Platonic pattern, and wrote "Leave me, O Love, which reachest but to dust" to serve as a conclusion.

The foregoing analysis makes it easy to explain two details which are used as evidence of autobiography. The first is the existence of the two "rich" sonnets in the series. These are simply the result of Sidney's desire to imitate the plays on words in Petrarch's sonnets, and by his native Elizabethan fondness for puns. He had only to provide Stella with a rich husband, remembering, perhaps, certain poems of Marot which attack riches,<sup>14</sup> or the law of courtly love to the effect that avarice has no place in love. We have, therefore, in 24 a rich fool possessing Stella who can appreciate only money; and we have in 37 Stella rich in all desirable qualities, and having "no misfortune but that rich she is."<sup>15</sup> With these sonnets should be placed 78 since it also refers to Stella's husband: Jealousy is a monster; it is a pity that such a beast lacks horns. These three poems paint a picture of a conventional triangle. It is im-

<sup>12</sup> Mrs. Wilson feels that the action is very complicated and that "its advance and recoil, its recurrent and varied crises" were beyond Sidney's dramatic power (*Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 203). I feel that Mrs. Wilson confuses variety of mood with subtlety of plot. Sidney reacts in various ways to the same fundamental situation.

<sup>13</sup> Stella is as usual married. But in sonnet 33 Sidney has one really original and dramatic idea which he makes the most of: he might have married her himself if only he had not hesitated. This fact makes his despair the greater.

<sup>14</sup> Epigramme CCXVIII, which points out that a certain rich man is distinguished only for his wealth; and Chanson XIX, which curses the wealth that has caused his mistress to marry another.

<sup>15</sup> The spelling of "Rich" with a capital in this line in the 1598 edition, a point which militates against my theory, may be due solely to the printer.

portant to realize that the poems still have point even though there is no individual named Rich concerned in them. The fact that Penelope Devereux married a Lord Rich is merely a coincidence that confuses the issue. The second detail is the fact that four poems or parts of poems did not appear in the manuscripts or in the first printed edition of 1591, but were added by the Countess of Pembroke in her edition of 1598.<sup>16</sup> The explanation of this fact is very simple. Sidney did not circulate these poems, because he could not. They were not written when the finished manuscript was handed about, but were afterthoughts which came to him when he was revising his work. He thought of another punning sonnet on "rich," and wrote 37. He read over song 8, and, re-inspired by its dramatic situation, added the verses giving Stella's refusal of Astrophel's plea that she yield to him. The new version is much better psychologically and poetically. In song 10 he simply elaborated the thought. The evidence for the origin of these poems seems clear, but in the last case, that of song 11, it is almost beyond dispute. The significant fact here is that this song immediately follows sonnet 104. I imagine Sidney rereading this:

Envious wits, what hath been mine offence,  
That with such poisonous care my looks you mark,  
That to each word, nay sigh of mine, you hark,  
As grudging me my sorrow's eloquence?  
Ah, is it not enough, that I am thence,  
Thence, so far thence, that scarcely any spark  
Of comfort dare come to this dungeon dark,  
Where rigour's exile locks up all my sense?  
But if I by a happy window pass,  
If I but stars upon mine armour bear—  
Sick, thirsty, glad (though but of empty glass)—  
Your moral notes straight my hid meaning tear  
From out my ribs, and puffing, prove that I  
Do Stella love: fools, who doth it deny?

And I imagine him struck by one phrase, "But if I by a happy window

<sup>16</sup> These were: Sonnet 37, the second "rich" sonnet; stanzas 18-25 of song 8, giving Stella's refusal to yield; stanzas 5, 6, and 7 of song 10 which detail the delights of Stella's love that he bids his thoughts to dwell on; song 11, which records an interview under Stella's window. These are said to be the most intimate of the series, and to have been withheld from circulating with the others because of a desire on Sidney's part to spare Stella from too intimate an avowal of passion in public. Why 24, the other "rich" sonnet, was allowed to circulate when 37 was withheld is unexplained; but it is said to have been placed before 33, which mentions Stella's marriage, in order to disguise its intimate nature. No other sonnet is supposed to be so displaced. Again I think that the critics are reading passion into the text. These poems are no more revealing than many others.

pass." Why yes! There was a possibility he had not made use of. Song 11, giving Astrophel's interview with Stella beneath her window, is inserted immediately afterwards. It would seem, therefore, that the foregoing theory of the origin and development of the series explains all the facts.<sup>17</sup>

My main conclusion is this: *Astrophel and Stella* is a series of Petrarchan love sonnets. Sidney's purely artistic impulse was the chief motivating force, the emotion of joy in the creation of a thing of beauty. I read the series as a Renaissance production which follows the fashion of the time. I think that it was accepted by contemporaries without question simply as an unusually skillful example of courtly compliment, and I think that this very skill of Sidney's in dramatic imagination, and the fact that the Petrarchan convention has become obsolete, have misled some critics into judging *Astrophel and Stella* by the standards of the twentieth rather than of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>17</sup> The argument for autobiography derived from the last line of sonnet 1, "Fool, said my muse to me, look in thy heart and write," is based on the fallacy discussed earlier, that of taking the statements of lyric poetry literally. The more Sidney protests his sincerity, the more he compliments the lady. Moreover, the line may be interpreted as meaning that when he looks in his heart he sees Stella's image there, in which case it is merely a variant of one of the tritest of Renaissance conceits.

SIDNEY'S *ASTROPHEL AND STELLA*  
AND GREVILLE'S *CÆLICA*

STUDENTS of Elizabethan sonnet literature have been aware of general resemblances between Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* and Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke's *Calica*, but no one has ever printed a full comparison of the two sonnet sequences. That we might expect to find some resemblances between the works of Greville and Sidney could be implied from what we know of the close relationship of the two men. The title-page of the 1633 edition of Greville's works describes them as "written in his youth and familiar exercise with Sir Philip Sidney." Greville and Dyer were Sidney's closest literary friends, both sharing equally Sidney's books at his death. Greville was a member of the Areopagus, whatever its nature might be; and he and Sidney entered Shrewsbury School on the same day, and left college and went up to Court together. One of Greville's greatest boasts was his friendship with Sir Philip. It is not surprising, therefore, that when Sidney started to write a sonnet sequence Greville should follow suit, for the two men's interests were much the same. The similarities of *Astrophel and Stella* and *Cælica* are the natural results of the poets' friendship.

The correspondence of the names *Stella* and *Calica* is brought out by that of the poetic names of their lovers. Sidney as *Astrophel*, lover of the star, corresponds to *Philocell* (LXXVI, 219), lover of *Cælica*.

(The following parallel columns show the close relationship in thought and structure of the Sidney and Greville sonnets. The word *sonnet* is used in the loose Elizabethan sense.)

*Astrophel and Stella**Cælica*

I. First word is *Loving*. Lines 1-4 are united by reduplication of key words *Loving, love; pleasure, pleasure; read, reading; know, knowledge; pity, pity*.

I. First word is *Love*. Lines 1-4 are united by reduplication of key words. *Delight, delight; virtue, virtue; reason, reason*.

II. The poet says that he uses his wit to make himself believe he is not sick of love (12-13). Sidney says that his words of love may help to relieve his distress.

II. The poet says that the tongue of love can cure the injuries it causes (14). Greville asks love to bring words to help him in his distress.

III. Sidney says that fine words and fancies cannot adequately describe his loved one. (Sidney is criticizing just

III. Greville attempts with fine words and metaphors to describe his loved one.



*Astrophel and Stella*

the faults which Greville's Sonnet III exhibits.)

IV. Now that the poet is in love, he finds it difficult to maintain a virtuous mind (8).

V. In spite of all things, says the poet, "I must Stella love" (14).—Our thoughts ought to be on the "heavenly part." But the poet's are on love (1-4; 14).

VI. The first four lines of this sonnet are an obvious parody of the first four lines of Sonnet V of *Callica*.

VII. Stella's eyes have been the most effective instrument in making the poet love Stella.

VIII. Love lies in the poet's heart and cannot leave it.

The poet insists he will never change his attitude toward Stella.

Love is said to have wandered from place to place until it reached the poet's heart, and now it must remain there.

IX. "And poor I am their [Stella's eyes] straw" (14). The beauty of Stella has overcome the poet.

X. There is no kinship between love and reason (1, 2). One look from Stella's eyes will overthrow all the power of reason (12, 13).

XI. Love is called boyish as opposed to seriousness (1-2). The lover was attracted to Stella by her "each outward part"—eyes, cheek, and breast—(10-13). But the poet is cautioned not to attempt to win her love (14).

*Callica*

XI. Fear keeps lust repressed (8) until love (Cupid) enters the heart, and then lust cannot be restrained (10-14).

IV. "I have vowed . . . To love and never seek compassion" (13-14); and "thoughts from above" are over ruled by love (7-8).

V. The first four lines are parodied by Sidney's Sonnet VI.

VI. The poet's own eyes have been the instrument by which he has been brought to love his mistress.

VII. In Myra's eyes is the "doom of all change" (18).

Myra never varies (17), and all change in the universe is doomed to subordination to her. The universe has been undergoing constant change, but Myra remains constant and unchanging. The universe ceases changing when it comes before Myra's eyes.

VIII. "Self-pity's tears wherein my hope lies drowned" (1). The beauty of his lady has caused him tears and despair.

IX. Love can tyrannize over counsel (5-10). There is a close kinship between sorrow and love (13-18). Pity and sorrow can cause love (18-23).

X. Love is called the restless being of men's thoughts (1). The lover was first drawn to his lady by her eyes (3-6). But the lover is cautioned that ". . . those sweet glories which you do aspire,

*Astrophel and Stella*

xii. "Cupid! Because thou shin'st in Stella's eyes" (1). Cupid thinks he has won Stella's heart, but the poet says he has not (12-14).

xiii. The chief figures mentioned are Phœbus and Cupid. Mars and Venus are coupled (7). Cupid is the hero of the action.

xv. Outward show—fine figures of speech and imitations of Petrarch—is not the expression of true love (9-10). If the poet beholds Stella, then he will be able to write great poetry (14).

xvi. The poet thought that love was not a disturbing emotion (1-8) until he met Stella and learned otherwise (9-14).

xvii. Cupid, with his bow and arrows falls to evil ("shrewd") turns (13-14). N.B. This sonnet is on the same theme as *Calica*, xiii.

xviii. The poet sacrifices all for Stella (1-12), and he is sorry only that he has no more to lose for her sake (13-14).

xix. Based on the metaphor of Cupid's bow (1). The poet disgraces his intelligence by continuing to love where he is scorned.

*Calica*

Must as ideas only be embraced . . ."  
(21-22).

xii. ". . . to Myra's eyes the wanton [Cupid] strayeth" (9). Cupid possesses Myra's heart to spite the poet (13-14). Note, line 4, "Mine eyes I gave thee," and *Astrophel and Stella* Sonnet lxxv (8), "I gave to thee mine eyes."

xiii. The chief figures are Venus and Cupid. Mars and Venus are coupled (2). Cupid is the hero of the action. N.B. The theme is that of *Astrophel and Stella*, xvii.

xv. Outward show—excessive expression of love—causes the death of love (1, 2, 13), "as he that burns must freeze." The poet's eyes behold in Myra the reconciliation of "honour and beauty" (6-8).

xvi. The poet asks "foolish earth" (obviously, people) does it think love is not particularly glorious just because that "foolish earth" has not been stimulated by love (5-8)? Love, he answers, is above the "middle regions" of the passions (13-14).

xxx. Cupid (9) is accused of being a companion of, or is comparable to, an evil person ("good-fellow" = thief). His bow and arrows are also referred to.

xviii. *Calica* insists that the poet should sacrifice "all selfness" for her. He asks what is the reward for such sacrifice.

xix. Based on the metaphor of Cupid's bow (5, 9-12). Cupid is cautioned not to disgrace the service *Calica* has done him in exciting both old and young to love.

*Astrophel and Stella*

xx. Cupid is the subject of this sonnet, and his ambushing and shooting the lover with his arrow is the theme.

xxi. Built on contraries: 2, 4, 8, 9-10 The theme of this sonnet is the relation of Stella to the world. "Hath this world aught so fair as Stella is?" (14).

xxii. Note the importance of the word *kiss* in the last line. Stella's "Daintiest bare" stimulates love in others, but she is unaffected by their emotions (9-14).

xxiii. "Curious wits" (1) are deceived by the poet's manner. They think they understand what moves him, but are mistaken (12-14). Sidney calls them "fools" (12).

xxiv. "Wealth" breeds "want"; the "rich, more wretched grow," for they possess wealth, and with it folly, not virtue. The beauties of love and life are not to be enjoyed by "Rich fooles."

xxv. The subject of this sonnet is love and virtue. The poet, since he recognizes virtue in Stella, loves virtue. The poet loves virtue when Stella is this virtue.

xxvi. Stella's eyes serve as the poet's guide, when other guides fail him (12-14). This guidance is a comfort and assurance (9-12)

xxvii. His desire for Stella is so great that the poet becomes careless

*Caelica*

xx. Cupid is the subject of this sonnet. Cupid roams the "coverts," seeking to slay mankind with his weapons.

xxi. Built upon contraries. the "half-fast mind," the contrary uses of the breath, and the contradictory nature of women's characters. The theme is the similarity of women to the world—chiefly a contrary world.

xxii. Note the importance of the word *kiss* in the last line. Myra's "beauties white" stimulated the poet to love, yet Myra herself was never affected by this emotion even though she was the cause of it in others (25-27).

xxiii. Merlin (certainly a curious wit), says Greville,  
"Took great delight to laugh such  
fools to scorn,  
As thought by nature we might know  
a brother." (3-4).  
By "brother" Greville means, as the rest of the poem shows, mankind in general.

xxiv. "Want" is the loss of "worthiness," "Nature," "art," "Kindness," "courtesy." He who would prove his true worth should "cipher love."

xxv. The subject is love and virtue. Myra's virtue makes love sad. Note that Greville's reaction is the opposite of Sidney's. Cupid weeps because Myra is virtuous.

xxvi. Caelica's eyes "where love and beauty play" serve to guide the poet to a better frame of mind (9-12).

xxvii. His desire for Myra is so great that the poet has sacrificed his

*Astrophel and Stella*

of his friendships and is accused of pride for not noticing his friends.

xxviii. This sonnet begins with the poet asking that he be not asked to express in eloquence or philosophy the whys and wherefores of his love for Stella (1-4; 9-11). The poet loves Stella "in pure simplicity" of heart (12-14). The poet is contented in his love for Stella (7-8).

xxix. Stella and Love war for Stella's heart; the heart escapes from Love, but the poet is caught.

xxx. Refers to Turkey in Line 1. The subject is the variability in national affairs; the poet explains this variability to his friends as best he may, but all the time he is hardly aware of what he says, the reason being that all he knows is that he loves Stella. The poet remains constant.

xxxI. Addressed to the Moon. The poet declares that his constant love is scorned, and his virtue is called ungratefulness.

xxxII. The beauties of Stella, which the poet sees in his sleep, are those produced by the machinations of Morpheus and his sire.

xxxIII. Refers to the lovers Paris and Helen (6). The poet, through his own folly, has caused his loved one to turn from him (1-12). His wit has offended the young lady.

xxxIV. The poet wants to write words to relieve his "burthened heart,"

*Cælica*

reason, memory, and sense to love.

xxviii. This sonnet begins with the poet asking if Cupid would like to know the reasons why the poet loves Myra (1-14); and then he proceeds to give the reasons (5-8). The poet loves Myra because of inspiration given him by her graces (9-10). The poet says he has been deceived into loving Myra (5-14).

xxix Fortune and Love dispute which has the greater power; and the poet gives himself up to Love.

xxx. Refers to Rome in line 1. The subject is the variability of the Roman Empire. The poet does not explain this variation, but he says that its results were disastrous. His conclusion is that Myra also loses something of her true worth by her variable attitude toward her lover. Myra is not constant.

xxxI. Addressed to Cynthia (= goddess of the moon). Cynthia refuses to acknowledge that she even recognizes that the poet loves her. lv. addressed to the moon, is more comparable to Sidney's xxxI.

xxxII. If Myra changes as other women do, the fault, says the poet, will be the machinations of Cupid and Venus.

xxxIII. Refers to the lovers Danaë, Europa, and Leda, the mother of Helen. The folly of Cupid has bleared "sweet Myra's eyes" (1). In *Cælica*, lxII, the poet declares wit to be "The greatest pride of human kind," and adds "No wit can comprehend the ways of love."

xxxIV. Greville speaks in more general terms than Sidney upon this topic.

*Astrophel and Stella*

though words are the instruments which vex him. That is, words, though they cause sorrow, will also bring the poet relief (1-3). It is Stella's action which has hurt the poet (14). The poet hopes that his words will react upon Stella (13-14).

xxxv. "Cupid is sworn page to chastity" (8). "Within what bounds can one his liking stay," asks the poet, and the implied answer is, "none" (3-4). Though his love is hopeless of reward (7-8), yet the poet cannot escape loving Stella (5-6).

xxxvi. "Sweet Nature" (9) overcomes every resistance offered by the lover to the loved one's charms. Sense cannot resist the maid's "sweet nature" (14).

xxxvii. The riddle sonnet. The poet announces the riddle, and tells it in lines 5-14. The answer to the riddle is not given.

xxxviii. At night (while asleep) the poet's mind possesses Stella, but on waking he loses this image of her.

xxxix. The poet and Stella are not on good terms (5-7). The poet calls on sleep, "the certain knot of peace," to relieve him of the pain of Stella's disapproval.

xl. If Stella, seeing that the poet loves her (5-8), gives him no sympathy, there is danger of the poet's love being destroyed (14).

(From this point on, except for the sonnets numbers LXII to LXVIII the parallelisms are fewer and more widely scattered.)

xliv. The poet constantly shows his devotion and love for Stella, but the

*Caelica*

The Gods take the instruments with which they punish mankind and burn them to relieve men's sufferings (1-4). It is Myra's actions which have hurt the poet (7-8, 13-14). The poet wants revenge upon Myra.

xxxv. Cupid is injured by wanton passion (8). No sooner does the poet see "sweet Myra's eyes" than his whole emotion goes beyond the bounds of propriety (6-8). The poet cannot "scape away" from Myra's charms (11).

xxxvi. "Sweet nature" (11-12) yields to the lover's blandishments. Sense (14) has not decided whether to be "ill or easily led" is worse for "sweet nature" (13-14).

xxxvii. This song begins with a riddle (first four stanzas). The riddle is solved in the last line,—"hope is untrue."

xxxviii. Overnight Caelica has "finely used" the poet, but, apparently the next day, rumor has come to the lady's ears, and so she forbids the poet to come near her.

xxxix. The poet and Caelica are not on good terms (13-14). To "comprehend" that "heavenly peace" in "Caelica's fair heart" (9-10), the poet labors to understand Caelica's heart.

xl. If Caelic does not in her youth give herself to love (9-12), there is likelihood of the poet's love turning to lust (13-14).

xli. The poet asks himself if he thinks he can master love by true

*Astrophel and Stella*

more he shows it the less favor she exhibits toward him (1-6).

XLV. Stella sees that the poet acts strangely (1), and his behavior is called forth by her unsympathetic attitude toward him (3-4); notwithstanding, she does not show him sympathy.

XLVI. Stella protests that love must be without desire (5-8). The poet answers (12-14) that this will be when "without fuel, you can make hot fire."

LIV. "Dumb swans not chattering pies, do lovers prove;—They love indeed who quake to say they love" (13-14).

(Both sonnets say that excessive display of emotion is not evidence of true love. The true lover is inarticulate.)

LVI. A sonnet on Patience in love.

LIX. The happiness of loving Stella is painful.

LXII. Stella approves only of that love which is not blind (6); that is, a love which stoops not from the nobler courses of virtue (7, 8, 11). Stella maintains, therefore, that earthly love is base, and virtuous love is noble.

LXIII. The theme is the relationship of grammar to love. Grammar says that Stella loves the poet (9-14), though actually this is not true (5-8).

LXIV. The poet declares he needs no counsels (1); he does not envy Aristotle's wit or Cæsar's fame (9-10); for Stella is all his wit and virtue (14).

LXV. The poet declares that he has lodged Cupid in his heart (7). This

*Cælica*

devotion (1-2). His answer is that no change can be produced in Myra's heart in his favor (5th stanza).

LX. Cælica notes that the poet acts strangely (1-2). This behavior is caused by Cælica's unsympathetic attitude toward him (12). There is no evidence that Cælica will learn to sympathize with the poet.

LVI. This lyric seeks to prove that love and desire cannot be severed. (lines 18-20, and the last 10 lines).

LIV. "Light, rage and grief, limbs of unperfect love,  
By over-acting ever lose their ends" (1-2).

"Then teach desire hope; not rage, fear, grief,  
Powers as unapt to take, as give relief" (17-18).

XLVI. A sonnet on Patience in love.

LIX. Who would move Cælica to love must enjoy suffering the woes of love.

LXII. The poet declares of those who worship Cupid (blind love), "Their joys be dallies and their wealth is play" (1-5). Such a love is unworthy. Those who seek true glory "must look to the sky."

LXIII. Wit examines all art and reduces it to method (1-2). Yet "wit cannot comprehend the ways of love" (6).

LXVI. Cælica requests the poet to read books (2) so as to improve his wit (3-5). But the poet says that he will not obey (7). "Wisdom springs from truth within" (47).

LXV. The poet says to Cælica: "hide me in your heart" (14). This sonnet is

*Astrophel and Stella*

sonnet is built up from this metaphor of love being buried in the heart and the consequences thereof.

LXVI. Stella has turned from the poet; but he sees some hope still, because he thought he saw love in Stella's eyes as she turned from him when he looked at her (9-14)

LXVII. The poet is willing to be satisfied with hope (12-13) lest more definite knowledge cause him greater pain than he already feels (14). The poet's happiness will be preserved if he limits his knowledge. The poet prefers uncertainty to certainty.

LXVIII. Stella is everything to the poet, "light of my life," "life of my desire," etc. (1-4) Stella seeks to repress the poet's love (5-8). The poet does not despair though the lady turns from him, but he rather joys in her virtue.

LXXI. Who would know perfection must look on Stella. For "beauty draws the heart to love," but still lust ("Desire") asks satisfaction.

(The theme of both these poems is that love cannot be severed from lust, but in both instances the beloved has repulsed the poets' advances.)

LXXXVII. The poet finds Stella sad-faced because he is going to be absent from her. His coming does not cheer her up. The tears, sighs, and sad words of Stella so move the poet that he responds with tears, sighs, and sad words.

LXXXIX. The poet's lady has turned from him: "darkest shade, doth overcome my day" (2). The lady is called

*Caelica*

built up from the metaphor of hiding the lover in the lady's heart. This is to be a consequence of the conditions referred to in lines 1-13.

LXIV. Caelica has turned from the poet (9); but his love has not changed (12), because her back shows him that her virtue is recognized by all, whereas, before he thought that he alone recognized it (10-11).

LXVII. The poet declares that the elimination of unhappiness (17) can be obtained if one will limit his desires and what he wants to know. Such limitation of knowledge will bring comfort to man's heart (18)

LXVIII. The poet has sacrificed his desire and faith to love (1-2). Love offers the poet no encouragement; in fact love has deserted the temple (the lady's heart) where the poet worships (3-4). The poet, exiled from the loved one gets some pleasure from his exile (13-16) and reacts "with songs, not cries" (17).

LXXI. Love went "forth enamelled fair with hope," but returns "lean with despair." The cause is that lustfully pursuing Caelica, Love was repulsed.

LXXIV. When the poet goes to see Caelica, he finds her sad-faced. It was his absence which caused this sadness in her (15-16). The evidence of this sadness in Caelica's countenance so moves the poet that "his tongue cannot speak of love" (52).

LXIX. The poet's lady is called his "sun" (15). Her turning from him he calls his "night" (5).

*Astrophel and Stella*

the poet's "day" (3); her turning from him he calls his "night" (4).

Eighth Song<sup>1</sup> A dialogue between the poet and his lady. The poet meets Stella in May and makes unwelcome advances toward her (stanzas 13-17). Stella repulses the poet on the grounds only of defending her honor (stanza 24). The last line of this song is: "therewith my song is broken." Line 4, Stanza 25 reads: "I should blush when thou art named."

LXXXVIII: Cannot the good of life, once recognized, keep men from base desires? (7-8). The poet implies (10-14) that it can.

CIX.<sup>2</sup> This sonnet is an attack upon desire, considering it a weakness which leads man's soul to destruction.

CX.<sup>2</sup>

In their respective poems Sidney and Greville plead for man to turn from love which is "with fleshly lustings shaken" (*Cæl.* LXXXVII) and "reacheest but to dust" (*A. & S.* CX), and to aspire to heaven and eternal love.

These similarities are indeed striking. It is significant that the parallelisms are most numerous in the first forty sonnets of each cycle. This implies, I believe, that Greville and Sidney were in communication at the time of composition of the first half of their sequences, and each diverged to follow his own bent after he had got into the swing of lyrical composition.

<sup>1</sup> Janet Scott, *Les sonnets elisabéthains*, pp. 59-60, is struck by the resemblance between the Eighth Song of *Astrophel and Stella*, lines 1-6 and 101-102, and Sonnet LXXXVI of *Cælica*, lines 1-8 and 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> These sonnets are so numbered in Grosart's editions of *Astrophel and Stella*. They are numbered 13 and 14 under the heading "Certain Sonnets," pp. 173-174, of Pollard's edition. They are not included in Lee's edition in Vol. I of his *Elizabethan Sonnets*, but are part of *Astrophel and Stella* in Drinkwater's edition. Pollard (p. 229), E. M. Denlinger, *Immortal Sidney* (1931), p. 195, and Mona Wilson, *Sir Philip Sidney* (1931), p. 202, all believe these two sonnets were intended by Sidney to conclude *Astrophel and Stella*.

*Cælica*

LXXXVI. A dialogue between the poet and his lady. In the evening of a spring day (1-8), Philocell meets Cælica and asks of her a familiarity which she angrily refuses (147-158). One of her reasons is that her conduct might "rumour move" (179). It is her "honour" which prompts her to deny Philocell, so the poet says (219). The line introducing the last short section of this poem is (192): "Here my silly song is ended." Line 16 of Sonnet XXXII reads: "I who did make her blush when I was named"

LXXXVIII Man's life, "the light of human lust," burns out, and generations turn to corruption (1-4). Then man dying wishes to live again just so that he might amend his errors (5-6).

xcvii. The theme is the same as in *Astrophel and Stella*. CIX.

LXXXVII.



Besides the great number of common thoughts and phrasings, it is notable that the parallelisms occur in similarly numbered poems of each sequence, Sonnet 1 of *Astrophel and Stella* corresponding with 1 of *Calica*, and so on, with a few exceptions which are themselves notable. These exceptions may be errors in the arrangement of the *Astrophel and Stella* sequence, for Greville's manuscript, as corrected in his old age, is still preserved for us at Warwick House. Sidney's sonnets, however, so far as we know, never received a careful editing by their author's hand, so that errors in arrangement may have crept in when his friends or relatives attempted to arrange them.

An explanation of the parallelisms in *Astrophel and Stella* and *Calica* is that Sidney and Greville, as a result of their discussions of poetry, suggested topics for sonnets, and then wrote upon these subjects, or used the ideas, figures, or other materials brought out in their discussions. If one sequence were an imitation of the other, then the similarities should be more obvious and should extend throughout a greater number of poems. Sidney's treats wholly of the love affair of Astrophel and Stella; whereas Greville, after some seventy sonnets, in which three different women are addressed—and one of them might be Sidney's Stella—turns to religion, government, and other topics of a less poetic type.

There are sufficient parallels to imply consultation, but not enough to sustain a charge of imitation or plagiarism against either writer. Their common intellectual interests, especially their common interest in poetry, and their close friendship would tend to result in the use of similar thoughts and forms of expression. But the parallels would certainly be fewer were they the result of chance.

Only slightly more than half the sonnets of *Astrophel and Stella* and *Calica* contain parallel ideas and forms of expression.

Additional support is given my view that the parallelisms are the result of consultation by the fact that certain of Sidney's sonnets (note especially LXXIV and LXXXIV) make it clear that Sidney was consulting friends and "wits" about his poetry, and that they were offering criticisms and generally approving of his work. In certain sonnets (note XIV, XXI, and LXIX), Sidney speaks of a "friend," and this friend advises him about his conduct and behavior generally, as well as toward Stella specifically. This friend could well have been Greville, for we know of no one, except the elderly Sir Francis Walsingham, Sidney's future father-in-law, with whom Sidney maintained closer relations. Final proof, however, either of consultation or intentional imitation, can be determined only by the discovery of corroborative facts outside the sonnet sequences themselves.

J. M. PURCELL

## THE COMPOSITION OF THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER

THE teasing sense of mystery felt by the student of the biography of Spenser is nowhere more noticeable than with regard to the *Shepheardes Calender*. C. H. Herford's statement is still too near the truth:<sup>1</sup>

Except that the authorship is absolutely certain, posterity knows very little more about the circumstances in which the *Shepheardes Calender* was composed than "E. K." has chosen to tell us.

Something of this mystery would be removed if it could be shown how the poem as we have it probably came into being. Concerning this question, there are two possible and, at first glance, tenable opinions: either the plan which underlies the whole was conceived and somewhat matured before the writing of the separate eclogues was begun, or the composition of at least part of the individual pieces antedates the formulation of the underlying plan. Typical of the first view is W. J. Courthope's statement:<sup>2</sup>

If we look away from the authorized account of Spenser's design in *The Shepheardes Calender* to the actual gestation of the poem in his imagination, it is plain that, before constructing his general idea, he had carefully studied the pastoral practice of Theocritus, Bion, Vergil, Mantuan, and Marot. His sympathetic intelligence had been impressed by many imaginative passages in these authors, and he desired to reproduce them in a novel form. For this purpose, he chose, as the basis of his entire work, an allegory founded on the widely popular *Kalendrier des Bergers* . . . and resolved to include within his poetical edifice the various subjects hitherto handled in the eclogue.

The other possibility was in Henry Morley's mind as he wrote:<sup>3</sup>

Probably some parts of the Calender were independent pieces, written by Spenser in college days as exercises in his art, and woven afterwards into the texture of "The Shepheardes Calender." The song in praise of Queen Elizabeth,

<sup>1</sup> In his edition of the *Shepheardes Calender* (London and New York, 1907), p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge History of English Literature* (New York and Cambridge, 1907-19), III, 250 f.—H. J. C. Grierson, *Cross Currents in English Literature of the XVIIth Century* (London, 1929), pp. 42-43, seems to imply an orderly process of composition beginning with *January* and ending with *December*.

<sup>3</sup> *English Writers* (London, Paris and Melbourne, 1891-97), IX, 36 f. Cf. *The Shepherd's Calendar*, ed. W. L. Renwick (London, 1930), p. 167.—Frederick Morgan Padelford (*M. P.*, XI, 98) admits the possibility that Spenser "may have followed his practice of incorporating certain verses written at an earlier time" in the poem, as did also Edwin Greenlaw in *PMLA*, XIX (1911), 448. C. H. Herford (*op. cit.*, p. 150) alludes with favor "to the view that the eclogues were composed independently and at different times."

the fable of The Oak and the Brere, for example, may have been thus written before "The Shepherd's Calendar" was planned. Spenser looked back with reverence to Chaucer as the Master Poet, and studied his simplicity of speech. The Oak and the Brere may have been at first chiefly an exercise in writing, as Chaucer wrote, with homely words, well weighed.

Other writers, with both possibilities in mind, have preferred not to commit themselves or have regarded a decision as impossible. Professor Padelford, for example, writes:<sup>4</sup>

In conclusion, though Spenser may have followed his practice of incorporating certain verses written at an earlier time, all of the evidence goes to show that the *Shepherd's Calendar*, in the form in which we have it, was conceived, written, and finished . . . while the poet was secretary to Bishop Young.

It is desirable to replace the uncertainty which these three quotations show by certainty or probability so strong as nearly to approach it. Although internal evidence must needs be handled with caution, here where it is supported in some measure by other evidence, it is strong enough to justify at least a tentative acceptance of the second of these views. Such acceptance will throw a certain amount of light on Spenser's activity during the puzzling years intervening between his leaving Cambridge and his arrival in Ireland.

The plan underlying the *Shepherd's Calendar* involves two major unifying features—Colin's love story and the calendar idea, and neither is so perfectly developed as a good literary craftsman might be expected to develop it, had he had it in mind from the very beginning. In the first place, the individual eclogues are *not* so carefully suited to their positions as the title page, E. K.'s comments, and those of some of the later commentators might lead one to expect.<sup>5</sup> In fact, several give no hint as to the month for which they were intended. For instance, the August eclogue might equally well have been used for July; and the time of

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit*

<sup>5</sup> See *The Complete Works . . . of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Grosart (privately printed 1882-84), I, 113 ff. and Courthope, *op. cit*, III, 256—Alexander Pope, in his *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*, notices this weakness but takes it to lie rather in the plan than in the execution. "Yet the scrupulous division of his pastorals into months has obliged him either to repeat the same description, in other words, for three months together, or, when it was exhausted before, entirely to omit it; whence it comes to pass that some of his eclogues (as the sixth, eighth, and tenth for example) have nothing but their titles to distinguish them. The reason is evident, because the year has not that variety in it to furnish every month with a particular description, as it may every season." One suspects, however, that Pope is more interested in explaining why he has written only four instead of twelve eclogues than in understanding reasons for Spenser's failure entirely to conform to his avowed plan.

year is in no way indicated except for a reference to the "scorching heate" of the sun. Both the spirit and the specific details of the ninth pastoral are as appropriate to October or November as to September.<sup>6</sup> Equally uncolored by the month to which it is assigned is *October*, which would as well serve to represent May or February.<sup>7</sup> One eclogue at least is manifestly inappropriate to the position it occupies. The presence of the lines concerning the sun's being in Pisces (they have no counterpart in the eclogue by Marot which Spenser is here paraphrasing) indicates that *November* was originally intended for the month of February.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Line 51, "Beating the withered leafe from the tree," is not particularly well suited to September. Notice the foliage on the trees in the woodcut set at the head of *September*.

<sup>7</sup> As C. H. Herford suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 172), "Thys long lingering Phoclus race" (l. 3) seems a reference to the time of day rather than to the time of year.

<sup>8</sup> That *February* and *November* may have been transposed, one of the suggestions which Professor W. L. Renwick made (*op. cit.*, p. 184) to account for this flaw, Doctor G. C. Moore Smith refuted (*M.L.R.*, xxvi, 458) by pointing out that "the whole context in *November*, 'But nowe sadde Winter welked hath the day,' agrees much better with November than with February, and similarly the opening couplet of *February* with its expectation of winter's assuagement and the later reference to the 'rather lambes,' agree with February and not November." The last point is sound; his conclusion, however, that it is "simpler then to impute to the poet an error in astronomy," does not necessarily follow, for another of Professor Renwick's suggestions (*loc. cit.*), that *November* was originally the February poem and was *displaced* by the present, more recently composed occupant of that position, is not open to the same objections. There is nothing in *November* that will not fit February equally well. It might be argued, however, that the last line of the following passage is proper only to November.

Thenot, now nis the time of merimake.  
Nor Pan to herye, nor with love to playe:  
Sike myrth in May is meetest for to make,  
Or summer shade under the cocked haye.  
But nowe sadde Winter welked hath the day. (*November*, 9 ff.)

But the argument is unsound. The lines state Colin's reasons for refusing Thenot's request that he sing of love or in praise of Pan. "Such songs as you request," he says, "are quite in keeping in pleasant weather, but winter makes them unsuitable." *But nowe*, in other words, may mark a contrast to the preceding thought instead of indicating that just recently the coming of winter has rendered jollity unseemly.

The point rests in part upon Spenser's knowledge of astronomy, and, although no thorough treatment of the question exists, the evidence is against his having been likely to make a blunder in a matter of almost common knowledge. Harvey (*Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith [Stratford, 1913], p. 162) gives him credit for some astronomical knowledge; Spenser, with no suggestion from Marot, one of whose eclogues he is there paraphrasing, adds to *December* (ll. 83 ff.) a statement of his training in astronomy; he connects Pisces and February in the *Faerie Queene* (vii, 7, 43); and his correct use of astronomical information in many passages of his works shows him to have had sufficient knowledge of the subject to avoid such an error. See, for instances, *F.Q.*, Prol. to Book v, 4 ff., v, 1, 11, vii, 7, 32-43; *Mother Hubberds Tale*, 1-8; *S.C.*, vii, 17-24.

Nor, as W. W. Greg makes clear,<sup>9</sup> is one more successful who interprets the phrase, "proportionable to the twelve monethes," as meaning that "the moods of the various poems were to be made to correspond with the seasons represented." His statement of the case is that

the conceit is not fully or consistently carried out. In several of the eclogues not only does the subject in no way reflect the mood of the season—the very nature of the theme at times made this impossible—but the time of the year is not so much as mentioned.

In the second place, the unity of the *Calendar* can be challenged. Several of the eclogues—*February*, *March*, *May*, and *July*—have no connection with the story of Colin's unhappy love for Rosalind, and in another—*September*—the only connection lies in Hobbinol's presence as one of the speakers and in the lines

Colin Clout, I wene, be his selfe boye,  
(Ah for Colin, he whilome my joye!)<sup>10</sup>

As J. J. Higginson has pointed out,<sup>11</sup> these lines may well be an insertion made a considerable time after the completion of the eclogue in order to bring it into closer relation with the rest of the group; not only could they be omitted without injuring the sense of the passage in which they are found, but such omission would make the reference of the following line clearer. In other words, four, perhaps five, of the twelve eclogues bear no relation to the narrative theme of the poem.

Furthermore, four of these five—*February*, *May*, *July*, and *September*—form a somewhat unified group among themselves, "not only because of their political and ecclesiastical satire and their use of the fable, but also on account of their more elementary meters—*i. e.* the accentual and the ballad—, their separation from the Romance of Colin, and their lack of allusion, in general, to the people of the Court, such as Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester."<sup>12</sup> Certainly it is not laboring the evidence to conclude that these conditions indicate the dominance in the poet's mind of no very well-considered plan during much of the process of composition.

The variations of Spenser's poetic technique may be taken as further evidence in support of the idea. The great variety of metrical forms employed and the wide variation in the number of dialectal and obsolete

<sup>9</sup> *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (London, 1906), pp. 91, 92.

<sup>10</sup> *September*, 176-77.

<sup>11</sup> *Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar in Relation to Contemporary Affairs* (New York, 1912), pp. 42-43.

<sup>12</sup> Higginson, *op. cit.*, p. 42.—Herford (*op. cit.*, p. 96) felt that the February eclogue was irrelevant.

words used in the different eclogues, as well as the considerable variety of intellectual interests displayed, may well be the result not only of an extended period of composition, but also of the absence during the process of composition of any definite informing plan.

To turn to a different type of evidence, the *Shepherd's Calendar* contains such contradictions in subject-matter and character as no able author would have allowed had he been working deliberately and from a well-formulated scheme. Several might be mentioned. Greenlaw remarked:<sup>13</sup>

in "August," Cuddie repeats one of the songs said to have been made by Colin, though this song contradicts the situation detailed in "June."

It should be remembered that, as the *Calendar* progresses, Spenser takes care to let us know that Colin is growing older. In *January* he is young, although his ill success with Rosalind makes him feel old, and in *April* he is still a lad; but in *June* he is a "man" of "ryper age" who has lost his delight in piping and dancing. By *December* he has become an old man with furrowed face and "head besprent with hoary frost." Colin grows old gracefully enough, and his doing so is not greatly at variance with the plan of the *Calendar*, although one might expect from the title that the time represented be only one year; few, however, of the other characters do. The eternal youth of Rosalind is, of course, in no way surprising in view of her relation to the Petrarchan tradition. Thenot we see in *February* as a shepherd ninety years old, who scorns love, defends old age against the eager attack of young Cuddie, and believes that the world grows worse every day. By *April* he has become a man of indeterminate age with a fondness for poetry and none of the cynical outlook upon life so much in evidence in *February*, while by *November*, stranger still, he is a poet for whose "light vielayes, and looser songs of love" even the great Colin has several words of praise!<sup>14</sup> Somewhat less unnatural, perhaps, but no less striking is the change wrought in Pali-node. In *May* he appears as a pastor, not a young man but still sensitive to the urge of the spring in his blood, who defends his worldly brothers and whose ideas of the pastor's life shock the more puritanical Piers; in *July* we find that he has returned from a pilgrimage with words as severe

<sup>13</sup> *PMLA*, xix (1911), 447.

<sup>14</sup> See Herford, *op. cit.*, p. xl.—Professor Renwick (*loc. cit.*), remarking that "Thenot appears in *April* and *November*," says that "the reappearance of the same name may imply the same person, but we cannot be quite sure." There is no necessity for believing that, because a character is the allegorical representation of one of Spenser's acquaintances in one eclogue, he is so in every other eclogue where he appears, on the other hand, there was little purpose in Spenser's using the same name unless the same *pastoral* character was meant.

as those of Piers for the worldliness of a certain type of pastor. Such reformation is not inconceivable, but a bit surprising.<sup>15</sup>—The alterations of character in the cases of Thomalin and Piers are, perhaps, not so striking. The former appears in *March* as a gay young shepherd who tells of his encounter with Love, in *July* we find him a learned theologian, easily citing Biblical passages to support his points, even though he does, from time to time, remember his pastoral identity long enough to forget a name. In *October*, Piers shows an interest in love, poetry, and tales of chivalry entirely unexpected in one who in *May* was so thoroughly committed to an ascetic life for the clergy.<sup>16</sup>

In addition, Spenser violates narrative propriety in *June* by making Hobbinol urge Colin to leave the hills and come to the vales where he himself is so happy. This E. K. explains as Hobbinol's way of advising Colin to leave the "Northpartes" and to come to the "Southpartes." Yet, as early as *April*, Colin is "the Southerne shepheardes boye," a position he has probably held since *January*.<sup>17</sup>

It is particularly significant that all these inconsistencies and contradictions occur between the different eclogues, never between parts of the same eclogue. This is strange if the deficiencies of the poem are due to Spenser's inability to plan well and to write according to the plan; it is not very unnatural if a majority of the eclogues were written at somewhat widely separated times and with little or no idea of combining them to form a larger whole. It is, in fact, what one might then expect.

Such inconsistencies in characterization and narrative together with the inferior development of the major unifying themes of the poem constitute the evidence against the belief that the *Shepherd's Calendar* was methodically composed from a more or less carefully matured plan. If, in the face of this evidence, we still hold to the view that the poem was written only after having been planned in some detail, we are forced to an unwelcome conclusion. At the age of twenty-seven Spenser must have been unable to tell the simplest of stories with any adequate atten-

<sup>15</sup> So marked is this change that Higginson (*op. cit.*, p. 105 n.) says: "This Palinode cannot be identical with the Palinode of the 'May'; there, he is the object of Spenser's satire, here, he is the friend of Spenser's representative, Thomalin." Francis T. Palgrave (in Grosart's edition of Spenser's works, iv, li) remarks, "It is noteworthy that Palinode, who in that poem ['May'] represents Roman Catholicism, is now spoken of as having travelled to Rome, where the pomp of the Papal Court has impressed him unfavorably."

<sup>16</sup> C. H. Herford (*op. cit.*, p. 150) notes some of these peculiarities and remarks, "Spenser makes no attempt to use the names with uniform consistency. . . . This adds strength to the view that the eclogues were composed independently, and at different times."—One might add that it strengthens also the view that many of them were composed before the idea of combining them into a unified piece occurred to the poet.

<sup>17</sup> See *January*, 1.

tion to detail; he must have possessed only the most rudimentary sense of character and, even for his own time, must have been a very haphazard scholar. That the publication of the *Shepherdess Calender* dates from the period when he was beginning work on the *Faerie Queene* and that these deficiencies in narrative ability are not much in evidence in the latter work are reasons for doubting such a conclusion. Inconsistencies and flaws in the narrative technique of the *Faerie Queene* any attentive reader notices,<sup>18</sup> but it is more immediately apparent that the author demonstrates marked ability to tell a complicated story with considerable attention to the sort of detail which he shows himself least able to manage in the *Shepherdess Calender*. What the *Faerie Queene* would have been like had it been written by a man whose powers were no greater than those which this view allows the poet of the *Shepherdess Calender*, it is difficult to imagine; in comparison chaos would have been orderly.

Therefore, before accepting this view, it is well to consider the alternative: that the *Shepherdess Calender* resulted from a somewhat hasty gathering together of poems already composed and an equally hasty fitting of them into a unifying plan.

Such a theory has several considerations to recommend it. In the first place, it fits in with what we know of Spenser's life during this period. At this particular time, Spenser was desirous of advancement (E. K. tells us that, at Harvey's advice, he came south "for his more preferment"<sup>19</sup>), and, though his acquaintance was growing, he was still known to but few who held political preferment in their power. What could be more natural than that he, already markedly interested in poetry and already recognized as something of a poet by his friends, should attempt to overcome this obstacle by publishing a series of poems containing compliments to persons of influence? That he had in some measure dedicated himself to the work of a poet we may judge from the preoccupation with literature that appears in his letters to Harvey and from the number of "lost" works mentioned by Harvey, E. K., and the poet himself; that some at least of his friends recognized his abilities may be inferred from his acceptance by the literary coterie surrounding Sidney and perhaps from Rosalind's reference to him as her "Segnior Pegaso." By a judiciously planned publication, he could compliment those persons of influence, as Leicester and Young, whom he already knew, and seek to make new friends at the same time that he was giving

<sup>18</sup> Some of these inconsistencies are traceable to Spenser's sources. See H. S. V. Jones, *A Spenser Handbook* (New York, 1930), p. 243.

<sup>19</sup> In the notes to *June*.



a very convincing proof of his abilities as a poet. His somewhat recent introduction to Leicester and other members of his party provided a suitable opening for such a publication. He may well have felt that certain poems he had by him represented as good work as he could then do and that his time might be more profitably spent in revising and welding together those older pieces according to a unifying scheme than in an attempt to compose new ones. Nor is it strange if he were desirous of taking advantage of the work already done on poems which had been praised by his friends.<sup>20</sup> So let us suppose he set to work with enthusiasm, fitting poems already written into a framework, altering and rewriting where he saw the necessity, and writing new poems where that was necessary. Then the gloss was made with the result that, by the April of 1579, the poem was complete in approximately its present form,<sup>21</sup> although it had not been given the last touches necessary to make it a finished piece of work. Even the dedication to Sidney had been decided upon.<sup>22</sup> Then, for some reason, the project was laid aside. Nor are reasons for such action difficult to imagine; it may have been because of the lack of what he deemed a suitable occasion for publication, because of the feeling in some quarters that printing one's works was not quite the proper thing to do, because of his desire to avoid "over-much cloying their noble eares," or because of the abatement of his enthusiasm. Be that as it may, the project was apparently laid aside, and it is plausible to think that between April and October little work was done on the *Calendar*; there is slight probability that Spenser would have spent much time in polishing a piece he had decided not to circulate. In October, however, the prospect of representing Leicester in France recalled the plan and convinced Spenser that the time was ripe for

<sup>20</sup> Professor W. L. Renwick's statement, in *Edmund Spenser; An Essay on Renaissance Poetry* (London, 1925), p. 36 f., that Spenser deliberately chose the pastoral as the most fitting literary type with which to make his bow to his audience in no way contravenes this idea; what he says of a series of poems would be equally true of each of these poems considered separately. His statements probably also indicate the reasons for the choices Spenser made from the body of poetry at hand at the time when the *Shepherd's Calendar* was put together. E. K.'s reference, in his notes to *March*, to Spenser's translation of "Moschus his Idyllion of Wandring love" makes probable the belief that Spenser had by him a considerable body of pastorals at this time.

<sup>21</sup> See E. K.'s prefatory epistle to Harvey, dated April 10, 1579.

<sup>22</sup> It is possible that E. K.'s epistle to Harvey may originally have contained Leicester's name where we now find Sidney's and that the passage was changed to its present form by Spenser only after he later decided to address himself to Sidney; on the other hand, Spenser's letter to Harvey of October 16, 1579, does not read as though that were so; it rather sounds as though Harvey had been trying to persuade Spenser, against a fairly settled conclusion, to make his address to a greater and more powerful man than he had originally intended.

attempts at personal advancement. So much is clear from his advice to Harvey.<sup>23</sup>

And indeede for your selfe to, it sitteth with you now, to call your wits and senses together, (which are alwaies at call) when occasion is so fairely offered of Estimation and Preferment.

Clear also from the same letter is his belief in the desirability of a certain amount of haste; "for whiles the yron is hote, it is good striking, and minds of Nobles varie, as their Estates."<sup>24</sup> He understood that it behooved him to make the most of this opportunity before some quick shift of court politics put it out of Leicester's power or inclination to reward his supporters. And it appears that Spenser's apprehensions were justified, for there is no reason to suspect that Leicester ever tried to do for Spenser what the poet wished him to. For these reasons, the *Shepheardes Calender* was probably sent off to Hugh Singleton after a few hasty, last-minute touches.

Though we have no positive indication that these considerations led Spenser to follow the process outlined, what evidence we have supports the idea; and it must be admitted that such action growing from such an evaluation of circumstances was both natural and probable.

Nor is the combination of pieces already written into a larger whole, the unifying idea of which is later, unusual among poets. Thus, for example, did Chaucer build the *Canterbury Tales* in part from pieces already at hand; and it is pertinent to notice that in the *Canterbury Tales* are to be found certain discrepancies of a type similar to those pointed out in the *Shepheardes Calender*. In Spenser's own case it is generally accepted that he was accustomed to rework earlier pieces and that at least some of the "lost" works are to be found incorporated in later pieces. Judging from the letter in which he dedicates his *Hymns* to the Countesses of Cumberland and Warwick, the 1596 versions of the first two may represent considerable changes from their earlier form. Reasons for believing that *Mother Hubberds Tale* was written years before it was published and was subjected to a somewhat thorough revision before its publication are summarized by Professor H. S. V. Jones in his *Spenser Handbook*.<sup>25</sup> The case for Spenser's authorship of the translations from the works of Du Bellay and Petrarch in the *Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings* rests upon the supposition that he later revised and published, or allowed to be published, pieces of his earlier work. Professor Renwick has suggested that *The Ruines of Time* was "constructed out of a poem commendatory of Camden's *Britannia*

<sup>23</sup> *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. Grosart (privately printed, 1884-85), I, 7.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Pages 99 ff.

... , an elegy on Sidney the place of which was eventually taken by *Astrophel*, and bits of the old *Dreames* or *Pageants*."<sup>26</sup> From these instances, it would appear that Spenser was economical of his lines and that, if he made up the *Shepherd's Calendar* in part from earlier unpublished works, he was behaving in no very uncharacteristic fashion.

In the second place, this supposition concerning the making of the *Shepherd's Calendar* finds support in the fact that by it, and only by it, are many of the peculiarities of the poem explained. If the process by which it was made was such as has been described, the very flaws and inconsistencies, existing as they do, not within the eclogues but between the various ones, are not unnatural. For instance, even a good poetic craftsman might feel that in using the same pastoral name for a minor character in several independent poems, he did not obligate himself to present under it a character consistent in all cases; the feeling might be even stronger if the name were borrowed from earlier writers of the pastoral, as are many of Spenser's names. With such poems at hand, the same writer might not, especially if hurried, make the character perfectly consistent when the poems were being placed in a larger, unifying setting. Such inconsistencies would be most likely to escape the poet's eye and, once found, would be most difficult to remove. On the other hand, it must be agreed that the flaws in the *Shepherd's Calendar* are not of the sort that an able writer would be likely to permit had he begun with a plan of the whole from which he turned his attention to the composition of the parts.

From our scanty knowledge of Spenser's life in the months just preceding the publication of the poem, it is clear that, once the final decision to publish was made, there was little time available for last-minute revisions. His letter of October, 1579, to Harvey tells us that he has at last been persuaded by his friend to abandon his idea "for a while to have intermitted the uttering" of his writings<sup>27</sup> and that he is now undecided whether to dedicate the *Calendar* to Sidney or to Leicester. If these inferences represent the truth of the matter, then between October 16 and December 5, when the work was entered at Stationers' Hall, Spenser must have decided to publish with a dedication to Sidney, Singleton must have been secured as publisher, such revisions as were to be made had to be worked out, and the poem may possibly have been printed.<sup>28</sup> If it be taken into consideration that Spenser was, during

<sup>26</sup> *Complaints*, ed. W. L. Renwick (London, 1928), p. 190.

<sup>27</sup> Harvey, *ed. cit.*, I, 6.

<sup>28</sup> By not recognizing that Spenser's final decision to publish came in October rather than in April, Professor Jefferson B. Fletcher (*M.L.N.*, xv, 331) is led to state that "during the interim of approximately eight months [from April 10 to December 5] the volume was presumably passing through the press." The evidence of Spenser's letter seems

at least a few days of the time, excited over the possibility of being sent abroad and for an additional period probably disappointed over the failure of his hopes (if, indeed, the foreign journey did not take place); that he may have been occupied with the composition of other poems, e.g., *Mother Hubbard's Tale* or *Virgil's Gnat*, that in the interval he may have married Machabyas Chylde;<sup>29</sup> then we are able to see why the poem should have been hurriedly prepared for the press. That there was, however, a slight revision of the sort one might expect from the circumstances is clear, as we shall see.

In E. K.'s *Glosse*, too, are peculiarities that can best be accounted for by the belief that the publication was somewhat hasty.<sup>30</sup> The arrangement of the notes there follows the order of the occurrence of the words in the poem in the case of only one eclogue: *June*. From one to five of the notes to the other eleven eclogues are out of the expected order. In some, e.g., *February* or *March*, the disarrangement is such as to make its being a printer's blunder improbable.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, E. K. sometimes gives explanations that misinterpret Spenser's meaning. A case in point is his explanation of *wonne*<sup>32</sup> as "to haunt or frequent"; the meaning is clearly enough "were wont." There are several other cases of the same sort.<sup>33</sup> The omission of the dates from his note on *Saxon king* in *September* gives the impression of hurried work. These errors were probably all due originally to the carelessness occasioned by haste or perhaps at times ignorance; but their presence in the published work indicates no very careful editing of the *Glosse* by the poet himself. Two reasons for the lack of such revision—a hurried publication, and absence of the poet and the consequent supervision of publication by one of his friends—have some color of probability; carelessness due to lack of interest on Spenser's part can surely be dismissed as a possibility if one considers how much the poet had at stake in this, the first public flight of his matured muse.

Probably he was in London and did use all the care for which he could

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conclusive against such a belief. It is possible that the printing was subsequent even to December 5; see Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1927), p. 137.

<sup>29</sup> Mark Eccles, *L.T.L.S.*, December 31, 1931, p. 1053.

<sup>30</sup> Professor John W. Draper (*J.E.G.Ph.*, xviii, 556-574) remarks that the *Glosse* "certainly seems to have been carelessly or hurriedly put together" and later (p. 573) that "such errors as the definition of *glen* as *hamlet*, even in the most obtuse editor, could result only from carelessness or haste—and E. K. was probably not obtuse."

<sup>31</sup> The presence of printer's errors is, however, probable. The error which G. L. Craik, *Spenser and His Poetry* (London, 1845), I, 82 n., suspects in the Emblem for *October* is probably one.

<sup>32</sup> *S.C.*, II, 119.

<sup>33</sup> See C. H. Herford, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv; John W. Draper, *op. cit.*, pp. 568-70; and W. L. Renwick's edition of the *Calender*, p. 197, note to l. 179 and p. 200, note to l. 100.

allow himself time; certainly he gave the poem some revision after the completion of the *Glosse*. In the first place, the *Glosse* has explanations of words not in the poem as published. Neither *bett* nor *soote*, upon which comments are found in the notes to *July* and *September* respectively, appears in the eclogue in question. *Better* occurs twice in *July*, in lines 7 and 230. Possibly the *better* of line 230 is a printer's error for *bett*; the meter would thus be smoother. For the glossing of *soote*, there can be no such excuse. Consequently, it would appear that in at least one instance Spenser removed a passage after the explanatory notes were composed. Further indication of a last-minute revision of the text lies in the fact that the sestet in *August* has no notes.<sup>34</sup> One can scarcely believe that so diligent an annotator as E. K. would have foregone the pleasure of explaining certain passages of this lyric had it been part of the eclogue when he was working over it; on the other hand, it is quite conceivable that, when the *Glosse* was made, *August* contained only the first 138 lines of the present eclogue—those lines form a well-rounded unit, the last line of which contains the last two expressions explained in that section of E. K.'s notes—and that only just before turning the poem over to Singleton did Spenser decide that it would be improved by the addition of the more serious sestet. Because of these discrepancies between the poem and the *Glosse* it would seem that Spenser did look over the manuscript after the supplying of notes and it is probable that the discrepancies between poem and notes owe their presence in the published work to a somewhat hurried final preparation of it for the press.

As here presented, then, the case for believing that the *Shepheardes Calender* is made up in part of poems of a date earlier than the unifying ideas of the whole work, and that these earlier poems were rather hurriedly revised and supplemented by others after the idea of the publication occurred to the poet may be summarized thus: its unifying themes are imperfectly executed, some of the eclogues bearing no relation to the plan of the whole, and many containing marked contradictions in character and incident; moreover, both the poem and the *Glosse* bear other unmistakable evidences of haste. The idea here advocated is consonant with what we know of Spenser's life and thoughts at the time and is the only one which allows a concept of the author of the *Shepheardes Calender* corresponding even remotely with Spenser's abilities and practices as we know them from his other works.

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<sup>34</sup> Mention of it in the "Argument" may indicate that the arguments were written later than the *Glosse*.

## XXVIII

### NOTES ON THE ELIZABETHAN *ELEGIE*

IN modern English usage, the term *elegy* bears a distinct connotation of threnody: broadly, it indicates any funeral poem or lament for the dead; more precisely, it describes a lengthened, dignified poem which either mourns reflectively for a deceased person or broods with a more inclusive sorrow over the tragedy men encounter in living. In this narrower sense, the elegy is

a reflective lyric, suggested by the fact or fancy of death. The emotion, personal or public, finds utterance in keen lament, to be allayed, however, by tranquil consideration of the mutability of life, the immutability of Something which justifies life and death,<sup>1</sup>

or, in the words of Edmund Gosse, it is a poem of

lamentation and regret, called forth by the decease of a beloved or revered person, or by a general sense of the pathos of mortality. . . . It must be mournful, meditative, and short without being ejaculatory.<sup>2</sup>

Such significance, however, has not always been associated with the elegy. When sixteenth-century writers coined the English word as the equivalent of the Greek *ἐλεγεία* and the Latin *elegia*, they used it in many different contexts with meanings not at all compatible. Having discovered that the identifying trait of the ancient genre, its metrical form, resisted naturalization in English, they applied the name to poems which paralleled in spirit and substance the works of the classic elegists. But in this respect they found the ancient elegy variable between limits widely apart. As a result, *elegie* was "vaguely used . . . apparently originally including all the species of poetry for which Greek and Latin poets adopted the elegiac metre."<sup>3</sup> So little have scholars interested themselves in the elegy as a type of English poetry that they have commonly dismissed such obsolete usages thus summarily.<sup>4</sup> I suggest,

<sup>1</sup> C. M. Gayley and B. P. Kurtz, *Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism, Lyric, Epic, and Allied Forms of Poetry* (New York, 1920), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyc. Brit.* (11th and 14th edd.), "Elegy."

<sup>3</sup> *The Oxford Dictionary*, "Elegy," second definition.

<sup>4</sup> See R. M. Alden, *Introduction to Poetry* (New York, 1909), p. 68; cf. Gayley and Kurtz, *op. cit.*, p. 392.—No comprehensive study of the elegy as a type of English poetry has yet been published. J. W. Draper's *Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism* (New York, 1929) is a thorough investigation of one aspect of the subject, and a storehouse of material. There are brief discussions of the elegy as a whole by Gayley and Kurtz, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff. and 392 ff.; by J. C. Bailey, *English Elegies* (London, 1900), introd.; and by Arthur Quiller-Couch, *Studies in Literature* (3rd series, Cambridge Univ., 1929), Chaps. I and II.

however, that a more careful examination of Elizabethan practices proves valuable, by demonstrating that the outworn meanings of *elegy*, although diverse, were not wholly vague, and by raising several challenging problems, in answering which the investigator finds himself in a wide field of literary history that has long lain uncharted, even unnoticed.

1. The most logical, if not the earliest, use of the word *elegy* in English depended upon the denotation of the parent words in Greek and Latin. *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), attributed to George Puttenham, devoted a chapter to the elegy, and described "a limping Pentameter after a lustie Exhameter" as a distinguishing characteristic.<sup>5</sup> Some years earlier, the champions of an Anglo-classic prosody had already experimented. Beside "English hexameters" we find "English elegiacs," as, for example, in Harvey's *Familiar Letters* (1580) and in Sidney's *Arcadia* (written ca. 1580). Again, when in his *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602) Thomas Campion made a last valiant fight to establish classical rhythms, he synthesized "English elegeick verses," finding them "deriu'd out of our own naturall numbers as neere the imitation of the Greekes and Latines as our heauy sillables will permit;"<sup>6</sup> and he illustrated his principle in amorous elegy and in epigram. But Campion's efforts proved as futile as Harvey's, and it scarcely needed Daniel's reply in the *Defense of Rhyme* (1603)—which curtly asserted that "elegiack verse" was "no other then our old accustomed measure of fue feet"<sup>7</sup>—to silence the discordant rumblings of ancient metres in English.

2. A second inconsequential usage, also resting upon form rather than content, and following a fashion set by the Augustan elegists, linked the word with epistolary poems, usually of love or of complaint. Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602) contained an anonymous amatory-didactic piece of no great literary merit entitled "An Elegie, or Letter in Verse."<sup>8</sup> Among the many commendatory verses prefixed to that remarkable book, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), we find one headed "Mr Laurence Whitakers Elogie of the Booke," with the author's explanation, "This epistle was written . . . as his censure or Elogie that my Booke might be printed."<sup>9</sup> Here, indeed, the word may refer less to the letter than to the recommendation or "eulogy," but the two meanings seem so blended that *elogie* implies a "message of approbation." Less ambiguous and more learned examples come from Drayton's *Elegies vpon Sundry Occasions* (1627), in which most of the constituent poems, regardless of

<sup>5</sup> *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. G. Smith (Oxford, 1904), II, 51.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 344.—Cf. Webbe's *Discourse* (1586), *ibid.*, I, 285.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 377.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1891), I, 112.

<sup>9</sup> Reprint, James MacLehose & Sons (Glasgow, 1905), I, 149.

My noble friend, you challenge me to write  
To you in veise . . . and to send you newes;  
. . . I should report  
In home-spunne prose, in good plaine honest words  
The newes our wofull England vs affords—<sup>10</sup>

3. Occasionally, the Elizabethans employed *elegie* to indicate a didactic poem. Sharing the common Renaissance theory that art is justified largely by its power to instruct, more than one writer discovered a preacher's purpose not only in the gnomic and hortatory elegies of the early Greek period but also, apparently, in the sentimental and sensual love elegies of Augustan Rome. Witness Sidney's belief that the lamenting Elegiack . . . surely is to be prayed, either for compassionate accompanying iust causes for lamentation, or for rightly paynting out how weake be the passions of wofulnesse.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Drayton's Minor Poems*, ed. Cyril Brett (Oxford, 1907), p. 118.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 108, 93, 99, respectively. The first mentioned opens:

Friend, if you thinke my Papers may supplie  
You, with some strange omitted Noueltie,

and concludes:

So (noble Sandis) for this time adue.

<sup>12</sup> *Elizabethan Sonnets*, ed. Sidney Lee (An English Garner series, Westminster and New York, 1904), I, 241, 257, 262; the last two Barnes calls "letters."

<sup>13</sup> *Poetical Works* (Hunterian Club, 1873), "The Amorous Songs, etc.," p. 121.

<sup>14</sup> See *Elegiae* i, iv, vi; cf. Campion's Latin elegies, *Works*, ed. S. P. Vivian (Oxford, 1909), pp. 315-324. <sup>15</sup> *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ed. cit., I, 176. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 209.

<sup>15</sup> *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ed. cit., I, 176.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 209.



Reynolds Esquire, of *Poets & Poesie*" undertakes an historical survey of poetry in England and a critical estimate of the more important writers, living and deceased; "To the . . . Lady I. S., of worldly crosses" repeats to a suffering and maligned lady the homely philosophy of virtue nourished and matured through sorrow.<sup>17</sup> The most notable instance of the didactic elegy, however, we find in John Davies's *Nosce Teipsum* (1599). A disquisition upon the human soul and its attributes, this metrical rendering of a chapter of Scholasticism bears the subtitle: *This Oracle expounded in two Elegies*; and each "elegie" is a canto-treatise which records a learned pronouncement, the first "Of Human Knowledge" and the second "Of the Soul of Man, and the Immortality thereof."<sup>18</sup> Milton's sedate sententiousness in his Latin elegiacs suggests his general agreement with Davies's conception of a didactic elegy.<sup>19</sup>

4. Again, English writers of the Renaissance frequently implied by *elegie* a poem of general lament. In this custom they followed ancient theory more than ancient practice. The Horatian notion that the elegy was first of all an expression of sorrow,<sup>20</sup> although scarcely attuned to the spirit exhibited in the elegies of Horace's contemporaries, and although ignored by so important a neo-classic scholar as Vida,<sup>21</sup> was not forgotten, and was echoed in critical writings like Ronsard's and Sidney's.<sup>22</sup> As early as 1514, Alexander Barclay used the word to signify a complaint; his phrase "I tell mine elegy" is apparently the same as "I make my moan."<sup>23</sup> George Gascoigne described his *Complaynt of Phylomene* (1576), a partly narrative and partly lyrical version of the princess-nightingale myth, as "an elegye, or sorrowefull song."<sup>24</sup> Similarly, Thomas Nashe in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), after telling how the lady Hericlide's husband and children succumbed to the plague and how she was ravished by a brigand, exclaims: "Let not your sorrow die, you that haue read the proeme and narration of this eligicall historie."<sup>25</sup> The same notion of general lament Spenser attached to the

<sup>17</sup> Drayton's *Minor Poems*, ed. cit., pp. 108 and 99, respectively.

<sup>18</sup> *Some Longer Elizabethan Poems*, ed. A. H. Bullen (Westminster and New York, 1903), pp. 41 ff. <sup>19</sup> See especially *Elegia*, i, vi, vii. <sup>20</sup> *De Arte Poetica*, l. 75.

<sup>21</sup> Vida recognized only the plaintive-erotic elegy. See A. S. Cook, *The Art of Poetry* (Boston, 1892), p. 42.

<sup>22</sup> Ronsard's *Abrégé de l'Art Poétique*, in *Œuvres Choiesies*, par Eugene Voizard (Paris, 1890), p. 303; Sidney's *Defense of Poetry*, in *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ed. cit., i, 176, where he speaks of the "lamenting Elegiacke who bewailes . . . the weakenes of mankind and the wretchednes of the world."

<sup>23</sup> *Edogues*, fifth, l. 69.—On the other hand, Harington's reference to the "mourning" elegy, cited above, obviously implies a pseudo-serious erotic plaint.

<sup>24</sup> In the dedicatory letter, cf. the title page. *Complete Works*, ed. J. W. Cunliffe (Cambridge, 1907-1910), II, 177 and 175, respectively.

<sup>25</sup> *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1904), II, 292.

term in his *Tears of the Muses* (1591), where he portrays Erato bewailing:

Now change your praises into piteous cries,  
And Eulogies turne into Elegies <sup>26</sup>

Drayton, who employed the word in every conceivable sense,<sup>27</sup> sometimes indicated by it a poem of regret. He found himself "enforc'd this Elegy to write" when Lady Ashton's departure for Spain made him long for her "missed sight."<sup>28</sup> Again, writing of corruption in politics and society, he thus checked his bitter denunciation:

This is pure Satire, . . . and I  
Was first in hand to write an Elegie,<sup>29</sup>

and his meaning he amplified a few lines later:

For now as Elegiack I bewaile  
These poor base times; then suddenly I raile  
And am Satirick—

In this context, *elegie* obviously implies a sincere lament over abuses widespread and many-headed, which the poet might ridicule.

5. Rarely in Elizabeth's reign, but more often as the seventeenth century advanced, the word was applied to funeral poems or to verses intended to commemorate a particular person deceased. Although the ancient classical poets used the elegiac distich for epitaphs, they seldom made it serve for obituary lyrics (as we should now call them), and the Alexandrian and Roman pastorals from which Marot and Spenser borrowed the eclogue-elegy scheme, not being composed in elegiacs, were not elegies in their native literatures; the specialized threnodic significance of the term, therefore, seems to have been arrived at indirectly and slowly. When in *Phyllyp Sparowe* (ca. 1509) Skelton wrote of the "elegy" of an epitaph<sup>30</sup>—thereby apparently first using the English word<sup>31</sup>—he indicated only the Latin lines which conclude the

<sup>26</sup> *Poetical Works* (Oxford, 1929), p. 484.

<sup>27</sup> In his introduction to the *Minor Poems*, Brett remarks: "The *Elegies* comprise a great variety of styles and themes; some are really threnodies, some verse letters, some laments over the evil times, and one a summary of Drayton's literary opinions." Elsewhere Drayton applies the name to amorous poems.

<sup>28</sup> *Drayton's Minor Poems*, ed. cit., p. 105.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>30</sup> *Poetical Works*, ed. Alexander Dyce (London, 1843), I, 76; the epitaph in broken elegiacs follows immediately.

Flos folucrum formose, vale!  
Philippe, sub isto

Marmore jam recubas,  
Qui mihi carus eras . . .

See the writer's note in *LTLS* (Dec. 13, 1934), p. 895.

<sup>31</sup> *The Oxford Dictionary* records the earliest use of the term as in Barclay's fifth eclogue, published in 1514; scholars generally agree in dating *Phyllyp Sparowe* not later than 1509.

lament; and the word was suggested by the classic practice of composing sepulchral inscriptions in elegiacs. *Tichbornes elegie, written with his owne hand in the Tower before his execution* (1586) owed its name less to the imminent death of its alleged author than to the general lament it expressed for his hapless fate alive.<sup>32</sup> Spenser was the first poet of note to apply the name to a chant of personal grief inspired by the loss of a beloved and revered person, in his *Daphnida. An Elegie vpon the death of the noble and vertuous Douglas Howard* (1591) and in *Astrophel. A Pastorall Elegie*<sup>33</sup> (printed 1595). Comparatively few of the later pastoral laments, however, bore similar labels, and the title attached itself to non-pastoral poems, such as John Lane's *Elegie on the death of Queen Elizabeth*<sup>34</sup> (1603), Donne's "Funerall Elegie" for Elizabeth Drury (1610), and his "Elegie upon the untimely death of the incomparable Prince Henry"<sup>35</sup> (1613), Drayton's *Elegies* (1618) "Vpon the three Sonnes of Lord Sheffield, Drowned in Hvmbre" and "vpon the death of the Lady Penelope Clifton,"<sup>36</sup> Quarles's *Alphabet of Elegies*<sup>37</sup> (1630) on Dr. Ailmer, Jonson's "Elegy on my Muse . . . the Lady Venetia Digby"<sup>38</sup> (printed 1641), or the "Elegies upon the Author" published in the posthumous edition of Donne's poems<sup>39</sup> (1633). It is interesting to note that with the threnodic meaning the name rarely stands alone, the titles run "funeral elegy . . ." or "elegy upon the death of . . .";<sup>40</sup> and to observe further that, generally, the *motif* is less the sorrow of the poet than an encomium of the departed. We may judge that the Elizabethans thought of the obituary "elegies" not as subjective, and certainly not as reflective, poems of mourning—although many are both—but as long epitaphs, in which species of composition the characteristic note is praise of the deceased and the object is perpetuation of his name and fame.<sup>41</sup> The fact that many threnodic pieces resembling the "elegies" in every detail were called *epitaphs*, and the principle of nomenclature laid down by Puttenham in his chapter on the epitaph<sup>42</sup> corroborate this

<sup>32</sup> *Poetry of the English Renaissance*, ed. J. W. Hebel and H. H. Hudson (New York, 1929), p. 196.      <sup>33</sup> *Poetical Works*, ed. cit., pp. 527 and 546, respectively.

<sup>34</sup> *Fugitive Poetical Tracts*, 2nd series (Roxburghe Library, n d.).

<sup>35</sup> *Poems*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (Oxford, 1929), pp. 221 and 243, respectively; cf. other examples, pp. 254 ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Minor Poems*, ed. cit., pp. 97 and 102, respectively; cf. other examples, pp. 114, 121.

<sup>37</sup> *Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (Edinburgh, 1881), III, 5.

<sup>38</sup> Part IX of a longer commendatory poem; *Works*, ed. Cunningham (London, 1875), III, 350.

<sup>39</sup> *Poems*, ed. cit., pp. 339 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the facsimile reprints of popular funeral elegies published originally as broadsides in *A Century of Broadside Elegies*, ed. J. W. Draper (London, 1928).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. J. C. Bailey, *English Elegies* (London, 1900), p. xlii.

<sup>42</sup> *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ed. cit., II, 58.

view. Gradually, however, the conception changed, so that Isaac Walton in his "Elegie upon Dr Donne" (1633) avoided panegyric and confined himself to lamentation with the statement that, since Donne's virtues surpassed his powers of description, he would "write no *Encomium*, but an *Elegie*."<sup>43</sup> Walton's distinction was common with later writers.

6. Yet, during the sixteenth century, commonly *elegie* implied to the Elizabethans a love lyric, especially a plaintive love lyric. The eroticism which pervaded the Latin elegy in the Golden Age caused such a meaning to be accepted generally throughout the Renaissance. In Italy, Vida's influential *Ars Poetica* (1527) declared that "soft elegies our pity move, and show the youth in all the flames of love",<sup>44</sup> in France, Ronsard's *Abrégé de l'Art Poétique françois* (1565) explained that, although the elegy first sang "des morts les gestes et les faicts," "amour, pour y regner, en a chassé la mort."<sup>45</sup> *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) remarked: there were an other sort, who sought the fauor of faire Ladies, and coueted to bemone their estates at large & the perplexities of loue in a certain pitious verse called Elegie . . . such among the Latines were Ouid, Tibullus, and Propertius;<sup>46</sup>

and stated of species of poetry that a "third sorrowing was of loues, by long lamentation in Elegie, so was their song called."<sup>47</sup> Harington's apology for "scurrilite and lewdnesse" in the elegy (1591) indicates that he thought it to be both erotic and melancholy.<sup>48</sup> Significantly, Campion in his *Observations* (1602) employed his English elegiacs for a disappointed lover's complaint.<sup>49</sup> Shakespeare used the word in this sense only: in *As You Like It* (c. 1599) Orlando "hangs . . . Elegies on brambles; all (forsooth) deifying the name of 'Rosalinde'";<sup>50</sup> in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (c. 1593) Proteus explains the gallant manner of wooing:

You must lay Lime, to tangle her desires  
By walefull Sonnets . . .  
After your dire-lamenting Elegies  
Visit by night your Ladies chamber-window . . .<sup>51</sup>

Nor was Shakespeare alone in connecting the elegy with the amorous Petrarchan sonnets; abundant evidence shows that the wailing cycles of the 1590's impressed their authors as eminently elegiac. In *Astrophel and Stella*, the channel through which the high-tide of Petrarchism

<sup>43</sup> *The Poems of John Donne, ed. cit.*, p. 346.

<sup>44</sup> Cook, *The Art of Poetry*, p. 42.—Vida wrote (ll. 45-46): " . . . sive elegis juvenum lachrymas quibus igne medullas urit amor. . . "

<sup>45</sup> *Œuvres Choiesies, ed. cit.*, p. 303.

<sup>46</sup> *Eliz Crit. Essays, ed. cit.*, II, 26.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 51.—In the same chapter, Puttenham places funeral songs in a different category.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 209.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 345.

<sup>50</sup> III. ii. 340.

<sup>51</sup> III. ii. 68-9, 82-3.

flowed into English literature, Sidney included eleven lyrics not in the sonnet form, but equally amatory and tearful in mood, which he entitled "Songs." The elder Giles Fletcher's *Licia* (1593) contained beside the sonnets a half-dozen "Odes and Elegies" that run parallel to Sidney's "Songs";<sup>52</sup> so too, Barnabe Barnes's *Parthenophil and Parthenophee* (1593) included twenty-one "Elegies."<sup>53</sup> Thomas Lodge headed his series *Phyllis Honoured with Pastorall Sonnets, Elegies, and amorous delights*<sup>54</sup> (1593), and Alexander Craig's belated cycle bore the title *Amorose Songes, Sonets, and Elegies*<sup>55</sup> (1606). The spirit of sonnet and song being identical, it needed but a gesture to confer elegiac rank upon the "quatorzains" themselves; this Drayton did when he bestowed the name directly upon his sonnets, beginning *Ideas Mirrour* (1594): "Reade heere (sweet Mayd) the story of my wo, . . . My liues complaint in doleful Elegies."<sup>56</sup> Shakespeare, as we have seen, employed "wailful sonnets" and "dire-lamenting elegies" as synonymous phrases. At any rate, so generally did *elegie* signify a love plaint that Francis Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598) classed with the ancient elegists Mimnermus, Philetas of Cos, Tibullus, Ovid, and others, the English sonneteers Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, and other authors of erotic poetry, declaring that as the ancients named were "famous for Elegie," so the English "are the most passionate among vs to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of loue."<sup>57</sup>

7. But in Elizabethan England, as in Augustan Rome, the amatory elegy did not always wail and moan; for like their predecessors love-smitten Englishmen "gave the name of elegy to their pleasantries as well as lamentations."<sup>58</sup> Before the Petrarchan vogue began, William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) assured its readers that "light matters, as Epigrammes and Elegies" were written "with much pleasant dalliance,"<sup>59</sup> and that the elegiac verse "serueth especially to the handling of loue and dalliances, whereof it taketh the name."<sup>60</sup> Webbe made the matter even more explicit. Grouping all poetry in three categories, "Comicall, Tragicall, and Historiall," he continued: Vnder the first may be contained all such Epigrammes, Elegies, and delectable ditties which poets haue deuised respecting onely the delights thereof: in the seconde, all dolefull complaynts, lamentable chaunces, and what soeuer else is poetically expressed in sorrow and heauines.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Elizabethan Sonnets*, ed. cit., II, 71 ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 238 ff.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1.—The collection contained only one "Elegie," which is omitted in this edition.

<sup>55</sup> Hunterian Club, 1873.

<sup>56</sup> *Drayton's Minor Poems*, ed. cit., p. 2.—This introductory sonnet did not reappear in the revised versions of *Idea*.

<sup>57</sup> *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, II, 320.

<sup>58</sup> Shenstone, "A Prefatory Essay on Elegy."

<sup>59</sup> *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, I, 238.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 285.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 249.

Thus, Webbe, a student and university graduate if not a ripe scholar, regarded the elegy as playfully erotic in subject, and comic rather than tragic in mood. Songs of dalliance and the delights thereof are the three "Elegies" of Fletcher's *Licia*, which have the spirit of a love anything but thwarted; and not all of Barnes's can be styled dire-lamenting. Even livelier are the *Elegies* of Donne, which, although not printed until 1633, date from the last decade of the sixteenth century when the sonnet fashion was at its peak.<sup>62</sup> Contemptuous toward the Platonic amours of the Petrarchans and frankly sensual, "The Anagram," "Loves Progress," "Loves Warre," "Going to Bed," and the other pieces are ingenious witticisms which interpret a more realistic aspect of love, much the same as that celebrated by the Latin elegists; even the more sedate "Julia" and "The Autumnal" describe a vigorous, joyous mood. According to this usage, then, the sole distinctive note of the elegy was its eroticism. All the Elizabethan critics and most of the poets agreed in considering the elegy an amatory lyric, either plaintive or sportive.<sup>63</sup>

8. A few theorists, cognizant of the Greek and Latin practice of composing epigrams in the elegiac distich, associated the elegy and the epigram. Webbe wrote of "Epigrammes and Elegies" as kindred "light matters," and Campion used his English elegiacs for epigrams.<sup>64</sup>

Although in particular instances confusion might have resulted merely from a loose shifting of names, the diversity we have reviewed was due largely to a diversity in the elegiac tradition handed down from antiquity to the Renaissance, for no kind of Elizabethan "elegie" fails to exhibit traits identified also with more than one of the classic elegies. The well-marked variety of meanings at first attached to the English word leads to two conclusions. First, the English elegy, as we now define it, was no simple outgrowth of the ancient elegy, which, at least as Renaissance writers understood the ancients, was not uniform but multiple. Second, even in English, from the sixteenth-century critics and poets to our contemporaries an evolution patently has taken place—perhaps in nomenclature only, perhaps also in the theory of poetic types.

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<sup>62</sup> *Poems*, ed. cit., pp. 71-109.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Milton's comment, *Elegia* vi:

Namque elegia levis multorum cura deorum est . . .  
Liber adest alegis, Eratoque, Ceresque, Venusque,  
Et cum purpurea matre tenellus Amor.

<sup>64</sup> *Works*, ed. S. P. Vivian (Oxford, 1909), pp. 48-49; cf. his use of the distich for Latin epigrams, *ibid.*, pp. 235 ff.

INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THE *MERCURE GALANT*  
ON THE FRENCH PROVINCIAL ACADEMIES  
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE documentary value of the *Mercure galant*, the review founded in 1672, which La Bruyère considered to be "directement au-dessous de rien," has not ceased to increase with the passage of time. Interspersed among frivolous poems, conundrums, descriptions of festivals and of styles, one finds announcements of new books, of military campaigns, and (what interests us here particularly) accounts, often filled with picturesque detail, of the foundation and the sessions of literary bodies organized in the provinces in the seventeenth century, in imitation of the French Academy. Some of these still have vigorous existence. In most instances, the *Mercure* is the chief source of information on these early years, and, strangely enough, has been neglected by the historians of the provincial academies.

Thanks to the *Mercure* and to de Visé, who was many years its editor, we learn that frivolous or serious provincial assemblages sprang up everywhere like mushrooms during the last quarter of the century. Thus the *Mercure* speaks of an *Académie de beaux-esprits*, organized by Mme La Viguière d'Alby, where lovers were not admitted (juillet, août, oct. 1681); announces the *Académie galante* of Avignon, from which love and gambling were excluded, "de sorte qu'il ne s'y parle que de choses fines, & dignes d'occuper des gens d'un raisonnement solide" (avril 1687); and, in contrast, mentions yet a third where love was the principal subject of conversation (juin 1682). In a certain *Académie aisée*, the discussion revolved around "l'homme accompli" (fév. 1683).

There were other academies slightly worthier of the name: that of Villeneuve, which, far from Paris, had the really academic preoccupation of praising the king (avril 1687), one organized by lawyers of Riom, where members discussed literary questions as well as matters of law—but not too seriously, since they wondered, for example, whether love is stronger than eloquence, and decided in favor of love! (juin, déc. 1698, established five years before). Vernon had its academy, presided over by a clever woman, whose comedies it played and whose poetry it praised (mars 1698). The society at Coutances appears most academic of all: every member was obliged to make an address, the purity of the French language was discussed, and new works were examined (jan., juillet 1698). Madame Royale founded in her palace in far away Turin an *Académie des esprits choisis*, where it seemed obligatory to praise the

directress, who lavished presents and pensions on the members. The *Mercure* mentions four members: Saint-Réal, the bishop of Fossan, de Martignac, translator of Terence and of Horace, and the abbé Deville, reputed to be a brilliant young preacher, who pronounced a rather flat speech at his reception. (See the *Mercure* for sept. 1677, mai 1679, juin 1680, juillet 1685).

These instances suffice to show that the organization of *bureaux d'esprit* had become at the end of the great century a veritable fad. As a certain contributor puts it, "Il a pris a mes Provinciaux une étrange démangeaison de faire . . . une Académie galante . . . Je croy qu'ils en deviendront fous" (juillet 1682). It is evident that these academies show too plainly the influence of the bad *préciosité* and of the Hôtel de Rambouillet in its decline, to have had more than transitory existence. The *Mercure* renders us a much more important service in its information regarding the organization of such academies in the real sense of the word as played vital rôles in the literary life of their time. They will be discussed in the order of their foundation.

*The Academy of Arles*.<sup>1</sup>—The Academy of Arles, the oldest and most important of the provincial academies, one of the few to receive the title of *royale*, was founded by letters patent from the king in 1668 and enjoyed thenceforth the same privileges as the French Academy. The *Mercure* tells us that it had a director, whose term of office seems to have been a year, a secretary, and a chancellor, both elected for life, and a protector, who was chosen by Louis XIV from the French Academy. The first protector was Saint-Aignan, that "honnête homme" who charmed Paris by his wit. Upon his death in 1687, he was followed by the marquis de Dangeau, of the famous *Journal*. The escutcheon of the society was adorned with two green laurels, planted on a mound, intertwining their branches and surmounted by a radiant sun, with the motto, *Foventur eodem* (oct. 1687). The number of members was first limited to twenty, whom the king required to be of the nobility, and was increased to thirty in 1677 (jan. 1688).<sup>2</sup>

Early in its history, it was affiliated with the French Academy, which treated it as a daughter, graciously receiving its members when they

<sup>1</sup> See the following numbers of the *Mercure*: août, sept. 1677; jan. 1678; juillet, oct. (t. II) 1678; jan., fév., mai, août 1680; jan., août, déc. 1681; jan., mars, juin, nov., déc. 1682; mai, nov. 1683, avril, juin, juillet, août, nov. 1684; jan., fév., avril, mai, sept. 1685, fév. (t. II), mai 1686; mars, sept., oct. 1687; mars 1688; avril 1689; juin, déc. 1690; mars 1691; avril 1693; juillet 1694.

<sup>2</sup> According to an issue of the *Mercure* in 1689, the number was forty at that moment, but that figure can very well be a typographical error or a mistake of the editor. The number was still only thirty in October, 1687.



visited the capital, offering them the opportunity to make addresses and to take part in the discussions on the dictionary, and showering upon them praises and *jetons de présence*.<sup>3</sup>

In 1687, the city of Arles offered for its meetings, which took place on Mondays, a magnificent apartment in the Hôtel de Ville, of which Mansard had made the plans. Vertron, one of its noted members, recalls to his associates that the reason the illustrious French Academy had deigned to receive in its alliance the Royal Academy of Arles was that there might be more hands to write of the conquests, and more tongues to publish the praises, of the monarch (déc. 1681). And, in fact, we can easily believe such testimonies, when we read the great number of extravagant (and often banal) eulogies of the king, made by the academicians of Arles, with which the *Mercure* embellishes its pages. For the glory of the king, the society decided to offer a gold medal of Louis XIV every year that the French Academy did not give a prize. Here are two samples of subject of contest: *Que le Roy parait toujours tranquille, quoi que dans un mouvement continuel* (mars 1682, pp. 262-265); *Sur la satisfaction que le Roy a d'avoir un Fils digne de luy, & sur les premières Conquêtes de ce jeune Héros* (avril 1689, pp. 245-248). At the session of November 1682, which was devoted to the celebration of the birth of the duke of Burgundy, each member—and there were thirty of them—read a work of his own composition in honor of the young prince! In 1687, they fêted the king's return to health in a brilliant ceremony, in the chapel of the *Pénitents gris*, where they held their extraordinary sessions, “à cause de sa vaste étendue & de la richesse de ses peintures & de ses dorures,” of which the elegance was augmented on that particular day by a display of candles, silver, and a large portrait of Louis XIV by Mignard, as well as by the presence of handsomely gowned women (mars 1687, t. 1, pp. 66-76). The academy took an active part in the project of sending to the king the Venus discovered at Arles in 1651, and it was presented to His Majesty by the marquis de Robias, academician, and placed in the great gallery of Versailles, on the fifteenth of April, 1685.<sup>4</sup> The members participated in the lively discussion as to whether the statue represented Venus or Diana, leaving the final de-

<sup>3</sup> At the suggestion of Charles Perrault, in order to encourage regular attendance and hence to stimulate the work on the dictionary, the French Academy had adopted these *jetons de présence*, which had some intrinsic value, one of which was distributed to each member at every meeting. Corneille, provident Norman that he was, is said to have been particularly assiduous in his attendance.

<sup>4</sup> The statue, on which Girardon made some unfortunate restorations, is now in the Louvre. See Jules Formigé, *Note sur la Venus d'Arles*. (*Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1911*, Paris, 1911, in-8),

cision to the king (avril, mai 1685). When an obelisk was unearthed at Arles, the academy conceived the idea of making an engraving of it to offer to Louis XIV. The latter ennobled the marquis de Roubin, who made the presentation (août 1677, pp. 112-126; sept. 1677, p. 64 ff.). Since religion was a question of loyalty to the king, the academy rejoiced at the abjuration of a certain de Blansac and received him into its midst. If Vertron was one of its most esteemed members, it was thanks, not to his *Nouvelle Pandore*, which has come down to us, but rather to his inexhaustible talent in lauding the king, whom he glorified in countless little poems and in three voluminous works, which won for him the title of historiographer.<sup>5</sup>

At the death of Saint-Aignan, the academy rendered him sumptuous honors in the chapel of the *Pénitents gris*. Among the realistic decorations were skeletons, skulls, bands of black velvet, silver tears, an emblem formed with two intertwined palm leaves to represent the alliance of the two academies contracted through the efforts of the duke, forty tapers to represent the French Academy and thirty for the Academy of Arles, etc. (oct. 1687, pp. 142-206).

There are added to this study, for reference, the names of all the members mentioned by de Visé, with the chief information about each. This list indicates that they were orators, historians, ecclesiastics, philosophers, poets, all interested in literature, several rather prolific writers, but not of merit great enough to survive, not even the illustrious Vertron nor Magnin, whose mottoes and poetry for a long time enriched half the numbers of the *Mercure* and all of the province. A brilliant exception, however, is Mme Deshoulières, the first woman to be invited to membership in a French academy, elected to Arles in March, 1689.

One may conclude for the Academy of Arles that it was an extremely active body in the seventeenth century, very proud of its privileges, enthusiastic in its duties to the king, active in its propagation of literature in Provence, and in close relations with its foster mother in Paris.

*The Academy of Soissons.*<sup>6</sup>—Upon the publication of the history of the Academy of Soissons in Latin by Héricourt in 1689, the *Mercure* reviewed the formation of that body (mars 1689, pp. 171-180). We learn that, as early as 1650, four men of letters gathered each Wednesday to

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire panégyrique du Roy en quatre langues; Parallèle de Louis-le-Grand avec les autres Princes qui ont esté surnommez Grands; Dictionnaire historique des conquestes de Louis XIV depuis 1643 jusques en 1679.*

<sup>6</sup> See the following numbers of the *Mercure*: juin 1677; mars, oct. 1678; sept. 1679; jan., avril, oct. 1680, sept. 1687; fév., mars 1689; juin, sept. 1691; fév., mai 1693; juin, juillet, oct., nov. 1694; mai, 1695; jan., déc. 1696; août, sept. 1697; mai, nov., déc. 1699; mai 1700.

discuss what they had read and composed during the week and mutually prescribed the matters on which they should write. In 1652 they augmented their group by the addition of five other members. Thanks to the aid of Patru and of Pellisson, both of the French Academy, and in spite of the opposition of chancellor Séguier, after having added eight more members, they obtained from the king in June, 1674, their letters patent, which fixed their membership at twenty. Their organization was conditioned on their sending to the French Academy every year, the day of Saint-Louis (August 25), a work glorifying the king, "comme par une manière de tribut." The young society seems to have been faithful to this charge, for de Visé has occasion very often to publish these panegyrics. Sometimes the author himself presented his work, always being received with civility by his Paris confreres, who invariably found great beauty in his achievement. Soissons, as well as Arles, was affiliated with the French Academy, and was spoken of as its daughter.

Its first protector was cardinal d'Estrées, who had often attended its meetings when he was bishop of Laon. His promotion to the cardinalate was the subject of extravagant commendation by the academician Hébert (juin 1677, pp. 21-30).

To testify its keen gratitude for the part that Pellisson had played in its foundation, the academy celebrated a solemn service for the repose of his soul after his death in 1693 (mai 1693, pp. 242-245).

Three members alone seem to have sustained the glory of this body. Hébert, treasurer of France, appears in the rôle of official orator. He wrote a well-turned speech when the king passed by Soissons in April 1680; eulogized Colbert when the latter visited the city in October of the same year; represented his associates by allocutions before the French Academy; and finally spoke so much and so well that he deemed it fitting to publish a *Recueil de discours & de Harangues*, which discourses, according to the *Mercure* were models of the genre (nov. 1699, pp. 161-163). Some were for the monarch, some for the queen, and still others for the dauphiness, for Madame and for various great personages. Bosquillon, known for his funeral oration on chancellor Séguier in Latin, was a great friend of Mlle de Scudéry, to whom he addressed many poems and whose *Conversations* he admired. His translation from the Greek of the *Quatre discours de la composition* of Saint Ephraim of Syria made a furor. People talked of nothing else at court—"il se fourroit par tout, jusqu'à la toilette des dames" (août, sept. 1697). The abbé Héricourt, twice director (in 1688 and in 1693), wrote rather good poems to the glory of the dauphin and of the king, and was the historian of the academy.

The fact that the appended list of members shows a great preponder-

ance of ecclesiastics may explain the scanty literary productions of the group. Nevertheless, one can see that, like its elder sister, the Academy of Soissons desired earnestly to act in a fashion worthy of its name and of its foster mother.

*The Academy of Villefranche en Beaujolais*<sup>7</sup> (*Villefranche-sur-Seine*).—The Academy of Villefranche was organized as early as 1677, was functioning very actively by 1680, but did not receive its *lettres patentes* until 1695, and did not assume immediately the pretentious title of *academy*. De Visé informs us in detail of its organization.

De Villeroy, archbishop of Lyons, whose brother was preceptor of the king, was its protector until his death in 1694. It made certain regulations confirmed by him, adopted a costume of ceremony (long forerunner of the *habit vert*), chose, as its patron, the patron saint of Louis XIV, and took as its emblem a diamond rose bearing these words: *Mutuo clarissimus igne* (sept. 1680, pp. 252–257; juillet 1680, pp. 28–34, oct. 1681, pp. 16–22). There was a director, who seems to have held office for a year, and a permanent secretary. The regular, as well as the extraordinary sessions, were held in a large hall, “une des plus magnifiques & des plus spatieuses de tout le Pais,” sumptuously adorned with Turkish and Persian rugs, in the home of their permanent secretary, Bessie du Péloux. Each new member was obliged to give an address, to which an old academicien replied. These discourses were filled with the customary praises of the king and of the assembly. In only one case, one small page was devoted to the predecessor! The society was composed of fifteen members in 1680 and of twenty as early as 1688.

The splendor of the festivals of Saint-Louis was enhanced by the presence of women “dans une très grande parure” and of all the official bodies of the city: “le baillage, l’élection, les échevins, la prévôté, les corps ecclésiastiques & les réguliers.” On that day special speeches were given, and two gold medals of the king, established as prizes as early as 1688, were awarded. Here are the subjects for 1688: *Que les Académies de Belles-Lettres sont non seulement établies pour apprendre à bien parler, mais encore pour apprendre à bien vivre*; in poetry: *l’Empire de Louis le Grand sur les mers* (mars 1688, pp. 304–305). The competition gave such rich results that the academy published that year a *Recueil* of the works submitted.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See the following numbers of the *Mercure*: juillet, août, sept. 1680; avril, oct. 1681; jan., oct. (t. II) 1682; mars, sept. 1686, nov. 1687; fév., mars, août, sept., déc. 1688; mai, juillet 1694.

<sup>8</sup> *Recueil de plusieurs pièces d’éloquence et de poésie présentées à l’Académie de Villefranche en Beaujolais. Pour le prix proposé l’année 1688*. Villefranche: chez Antoine Martin, Imprimeur & Libraire de la Ville, & de l’Académie. 1688, in-12.

It is easy to divine the principal occupation of these gentlemen. "On peut dire," declared the abbé Baudry at his reception, "que vos Plumes & vos Langues sont entièrement consacrées à la gloire du plus sage & du plus grand Prince de l'Univers" (nov. 1687). Their director exhorts:

Aimons la Gloire & ce qui peut nous l'acquérir, celebrons sans cesse les faits heroïques de nostre Monarque; que ce soit le premier, ou plutost l'unique but de nos entretiens; & pour peu que nos Plumes s'exercent à toucher les traits de la gloire qui l'environne, soyons certain qu'il en rejaillira assez de rayons sur nos fronts, pour les ceindre des couronnes de l'immortalité.

In spite of these statements, there is, happily, evidence that this illustrious body also had really academic preoccupations: that it concerned itself with the purity of the language and with questions of style.

At the session of August 25, 1688, there was unveiled in the room where the meetings were held, a bust of the king, flanked by portraits of the archbishop of Lyons and of Mlle d'Orléans, cousin of Louis-le-Grand, sovereign of Dombes and lady of the province of Beaujolais, whom the academy often honored by addresses and poems.

The members listened with pleasure to extravagant eulogies of themselves, of "ces sublimes Esprits qui remplissent vostre Académie" (abbé Baudry, nov. 1687). One day their director declared:

Vous avez, Messieurs, remply & soutenu nos Conférences d'un si grand nombre de beaux discours, que si l'exercice en est continué d'une force égale, nos Registres pourront fournir une assez riche & ample matière pour former des Volumes entiers, & donner à nos Académiciens un rang d'honneur & de gloire parmy les Auteurs les plus celebres. La décision des Problemes, la pointe des Epigrammes, les fleurs de l'Eloquence, la pureté du Discours, en un mot tout ce que la Poésie & l'Oratoire ont de subtil & de majestueux, commence d'estre en usage parmy nous. On jugeroit, si je l'ose dire, à voir nos ouvrages & nos productions, que nostre Compagnie est un de ces Corps qui naissent dans un instant par la vertu d'une main puissante & infinie, & qui ne finissent jamais . . . Nostre Académie estant un Corps formé dans un instant, paroît achevé & parfait du premier coup dans toutes ses parties, & mis au jour avec tous ses ornemens & toutes ses beautés . . ." (jan. 1682).

*The Academy of Nîmes.*<sup>9</sup>—The *Mercure* verifies and completes the information furnished by Ménard on the Academy of Nîmes in his history of that city.<sup>10</sup> Known for several years by the title of *Conférences sur les belles-lettres*, the society succeeded in August 1682 in obtaining

<sup>9</sup> See the following numbers of the *Mercure*: oct. (t. i) 1682; oct. (t. i) 1683; fév. 1686; oct., nov. 1689; avril 1690; mars, juin, nov. 1691; nov. 1692; fév., avril 1693; fév., juin 1694; mars 1696.

<sup>10</sup> Ménard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique, et littéraire de la ville de Nîmes* (Paris 1754, 7 vol. in-4), vi, 117-135.

its letters patent, thanks to the efforts of François Faure-Fondamente, at whose home the sessions had been held, and of the duke de Noailles, commander in Languedoc. The membership was fixed at twenty-six, with Jacques Séguier, bishop of Nîmes, as its first protector, followed at his death in 1689 by Fléchier, of the French Academy. The coat of arms adopted represented a crown of palms with the device, *Aemula lauri*, in imitation of the French Academy, whose symbol is a crown of laurels bearing the inscription, *A l'immortalité* (oct., t. II, 1682, pp. 262-267). According to the *Mercurie galant*, the first meeting took place September 18, that is, after the reception of the letters patent, and not April 1, as is stated by Ménard, nor March 28, as Albert Puech has it.<sup>11</sup> The body enjoyed the same privileges as the French Academy and was affiliated with it (nov. 1692, pp. 129-140, fév. 1693, pp. 85-96). It manifested its desire to please the king by celebrating the birth of the duke of Burgundy in its first session and in honoring the memory of the queen by a public gathering September 29, 1683, in which lugubrious black hangings measured the depth of the young academy's grief (oct., t. I, 1683, pp. 135-139).

The seats having to be solicited as in the French Academy, a certain member boasted that he had been received at his first request (juin 1691, pp. 48-60). The receptions were open to the public; sometimes, even, visitors took part in the eulogies of the recipient. Thanks to the intervention of Fléchier in 1692, the French Academy accorded to the body at Nîmes, "comme à un corps célèbre," the privilege of affiliating with it, and paid honor to a deputation of three gentlemen from Nîmes, accepting their advice on certain words for the dictionary (nov. 1692, pp. 129-140). To manifest its gratitude, the provincial academy, on May 14, 1693, hastened to receive La Chapelle, who was passing through the city, in a brilliant academic session, with a dissertation on ancient medals by the learned Graverol and a hymn to the glory of Saint Francis of Sales by "l'illustre" Santeuil (avril 1693, pp. 247-253).

Nîmes seems to have been interested in really literary questions. Certainly under the direction of that delicate *littérateur*, the abbé Fléchier, it would not have been content to limit itself to inane eulogies of Louis-le-Grand. Allowing somewhat for flattery, there is doubtless a great deal of truth in the words pronounced by canon Marsolier at his reception (juin 1691):

<sup>11</sup> Albert Puech, *les Nîmois dans la deuxième moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. (Mémoires de l'Académie de Nîmes, année 1887, in-8, pp. 134-139. Puech declared elsewhere (Une Page de l'histoire de l'Académie de Nîmes—Bulletin de l'Académie de Nîmes, année, 1879, in-8) that nothing was known of the academy's history in the seventeenth century except what Ménard had written about it.*

Qui ne seroit agreablement flaté de se voir assis avec les Sages, avec tout ce que cette Province, où l'air même que l'on y respire, semble donner de l'espiit, a de plus fin, de plus delicat, de plus sçavant, de plus capable enfin de soutenir la réputation d'une Académie, qui a la gloire d'avoir esté fondée par Louis le Grand?

Its close association with its neighbor, the elder daughter of the French Academy—interchange of visits, and of addresses, of views on questions of the moment—furnishes an interesting chapter on the intellectual life in the province in that day.

*The Academy of Angers.*<sup>12</sup>—The *Mercuré galant* furnishes much detailed information on the Academy of Angers: charter members, statutes, letters patent, special ceremonies, prizes, etc. (See especially déc., t. 1, 1686, pp. 162–211; juin 1687, pp. 22–35, août 1687, pp. 24–44).<sup>13</sup>

The first plans for an academy at Angers were formulated by mayor Charlot during his administration but were not executed until after the expiration of his office. He was known for having embellished the Hôtel de Ville, of which Pierre Poyet was the architect and which, according to the *Mercuré*, was considered one of the most beautiful edifices of the kingdom. Three men, the comte d'Armagnac, *grand écuyer de France*, and governor of the province of Anjou, de Chasteauneuf, secretary of state, and Grandet, *conseiller au présidial* of Angers, solicited the king's permission to found the academy.

The first assembly, held in the Hôtel de Ville, as were all succeeding extraordinary gatherings, took place with great pomp the first of July 1685. The fête was announced at daybreak by the discharge of cannon and the beating of drums. The bishop of Angers ordered that all the bells of the churches ring for an hour. All work ceased and the shops closed. The path to the Hôtel de Ville was draped with twenty-four flags. Notable personalities of the city, of the province, and of the neighboring provinces, were present. The three places of honor were occupied by Arnauld, bishop of Angers, who was elected its first director, Antichamp, lieutenant of His Majesty and commander in the city and in the château of Angers, and de Nointel, *maître ordinaire des requêtes de l'Hotel de Ville et intendant de la généralité de Tours*, and the one to whom the king had sent the formal order to found the academy. There were many women present, "dont la beauté sembloit disputer à l'Académie

<sup>12</sup> See the following numbers of the *Mercuré*; oct, déc. 1686; jan., juin, août, sept. 1687; jan., juin (t. 1), sept., oct. 1688; juin, juillet 1689; jan., août 1690; juin 1691; déc. 1693; juillet 1694; avril 1695; jan. 1697.

<sup>13</sup> An Angevin, and academician, Petrineau des Noulis, planned to write an elaborate history of the city of Angers, which would include an account of the academy, but never carried out his project. See his *Project de l'Histoire d'Anjou*, s.l.n.d., in-8.

l'honneur de cette feste" (déc. 1686). Out of gratitude to the king, the city officers, who regarded this new company as one of the greatest ornaments of their province, erected a statue of Louis-le-Grand in the gardens of the Hôtel de Ville and unveiled it after the addresses had been made. The magnificent banquet for the "personnes de qualité" which followed lasted until nightfall, when the houses, church steeples and neighboring villages were seen to be a blaze of light. Fireworks and illuminated mottoes in honor of His Majesty finished the long and brilliant ceremonies. Surely the "Roi-Soleil" must have been satisfied with the honors shown him in this "garden of France"!

Louis XIV named all the charter members, whose number was fixed at thirty, but allowed the company to elect new members as vacancies occurred. These must be natives of Angers or of Angevin parentage, and, as far as possible, residents of Angers. However, Angevins living elsewhere, or strangers of especial merit established in Angers, might be elected. Among the members was a professor of the faculty of law in the University of Paris (who, indeed, might have been called there from Angers). Besides the thirty academicians, the statutes permitted the membership, during their term of office, of certain dignitaries of the city. The presence of at least fifteen members and a two-thirds majority were required to elect a new member. At the death of an academician, two were chosen to pronounce his eulogy, one in prose and one in verse. The meetings were held every Wednesday at two o'clock, without summer interruption. No deliberation could take place if less than ten were present. The receptions of new members and the distribution of prizes were open to people of prominence. The officers were a director and a chancellor, each elected for six months, and two permanent secretaries. The letters patent, given by the king at Versailles in June, 1685, accorded to the body the same privileges as those enjoyed by the French Academy, except that of *committimus* (privilege of appeal of cases to higher court).

Two gold medals bearing the effigy of His Majesty were distributed annually on May 14, the day on which Louis XIV began to reign. The city offered the prizes the first year; after that, a member, often the director, furnished them. The thirty members constituted themselves the judges. The subjects, one in eloquence, one in poetry, were designed to glorify the king, but seem less banal than some selected by other bodies. For example, those for 1686 were: *le Triomphe du Roy sur l'Hérésie* (the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685), and *le Canal de la rivière d'Eure*. Magnin, of the Academy of Arles, who wrote the prize-winning ode on the latter topic, eulogized the king extravagantly, but forgot to mention the engineer who constructed this important water-



way (juillet 1689, pp. 101–112)! The subjects for 1688 are not without interest: eloquence, *les Sages ordonnances du Roy pour la réformation de la justice*; poetry, *les Sentimens de respect & d'admiration dont les peuples les plus éloignez ont donné des témoignages au Roy par de celebres Ambassades* (jan. 1688, pp. 40–46).

While the chief public duty of the society was to praise its august founder, occasional remarks of de Visé permit us to imagine that the weekly gatherings were filled with more literary activities. Thus we know that as early as December 1686, the members had contributed enough works in prose and in verse that the reading of them would occupy several sessions. On one occasion, a passage of Virgil, which was baffling scholars, was the cause of a lively dispute (jan. 1697, pp. 35–47). Doctors' theses were dedicated to the academy and furnished subjects of discussion, as was the case in some of the other academies. The statutes forbade the mention of religion. The above-mentioned subject for eloquence in 1686 seems, however, to contradict that regulation.

The Academy of Angers had the honor of counting among its number two men of letters famous in the seventeenth century: Bernier, noted for the relation of his travels in the Orient (he and Chardin were the most celebrated writers of travels of their time), and Ménage, preceptor of Mme de Sévigné, one of the most erudite men of his day and a brilliant figure in the salon of the marquise de Rambouillet. The list of members here affixed shows the customary preponderance of men of the law courts, others with distinctly literary interests, and, as a new element, several professors of the University of Angers.

*The Academies of Toulouse.*—I shall not speak here of the *Jeux Floraux*, that *Collège de gaie science*, founded in 1323, and so famous that the very frequent mention of it by the *Mercure* does not add much to our knowledge of this most ancient literary body of Europe. This same *Mercure* is, however, in regard to two other literary academies in Toulouse, the only source of information which permits us to correct serious errors made by the historians of the present Academy of Sciences, Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres of that city. Augustin Larrey, Desbarreaux-Bernard and Lapierre<sup>14</sup> all confuse two entirely separate organ-

<sup>14</sup> Augustin Larrey, *Notice historique sur les travaux de l'Académie Royale des sciences, inscriptions et belles-lettres de Toulouse, depuis son origine jusqu'à ce jour. (Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, etc., de Toulouse, 3<sup>e</sup> série, Toulouse 1847, in-8, III, 97–132.*

Desbarreaux-Bernard, *Essai sur les réunions littéraires et scientifiques qui ont précédé, à Toulouse, l'établissement de l'Académie des sciences. (Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences etc., de Toulouse, 3<sup>e</sup> série, Toulouse, 1849, v, 392–424.*

Lapierre, *les Bouts-rimés des Lanternistes. (Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, etc., de Toulouse, 8<sup>e</sup> série, Toulouse, 1887, ix, 269–286.*

izations, which existed simultaneously, *i.e.*, the *Lanternistes*, and another academy which called itself *Conférences des Belles-Lettres*, or *Académie de Toulouse*, or *Société des Belles-Lettres*. Neither Larrey nor Lapierre suspects the existence of any other body than the *Lanternistes* in the seventeenth century. Larrey declares that no source of information on their history during that period exists. Desbarreaux-Bernard is troubled by an allusion in Raynal's *Histoire de la ville de Toulouse* (p. 384) to other attempts than that of the *Lanternistes* to establish an academy at Toulouse, but dismisses the idea, because he finds no trace of such efforts. All three confuse members and founders of the two bodies and suppose that the *Lanternistes* were the forerunners of the present academy. The information in the *Mercure* is ample to prove that the *Lanternistes* had nothing to bequeath to posterity, and that the *Société des Belles-Lettres* was the real ancestor of the present Academy of Toulouse. These three historians ought, however, to have had recourse to the *Mercure*, which, indeed, as Lapierre tells us, was printed in Toulouse from 1694 to 1702.

*The Lanternistes*.<sup>15</sup>—The first mention of the *Lanternistes* is found in the April issue of 1694, which informs us that the first distribution of prizes occurred the year before. A manuscript *Registre des Lanternistes*, to which Lapierre had access, also indicates that they existed in 1693. The ten members met at irregular intervals, clandestinely, in the evening, each one carrying a lantern to the rendezvous, hence their name, which they had assumed in imitation of certain Italian academies, such as the *Innominati*, and the *Humoristi*. They met for a time, at least, at the home of a certain Lucas, *conseiller clerk au parlement*, who furnished the prize. Later, Morant, *premier président du parlement*, received them for the awarding of the prize, which took place Saint John the Baptist's day. The prize was a silver medal representing Apollo playing a lyre, with the inscription, *Apollini Tolosano*, on one side and on the other, *Lucerna in nocte*. At the awarding of the prize, the picture of the winner was displayed, crowned with laurels.

The sole purpose of the society was to cultivate the genre of *bouts-rimés*, that is, sonnets written with certain rhymes, selected in advance. It was a fad which had struck the capital and swept through the province and which was prolonged—unduly—by the *Lanternistes*. As early as April 1683, the *Mercure* announced that it had received four thousand sonnets in *bouts-rimés* in a certain contest. Soon after their organization,

<sup>15</sup> See the following numbers of the *Mercure*: avril, mai, juin, juillet, août 1694; fév., mars, mai, juillet, août, sept. 1695, jan., fév., juillet, nov. 1696; jan., juillet, août 1697; mars, mai, juin, juillet, nov. 1698; jan., fév., juin, juillet 1699; fév., juillet 1700

and at frequent intervals thereafter, the *Lanternistes* felt the necessity of defending the genre, which was vigorously attacked as extravagant and good only for treating burlesque subjects. However, they glorified no lesser personages than the king and the princesse de Conty and required that the sonnets be written in Alexandrine verse, shorter verses not being sufficiently dignified for the subjects treated! Mlle Lhéritier and Fevrierie took up their defence; even Mlle de Scudéry showered praise upon the project of the *Lanternistes*. "Les bouts-rimés," declared de Visé in March 1695, "ont agréablement inondé la Cours & la Province." Shortly before, however, he had been afraid that the public was beginning to weary of them, and so spared it the reading of more than one hundred sonnets in *buste*, *glaçons*, etc., which he had received (août 1694, p. 203). Campistron, brother of the dramatist, received the first prize awarded; Mlle Lhéritier, author of the famous fairy story, *l'Adroite princesse* (so often attributed to Charles Perrault), received another, and, contrary to the rule of most academies, which excluded women, was elected to membership. The invitation, subject of a long article in the *Mercure*, was superbly and gallantly couched on vellum (juin 1698, pp. 77-94).

We know from certain *Mémoriaux annuels des Lanternistes* referred to by Lapierre, that, as the members died, others were not elected to succeed them. Thus, in 1720, there were eight, in 1730, four, and in 1742, as the last member died, the *bouts-rimés* expired with him.

*The Société des Belles-Lettres of Toulouse*.<sup>16</sup>—Several more or less successful attempts were made to establish an academy of belles-lettres in Toulouse, the first one antedating by many years the vogue of the *bouts-rimés*. Perhaps the wars and the large Huguenot element, and certainly the *Jeux Floraux* were detrimental. Louis XIV refused to grant letters patent to the young organization, which received none until 1745, but did give to the *Jeux Floraux* their statutes in 1694, with exclusive jurisdiction over prose and verse, whereupon the *Lanternistes* declared with some humor that they supposed they would be allowed by the *Jeux Floraux* to continue to function, since they confined themselves to their *bouts-rimés*, leaving to the former the ode, the elegy, and the eclogue. In spite of discouragements, a literary body was formed, de Visé tells us, thanks largely to the guidance of Pellisson, who, we know, had a veritable passion for academies. Born in Béziers in 1624, he founded an academy at Castres in 1648, was one of the chief organizers of the Academy of Soissons, and was a most active member and

<sup>16</sup> See the following numbers of the *Mercure*: oct., nov. 1689; juin, oct. 1692; mai 1693; juin, juillet 1694; juillet 1696; mars 1698; fév., mai 1699.

the historian of the French Academy. Desbarreaux-Bernard informs us that Pellisson was scarcely eighteen years old when he contributed to the establishment of the *Lanternistes* (whom Desbarreaux-Bernard confuses with the *Académie des Belles-Lettres*). From the *Mercure*, we know that Pellisson, who lived for several years at Toulouse, formed the academy soon after the establishment of the French Academy, which dates from 1634; in 1693 its organization is referred to as having taken place thirty-five or forty years before. See the *Eloge funèbre de M. Pellisson prononcé à l'Académie de Toulouse* (*Mercure*, mai 1693, pp. 120-140).

The society languished and was reorganized in 1689, under the impulse of de Baviile, *intendant de la province*, and of de Malepeyre, who had aided Pellisson in its initial organization and who continued to be one of its most persistent animators (oct. 1689, pp. 21-48, *Fondation de l'Académie de Toulouse*). The group originally met at the home of Malepeyre and still did so frequently. He appears to have been also one of the leading spirits among the *Lanternistes*, which may partly explain the confusion over the two bodies. The new group, whose membership was fixed at twenty, proposed, undoubtedly to distinguish itself radically from the *Jeux Floraux*, to unite in its weekly gatherings the study of the sciences as well as of the arts. They laid out for themselves a very definite academic program. The three-hour session began with an address by a confrere on a problem proposed by the company, after which there followed a general discussion on questions of literature, history, or physics, and especially of the French language, of which the purity was the principal object of their exercises. Some of the speeches were made in Latin. Some subjects discussed were: whether women should be admitted into the academies; whether it is easier to resist pleasure or pain; who are more apt to succeed in the sciences, melancholy or gay persons. Experiments and anatomical dissections were performed in the meetings. A eulogy in Latin of Queen Christina of Sweden was pronounced at her death. Frederick of Denmark was received in Oct., 1693.

Beginning with 1694, the best eulogy of the king was awarded a prize of eloquence, a gold medal, valued at ten louis, bearing on it effigies of His Majesty and of Pallas, with the inscription, *Olim flores, nunc fructus*, meaning that if Pallas had hitherto furnished only poets by the prizes of silver flowers which had been offered (a thrust at the *Jeux Floraux*), she would in the future produce orators, whose writings are more virile. At the special session held on July 1 of that year at the home of Malepeyre, which was open to the public, women were invited and were even allowed to participate in the contest, the subject being, *les Généreuses offres de paix aux ennemies par le Roy* (juillet 1694, pp. 154-178). On August 25, 1698, three prizes were awarded: (1) for a French translation

of an oration of Cicero, (2) for an historical account of the conspiracy of the Pazzi in Florence, (3) for a discussion of the cause of the fall of celestial bodies (announced mars 1698, pp. 117-123). The customary gold medal was given as a prize for the first, and silver medals for the other two, bearing on them the figure of Pallas, and the inscription, *condita labore*.

The organization decided finally to call itself *Société des Belles-Lettres*. From the *Mercure* we know that it continued to function very actively to the end of the century, the only one of the provincial academies to combine the study of literature and of the sciences. One of its members, Martel, did an interesting bit of comparative literature, discussing, two centuries before Mme de Staël's *de l'Allemagne* and *Corinne* appeared, the influence of the climate on the German and on the Italian mind (juillet 1696). Louis XV allowed the organization to continue to exist only as an Academy of Sciences, but later it was granted jurisdiction over inscriptions and finally over belles-lettres. Thus it is quite clear that the seventeenth century academy of Toulouse was the direct ancestor of the present body, with which the *Lanternistes* had nothing to do.

*The Academy of Caen*.<sup>17</sup>—Curiously enough, the *Mercure* mentions only incidentally what was perhaps, from the point of view of the celebrity of its members, the most brilliant of all the provincial academies, established in that city which Mme de Sévigné esteemed "la plus jolie, la plus avenante, la plus gaie, . . . la source de tous nos plus beaux esprits." Bayle declared in his *République des lettres* (juillet 1684), "Il n'y a point d'académies composées de plus d'habiles gens que celle-ci." In fact, the Academy of Caen, founded in 1652, only eighteen years after the French Academy, although not receiving its letters patent until 1705, counted among its members Segrain, the learned abbé Huet, Ménage, whom we have already met at the Academy of Angers, Galland, who introduced Oriental folklore into France by his translation of the *Mille et une nuits*, Titon du Tillet, author of *la Nouvelle Pandore*, Tanneguy Le Fevre, father of Mme Dacier, and Moisant de Brieux, its founder, who was considered the greatest Latin poet of his time in France. The academy has subsisted until the present with slight interruptions and a reorganization (as was the case with all academies) during the Revolution.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See the following numbers of the *Mercure*: oct. 1685; juillet 1689; nov., déc. 1697; oct. 1699.

<sup>18</sup> Caen is one of the few academies on which documents are available. See A.-R. R. de Formigny de La Londe, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de l'ancienne Académie Royale des belles-lettres de Caen*, Caen 1854, in-8; M.A. Charnes, *Discours d'ouverture*.

The *Mercure* mentions the Academy of Caen only five times from 1672 to 1700, and names only three of its members: Segrails, its chief, at whose home it met—it was then called the Academy of Segrails—de Poissy, a poet, and the abbé de Blainville of Blois, who delivered the address of welcome to Foucault, the new *intendant* of Caen and future protector of the academy. The *Mercure* tells us that Segrails erected a statue to Malherbe, who was a relative, and recalls the inauguration of a statue of Louis XIV in the square where Segrails lived, in which the academy participated. De Poissy won the prize in 1697 given by the Palinots of Caen, a literary body dating from the Middle Ages, devoted to the praise of the Virgin, whose existence undoubtedly retarded the recognition by the king of the Academy of Caen. Perhaps the ordinary activities of the latter were too strictly academic to attract very largely the attention of the *Mercure galant*.

The *Mercure*, then, gives an illuminating picture of a vigorous intellectual life in the provinces<sup>19</sup> during a period in which we are accustomed to think of culture as being highly concentrated in the capital and at Versailles. Those *beaux-esprits* such as Fléchier, whose duties kept them away from the court at a time when not to be seen at the *petit lever* and the *grand lever* meant social ostracism, doubtless found great consolation in the association with a provincial academy as a means of keeping in touch with the court. The *Mercure galant* indicates many interesting relationships between the province and Paris. The French Academy called Arles, Soissons, and Nîmes its daughters, cordially welcoming their members who visited the capital. It furnished protectors to several societies and its statutes served as a model to others. We have seen that Soissons was required to send every year to its foster mother a eulogy of the king. The visit of a member of the French Academy was the occasion of special ceremonies in the province. The provincial societies maintained interesting intercourse with each other. Thus we read that Martel, secretary of the Academy of Toulouse, in accordance with his promise to keep up a correspondence with Roubin of Arles, sent him a lengthy account of the annual distribution of prizes (fév. 1699). Since the members constituted themselves judges

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(*Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Caen*, Caen 1855, in-8); René Delorme, *Moisant de Brieux, fondateur de l'Académie de Caen, 1614-1674*. (*Mémoires de l'Académie nationale des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Caen*, Caen 1872, in-8); Robert de Lastérie, *Bibliographie des travaux historiques et archéologiques publiés par les sociétés savantes de la France*, (Paris 1906, 6 vol. in-4).

<sup>19</sup> We know by chance allusions that academies existed also in Grenoble and Rouen in the seventeenth century.

of the works submitted, and could not, therefore, compete in their own contests, they very often won prizes from their fellow societies. A few writers belonged to more than one provincial academy. Vertron, Mlle Lhéritier, Magnin, Martel, etc., were affiliated with each other by virtue of membership in the academy of the *Ricovrati*, of Padua, that Italian society which received cordially so many French men and women of letters. Many academicians made interesting contributions by their published works to the study of local history, geography, archeology, etc.

Although the academies were rather well scattered over the various parts of the kingdom, with a preponderance in the far-off Midi, the king kept a firm hand over them. Their official organization must come from him. He refused to recognize such brilliant bodies as those of Caen and Toulouse. He assumed the right to name the charter members at Angers and to appoint the protectors of several societies. It is due to no idle chance that all these organizations, even the frivolous *Lanternistes*, repeated to satiety meaningless praises of Louis-le-Grand and that their prizes were almost without exception medals bearing his effigy. Thus what appears at first as a scattering of the intellectual life of France in the seventeenth century, the *Mercure* shows to be a life highly controlled and generously encouraged by the king, whose genius for establishing hierarchies was his great strength as well as the cause of the ultimate weakness of the monarchy.

Except for slight information on the Academies of Nîmes and of Caen and incorrect data on Toulouse, the majority of these facts about the history of the literary academies in the seventeenth century can be obtained, as far as I know, only in the *Mercure galant*.

## LISTS OF MEMBERS

### *Academy of Arles*

(The following list of members given in the order of reception is found in the *Mercure* for jan. 1678.)

de Gageron Méjane

reared at the Court of Savoy.

de Sabatier

formerly page of the king and of de Guise. Author of many poems and of *Épîtres morales*. Director of the academy in 1682.

de Giffon

"écrit en Vers & en Prose avec une facilité admirable." Composed in three days a comedy for a carnival at Avignon.

Abbé de Barreme

conseiller clerc au parlement de Provence.

de Cays, seigneur de La Fossette

Marquis de Boche

"d'une illustre famille de Provence."

Bouvet

"Fait de très jolis vers, travaille à une traduction de Pétrarque."

Marquis de Robias d'Estoublon

"On n'a jamais vu une Personne de sa qualité avoir tant d'ardeur qu'il en a pour les belles lettres." Wrote prose and poetry in Latin, Spanish, and Italian, published anonymously. Perpetual secretary. Director in 1683 Offered a beautiful portrait of the dauphin as prize in 1689.

Abbé de Boche

de Castillon

"prédicateur consommé." sénéchal d'Arles.

de Manville

avocat général. Pronounced funeral oration of Saint-Aignan in 1687.

Marquis d'Aymard Chasteau-Renard

"capitaine distingué." Chosen by the academy to thank the king for the *lettres patentes* ("Sa Majesté a dit plusieurs fois à sa louange qu'elle n'avoit jamais esté complimentée de meilleure grâce, ny plus spirituellement"); to petition the French Academy for its alliance; to thank Séguier for having put the seal on the *lettres patentes*; and to demand of the king a new protector after the death of Saint-Aignan.

de Saint-Veran de Moncalin

avocat de Toulouse. "Savant en grec, l'écrit avec autant de facilité que le français"

Marquis de Roubin.

de Chambonas

évêque de Lodève.

Le Pays

"Ses galants ouvrages l'ont fait connaître à toute la France."

de Ranchin

conseiller au parlement de Toulouse. "Talent admirable pour la poésie. . .

Toutes les Pièces que nous avons de luy ont un tour si fin & si délicat, qu'elles ne tiennent rien de l'air qui semble attaché à la Province."

Abbé de Verdier

de Venal

Director in 1687.

conseiller au parlement de Provence.

d'Arbaud

de Beaumont des Arlatans

Abbé d'Abeille

"grand latiniste."

(There were non-resident members who maintained close relations by letters and works which they sent from time to time to the academy, among them, Mme Deshoulières. The following active members were added after 1678.)

Guyonnet de Vertron

elected 1680. Historiographer of the king. Member of the *Ricovrati*.

Magnin

conseiller honoraire au présidial de Mâcon.

Saint-Aignan

protector from 1685 to 1687.



Marquis de Dangeau

2nd protector, choice announced Sept. 1687.

du Port

prêtre. Published a *Histoire d'Arles*, Arles, chez Cavelier, 1690.

Marquis d'Urbaye de Vachières

named in 1686 at age of 26 premier consul et gouverneur de la ville. Director in 1681 and 1686

Arbaud, baron de Blanzac (or Blansac)

born in Arles, lived in Nîmes. Relative of d'Arbaud above?

de Faure-Fondamente

who helped to found the Academy of Nîmes.

Abbé d'Arnoye de Poussant

licencié en Sorbonne. "A fait des sermons éloquentes."

Abbé Flèche

*Discours sur les comètes, Mercure*, jan. 1681.

Abbé Petit

"fort estimé par sa profonde érudition... connaissance parfaite des langues grecque, latine et française."

Chaluet

avocat au parlement de Marseille. Erected in that city an equestrian statue of the king.

Père Hyacinte Recolet

Père Restaurand

docteur de Sorbonne, prédicateur ordinaire de la duchesse de Toscane.

Bertrand de Meyrand

Chevalier de Romière

#### Academy of Soissons

(Four charter members.)

Bertrand

Arnoul

ecclésiastique.

Bailly

(Added before the reception of the *lettres patentes*.)

du comté de Soissons.

Guérin

Gilluy

avocat du roi au présidial.

chanoine de la cathédrale.

Morant

Hébert

officier de l'élection.

chanoine de la cathédrale. Probably a relative of the Hébert elected in 1682.

(Added in 1682.)

Hébert

trésorier de France. Author of *Recueil de discours et de harangues*.

de Préaux

conseiller au présidial.

Hasterel de Preaux

Quinquet

conseiller au présidial.

conseiller au présidial.

de Sueur

Durand

avocat au parlement.

avocat au parlement.

Paret

Berthemet

capitaine de cavalerie.

avocat au parlement

Cousin	Le Vasseur
docteur en Sorbonne.	prieur d'Ouchies.
de Froidour	Abbé de Héricourt
lieutenant général au baillage de la	son of the author of the <i>Histoire</i> .
Fère.	Director in 1688.
Default	(Received in 1688.)
président au présidial.	Bosquillon
(Received in 1679.)	<i>Mercure</i> full of his <i>madrigaux</i> and
Morant	other poems.
ecclésiastique.	

*Academy of Villefranche*

Charles de Bernage	
Had completed writing at the age of eighty the fables of Phèdre <i>en rondeaux</i> .	
de La Fons	
Mignot de Bussy	
lieutenant du baillage de Beaujolais. Delivered many speeches and read	
original poetry before the academy. Director in 1688.	
Bessie du Peloux	
perpetual secretary.	
Terrasson	
de l'abbaye royale de Jouxdiou. Director in 1680 and 1682.	
Saladin	
ecclésiastique. Gave eulogy of saint Louis, oct., 1681.	
Botu de La Barmondiere	
"Fort connu par plusieurs ouvrages d'éloquence et de poesie." Speech in	
honor of Mlle d'Orléans, Oct. 1681.	
Mercier	
docteur en médecine. Director in 1686. Gave speech on <i>le Triomphe de l'hérésie</i> .	
Dubost	de La Roche-Poncié
Wrote poem in Latin on same subject.	avocat du roi. Director in 1688.
Abbe Baudry	
prieur de Saint Thibaut, "pasteur très zélé." Known for several poems	
published in the <i>Mercure</i> , among others, an ode of 240 lines, on the unveiling	
of the bust of the king.	
Bernard de Haumont	
of Saumur, received Aug. 1688. Author of various poems, to the king, to the	
dauphin, of an ode on the taking of Philipsbourg, etc. Says that his only title	
to the honor of academician is his "empressement à louer le roy."	
Chassebras de Cramailles	
Discours de réception, déc. 1688.	

*Academy of Nîmes*

(List of members, *Mercure*, fév. 1686, pp. 31-45.)

François Faure-Fondamente  
one of the founders. Pellisson dedicated to him his *Histoire de l'Académie française*. Died 1686.

Abbé Saurin

translated from the Latin the *Hymnes and Inscriptions* of Santeuil.

Marquis de Peraud

perpetual secretary; first meeting at his home.

de La Baume

conseiller au présidial. First director; service for queen at his home, Oct. 1683.

Graverol

famous for his erudition and his inscriptions. Made devices for the Arc de Triomphe and for the Academy. Member of the *Ricovrati*.

de Chateauneuf

Mustret

ministre et secrétaire d'état.

director in 1683.

Ménard

prieur d'Aubers. Eulogy of the queen, Oct. 1683.

Abbé Bégault

speech in honor of Saint Louis, Oct. 1689; of thanks to Fr. Acad., Nov. 1689.

La Grange

avocat au parlement de Paris, fils d'un secrétaire du roi. Received Oct. 26, 1689, received a prize of eloquence at Angers.

Jacques Séguier

Abbé Fléchier

évêque de Nîmes, first protector.

second protector.

Abbé Baudy

known for several poems in honor of the king. Received in 1687.

Demerés

chanoine à la cathédrale de Nîmes. Director in 1691.

Abbé de Marsolier

chanoine d'Uzès. Parisian by birth; author of several "beaux ouvrages"; published *Histoire du cardinal Ximénès*; *Mercure* of March 1696 announces forthcoming publication of a *Histoire de Henry VII d'Angleterre*, avec épître dédicatoire au duc du Maine. Non-resident member, received Jan. 1691; reception speech, *Mercure*, mars 1691.

François Annibal de Rochemore

président, juge-mage et lieutenant général en la sénéchaussée et siège présidial de Nîmes.

Jean Saurin

docteur et avocat.

Claude de Roverié

seigneur de Cabrières.

Pierre Causse

prêtre, deuxième archidiacre de la cathédrale de Nîmes.

Antoine Tessier

docteur et avocat. The *Mercure* (fev. 1686) states that he had published two religious works, and *les Eloges des hommes illustres, tirés de l'Histoire de Thou, avec notes*, and was about to publish *la Bibliothèque des bibliothèques du père Labbe, augmentée*.

Antoine Rouvière

docteur et avocat.

Claude Maltret

docteur et avocat.

Honoré de Trimond

prêtre, conseiller clerc en la sénéchaussée et siège présidial de Nîmes.

Jean Pierre Chazel

conseiller du roi et lieutenant principal en la sénéchaussée et siège présidial de Nîmes.

Louis de Trimond

chanoine de la cathédrale. Translated *les Eloges des hommes de lettres* from the Italian of Lorenzo Crasso.

Henri Cassagnes

conseiller du roi en la sénéchaussée et siège présidial de Nîmes Was soon to publish ( *Mercure*, fev. 1686) translation of the *Courtisan de Baltasar Castulioni* Brother of the abbé Cassagnes of the French Academy.

Henry Guiran

Pierre Petit

conseiller au parlement d'Oranges. écuyer.

Mesnard

conseiller au présidial de Nîmes. Received Jan. 1691 at which time he was preparing a *Histoire de Nîmes payenne*, in which he tried to prove that Nîmes had never been a Roman colony!

Travenol

avocat.

Dayglun

docteur de Sorbonne. Pronounced funeral oration of Séguier (mars. 1691).

de La Granche

poem, *De la Conspiration des planètes et de la comète contre le soleil* (nov. 1691); sonnet (juin 1691).

Guinrandy d'Avignon

*Ode sur l'alliance de l'Académie de Nîmes avec l'Académie française* (fev. 1693).

Paulian

conseiller au présidial de Nîmes. Discourse in Latin (mars 1696).

Cheiron

director in 1693.

Santeuil

*Hymne latine à la gloire de saint François de Sales*; inscriptions in Latin

Abbé Poncet

"très connu à Paris, Nîmes, Uzès, Montpellier." Received Feb. 30, 1696, by Fléchier.

Restaurant

avocat consultant. Director 1696.

The *Mercure* (fév. 1686) gives the names of 4 non-resident members from Montpellier, Avignon and Lyons.

*Academy of Angers*

Arnauld

évêque de Nîmes.

Bautru

chevalier, comte de Serrant, conseiller du roi en ses conseils, ci-devant chancelier de Monsieur. Director in 1689.

Abbé Ménage

“connu par un très grand nombre de beaux ouvrages en plusieurs langues ”

Arthaud

docteur et doyen de la faculté de théologie dans l'université d'Angers. Founded a chair of theology.

Bernier

docteur en médecine, “fameux par ses longs voyages dans le Levant, par les relations qu'il en a données, & par l'abrégé en Latin & en français de la philosophie de Gassendi.”

Verdier

professeur royal du droit français dans l'Université d'Angers.

Le Roye

docteur régent en droit dans l'Université d'Angers.

Grandet

conseiller au présidial d'Angers, “à qui Angers est redevable des soins qu'il a donnés, pour solliciter en Cour l'établissement de l'Académie.”

de Launay

avocat au parlement de Paris, professeur de droit français à l'Université de Paris.

Frain du Tremblay

ci-devant conseiller au présidial d'Angers. *Mercure* announces forthcoming publication of *l'Idée d'un parfait magistrat* (jan. 1687).

Nivart

Daburon

avocat au parlement.

avocat au parlement.

Of the 30 academicians whose names are published in the *Mercure* for Jan. 1687, the 12 foregoing are the only ones about whom any interesting details are given. The following are named in other issues:

Chevalier de Longueil

*Discours sur la devise du roi* (oct. 1686).

Comte d'Armagnac

grand écuyer de France et gouverneur de la province d'Anjou.

de Chasteauneuf

secrétaire d'état.

de Nointel

maître ordinaire des requêtes de l'Hôtel, intendant de la généralité de Tours. Received order to found the Academy; gave opening speech; director before 1689.

Beaumont d'Autichamp

lieutenant du roi et commandant dans la ville et dans le château d'Angers.

Gobin

premier président du présidial. First chancellor of the Academy.

du Plessis de Geste

évêque de Saintes; “d'une des plus vieilles maisons de la province d'Anjou.”

Abbé Le Pelletier

Author of *Vie du Pape Sixte V*, translated from Italian; of a *Histoire de la guerre de Chypre*, translated from Latin. Published in 1689 a *Histoire de la Chine* in German. Pronounced a eulogy of the king (mai 1689).

Constantin

grand prévost d'Anjou, "militaire et savant dans les belles lettres." Elected to replace Le Roye, who died 1686.

de Béchameil

Grandet

maire d'Angers (1689). Named chancellor, June 1689. Same as Grandet above?

Goureau

Petrineau des Noulis

perpetual secretary, 1691.

gentilhomme, perpetual secretary, 1695.

Livonnaire Pocquet

Received prize of eloquence of the Academy of Villefranche, 1688.

(The following officials are named in Jan. 1687 as being members during their term of office: l'évêque d'Angers; le lieutenant du roi de la ville et du château; le premier président du présidial, le lieutenant général de la sénéchaussée et siège présidial; le maire de la ville, le procureur du roi au présidial, the last one named by an order sent after the *lettres patentes*.)

### *Les Lanternistes*

(The *Mercure* gives the names of many persons who won prizes from the *Lanternistes*, but mentions only 6 members of the society, stating that the latter was composed of "quelques conseillers du parlement de Toulouse, quelques cavaliers, abbés et savants de tous étages.")

Mlle Lhéritier

author of *Œuvres Meslées*, Paris 1695, in-12; *la Tour ténébreuse et les jours lumineux, contes anglois*, Paris 1705, in-12, etc. Member of the *Ricovrati*.  
de La Fevrierie

Defends the genre of *bouts-rimés* (mai, 1695).

Morant

premier président du parlement de la province. Prize awarded in his home, June 24, 1697.

Arnaud Laborie

Lucas

secretary in May, 1698.

conseiller clerc au parlement.

Malepeyre (or Malapeire)

named as member of the *Académie des Belles-Lettres* and as "chef de celle qui est sur le point de s'établir à Toulouse," i.e., the *Lanternistes* (oct. 1689).

### *Société des Belles-Lettres of Toulouse*

(First attempt to found the academy in the neighborhood of 1640 by Pellisson. Of the 13 members who composed this body in 1689 and whose names the *Mercure* gives (oct.), the following are the only ones about whom some interesting information is given.)

de Malepeyre

"On voit peu d'esprits d'une si grande étendue." Wrote a book on the planets, was a connoisseur of the arts, travelled in Italy.

de Rocolles

known for introduction to *l'Histoire et le monde*, by the abbé Botero, work praised by Mézeray; was historiographer of France; one of 24 honorary doctors of the faculty of law, University of Paris.

de Mazades

“né pour la conversation . . . il sçait tous les beaux endroits des meilleurs Auteurs.”

du Puy

avocat, “fait des oraisons latines qu’on trouve si belles, que l’on a peine à les mettre au dessous de celles de Cicéron.”

Montaudier

“Si Quintilien vivoit, il auroit trouvé en luy l’Orateur parfait, dont il ne nous a donné que l’idée.”

de Baviile

intendant de la province.

(The following are named in later issues.)

de Carrières

The society met often at his home (juin 1694).

Martel

secretary in 1694 and in 1696. Member of the *Ricovrati*.

de Mondran

The society met regularly at his home (juillet 1696).

MARY ELIZABETH STORER

*Beloit College*

### XXX

#### MILTON AS A HISTORIAN

ONE of the most puzzling of literary problems is the fact that John Milton, though unquestionably one of the world's great poets, spent the prime of his life in writing chiefly prose. By 1640 he had written some poems which the world has not willingly let die. But with the exception of a few sonnets (many of which are occasional poetry or mere society verse) he wrote hardly any poetry from 1640 to 1658—that is, roughly, between the ages of thirty and fifty. A careful reading of his *History of Britain*, however, sheds some light on this situation and reveals an important trait of Milton's which is seldom fully recognized. Coming to the *History of Britain* with no preconceived notion of Milton's character or purpose, one is increasingly impressed with the idea that for Milton the writing of poetry was unusually difficult, and that his mind tended more naturally to prose criticism. (I hope soon to publish a study of Milton's satire which will support this view.) To say that Milton was no poet or that poetry can be defined only as the product of untrammelled fancy is ridiculous; it is a bent, a matter of degree rather than of kind. But there is some justification for thinking of Milton as a *reluctant poet*.

Before analyzing the *History of Britain* in any detail, however, we may profitably recall a few facts about Milton's life. Milton came home from his Italian tour because of the Bishop's War, feeling it "base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home."<sup>1</sup> He soon threw himself heart and soul into the midst of ecclesiastical and political controversies, turning out pamphlet after pamphlet of stirring recrimination. Before long he entered public life as Latin Secretary, and held the office for some ten years. These facts help to explain his lack of time and energy for the writing of poetry; they do not, however, explain his actual failure to write poetry. One who writes poetry because of an uncontrollable inner urge will not be diverted by considerations of public conditions and his own lack of leisure. He will write anyhow.

One consideration influencing Milton was undoubtedly the low esteem in which poetry seemed in his time to be held. As he looked about him for poets, what he saw was "libidinous and ignorant poetasters,"<sup>2</sup> with an occasional "vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite."<sup>3</sup> The poems of Herrick and Herbert, of Donne and Suckling,

<sup>1</sup> *Second Defence*, *Prose Works*, I, 256.—All references in these notes are to the Bohn edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Reason of Church Government*, P. W., II, 480.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 481.



even if Milton knew them, seem to have done little to alter his opinion. For poetry, the time seemed out of joint, and for some years John Milton was not at all sure that he had been born to set it right.

Another cause was his absorption in study. He mentions in *Areopagitica* with some pride "the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours."<sup>4</sup> He speaks elsewhere of "the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tired out almost a whole youth."<sup>5</sup> Again:

My father destined me from a child to the pursuits of literature; and my appetite for knowledge was so voracious, that, from twelve years of age, I hardly ever left my studies, or went to bed before midnight.<sup>6</sup>

One may be too studious, too hot on the trail of fact, to write poetry.

Still another cause, I believe, was the growth of Milton's critical powers. He was in reality two men within one body. One was a poet, entranced by the pictures of his imagination, and glorying in sounds and images and emotions. It was this John Milton who penned the famous phrase about poetry, that it is "simple, sensuous, and passionate."<sup>7</sup> It was he who wrote "L'Allegro," "Lycidas," the sonnet on arriving at the age of twenty-three, the invocation to light in *Paradise Lost*, and most of *Samson Agonistes*, to take a few among possible examples. The other half, the prose-man, the man of stern intellect, spurning the imagination, was in the ascendant in the first of the *Tetrachordon* sonnets, many passages in Book XII of *Paradise Lost*, most of the pamphlets (though not all), and most notably in the *History of Britain*.

Milton's temperament in the *History of Britain* is almost exactly that of the pure scientist. Truth is his aim, and the elimination of untruth is essential. Every page of the work is a flat contradiction of its professed purpose:

I have therefore determined to bestow the telling over even of these reputed tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English poets and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to use them judiciously.<sup>8</sup>

Here is a plain statement of the imaginative, the poetical view of history; the book is to provide the material from which the artist of imagination may create the Hamlets and Prince Arthurs of literature. That many of the passages are no more than "reputed tales" is unimportant to the "poets and rhetoricians." The vital need is that by "their art" they

<sup>4</sup> *P. W.*, II, 53.

<sup>5</sup> *Apology for Smectymnus*, *P. W.*, III, 96.

<sup>6</sup> *Second Defence*, *P. W.*, I, 254.

<sup>7</sup> *On Education*, *P. W.*, III, 473.

<sup>8</sup> *History of Britain*, *P. W.*, V, 165.

may "use them judiciously." But in practice Milton flings aside ruthlessly the imaginative elements, retaining only well-documented facts. King Arthur and Macbeth, for example, get short shrift, and the few traditions and superstitions which remain are only grudgingly admitted. A whimsically minded critic acting solely on "internal evidence" might easily prove that the author of this work could not possibly have written *Paradise Lost*.<sup>9</sup>

Milton thus judges his material as a historian should, on accuracy rather than on interest. And it seems to me that it is not without significance to notice, in passing, that Milton's *scholarship* is so often stressed by both himself and his biographers. Several references in his own writings have just been quoted. Among the biographers, Edward Phillips, who of them all knew Milton best, spoke in glowing terms of Milton's retirement from the Barbican home to High Holborn, where

he lived a private and quiet life, still prosecuting his *studies and curious search into knowledge, the grand affair perpetually of his life*.<sup>10</sup>

After the strain of the "Defence" pamphlets, Phillips stresses Milton's delight in having "leisure again for his own *studies*."<sup>11</sup> Finally, it is strange that Milton found it so difficult to write *Paradise Lost*. He informed Phillips, it will be remembered, that

his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinoctial to the vernal, and that whatever he attempted [otherwise] was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much, so that in all the years he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent but half his time therein.<sup>12</sup>

In connection with this distrust of pure imagination, there is also something queerly naïve in the anecdote, told by the anonymous biographer, of Milton's enthusiasm in dictating the lines which he had composed; how when his amanuensis was later than usual in coming in the morning, Milton complained that he "*wanted to be milked*."<sup>13</sup> One is thus prepared to meet a poet who was, as it were, a part-time poet only. He was a poet by spells, by grace of circumstances—not by irresistible inner compulsion. He lisped in numbers, not because the numbers came to him (any more readily, perhaps, than they did to the conceited little bard of Twickenham), but because he girded himself

<sup>9</sup> Thus there is within Milton's own mind something of the "Battle of the Books" which Professor Edwin Greenlaw pointed out among the Elizabethan historians; see his *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Baltimore, 1932), Chap. I.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Laura E. Lockwood's introduction to Milton's *Of Education, Areopagitica, The Commonwealth* (Boston, 1911), lxxii.—The italics are mine.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxv.—Italics mine.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxvi.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvi.

manfully to write poetry and set himself to a stupendous and heroic accomplishment.

The critical, sceptical spirit dominates the *History of Britain* from beginning to end.

The beginning of nations, those excepted of whom sacred books have spoken, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds also of many succeeding ages, yea, periods of ages, either wholly unknown, or obscured and blemished with fables.<sup>14</sup>

It is these "fables" which he sets himself to wipe out by relying in so far as possible on thoroughly authenticated sources.

But to examine these things with diligence, were but to confute the fables of Britain, with the fables of Greece and Italy.<sup>15</sup>

It is always with an apology that he introduces the mythical material:

And here with leave bespoken to recite a grand fable, though dignified by our best poets.<sup>16</sup>

He is relieved to approach the end of the first book, covering the obscure pre-Roman period so full of unsupported legends and superstitions:

Thus far, though leaning only on the credit of Geoffrey Monmouth, and his assertors, I yet, for the specified causes, have thought it not beneath my purpose to relate what I found. Whereto I neither oblige the belief of other person, nor over-hastily subscribe my own. Nor have I stood with others computing or collating years and chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things, whereof the substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of smooth or idle dreams, our history now arrives on the confines, where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn.<sup>17</sup>

In other words, Milton's primary question in the *History of Britain*, though it seems to be offered as a *vade mecum* for Shaksperes, is not that which would be the most essential to a Shakspeare: Is it interesting? Is it a good story? Does it show character? Is it true to the fundamentals of life and personality? His question is rather: Are the facts sufficiently documented? Is there reliable and sufficient proof of the events described and narrated? Did they actually happen? An admirable spirit in a *historian*, to be sure, and a welcome relief to succeeding historical scholars from the credulity and scrap-heap methods of some predecessors; but not the spirit of a Spenser or of a Keats—or even of a writer of *Paradise Lost*. The creator of a Macbeth or of a Una or of a Satan is

<sup>14</sup> P. W., v, 164.

<sup>15</sup> P. W., v, 169.

<sup>16</sup> P. W., v, 173.

<sup>17</sup> P. W., v, 184. I have corrected the Bohn misprint *reigon* to *region*.

satisfied if he has drawn a moving, convincing, and universal character. I doubt whether Shakspeare would have been appreciably dismayed to discover that Macbeth never existed in the flesh. But Milton's poets are to have their facts one hundred per cent guaranteed against unreliability.

His consequent admiration for the classical historians and his preference for them over the English writers becomes very marked in Book II.<sup>18</sup> Though he grudgingly takes a few facts from Geoffrey of Monmouth, he spurns more:

the rest, as of Hano the Roman captain, Genuissa, the emperor's daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of truth.<sup>19</sup>

For the Scotch historian, Buchanan, who approached the novelizing manner of a Strachey, Milton has a stern rebuke:

With no less exactness of particular circumstances he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuary inroads of the Scots and Picts into Britain, as if they had but yesterday happened, their order of battle, manner of fight, number of slain, articles of peace, things whereof Gildas and Bede are utterly silent, authors to whom the Scotch writers have none to cite comparable in antiquity; no more therefore to be believed for bare assertions, however quaintly drest, than our Geoffrey of Monmouth, when he varies most from authentic story. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily called historians, or the fond zeal of praising their nations above truth, hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off their history, or magnify their country.<sup>20</sup>

Particularly remarkable is Milton's treatment of Arthur. Milton had been meditating, it will be remembered, an epic on the subject of Arthur. In his poem to Manso, he voiced the wish that he might some time

recall in song the kings of my native land, and Arthur, who carried war even into fairyland. Or shall I tell of those great-hearted champions bound in the invincible society of the Round Table?<sup>21</sup>

But in his *History of Britain* he gives a very curt account of Arthur, who was, he says, "more renowned in songs and romances, than in true stories."<sup>22</sup>

But who Arthur was, and whether ever any such reigned in Britain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason. . . . And as we doubted

<sup>18</sup> Compare his eulogy of Greek literature in the letter to the Athenian Philaras, January, 1652 (*P. W.*, III, 504).

<sup>19</sup> *P. W.*, v, 202.

<sup>20</sup> *P. W.*, v, 243.

<sup>21</sup> "Mansus," ll. 80-83 (Moody's translation).

<sup>22</sup> *P. W.*, v, 255.

of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that victory at Badon-hill were his or no, is uncertain.<sup>23</sup>

In fact, he condemns as unreliable the whole crowd of chroniclers who wrote of Arthur:

the age whereof we now write hath had the ill hap, more than any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharged with all the idle fancies of posterity.<sup>24</sup>

Such ill examples it is far from Milton's intention to follow:

But he who can accept of legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnished with two only necessities, leisure and belief.<sup>25</sup>

But Arthur is only one example of many; in fact, the story of Arthur is merely typical of the attitude throughout the book. If Milton includes a legend or story which he does not believe, it is usually with an apologetic tone, with some statement of the condoning circumstances:

the story goes, if it be worth believing . . . which I had not noted, being unlikely, but for the place where I found it.<sup>26</sup>

He often dropped out anecdotes, with some such disparaging remark as: "saith Mat. Westm. annexing thereto a long unlikely tale."<sup>27</sup> William of Malmesbury he rebukes because "he refused not the authority of ballads for want of better."<sup>28</sup>

The culmination of Milton's indictment of untruthful historians comes in his farewell to Bede, who, though a monk and therefore anathema, was more reliable than most of his fellows. Around him is woven Milton's denunciation of historians in general, in terms which are reminiscent of his prelatial and Salmasian pamphlets:

Beda surceased to write. Out of whom chiefly has been gathered, since the Saxon's arrival, such as hath been delivered, a scattered story picked out here and there, with some trouble and tedious work, from among his many legends of visions and miracles . . . which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the Danish invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of Beda. Left only to obscure and blockish chronicles; whom Malmesbury, and Huntingdon, (for neither they nor we had better authors of those times,) ambitious to adorn the history, make no scruple oftentimes, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of their own; them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain journal. Yet William of Malmesbury must be acknowledged, both for style and judgment, to be by far the best writer of them all: but what labour is to be endured turning over volumes of rubbish in the rest, Florence of Worcester,

<sup>23</sup> *P. W.*, v, 258-259.

<sup>24</sup> *P. W.*, v, 258.

<sup>25</sup> *P. W.*, v, 259.

<sup>26</sup> *P. W.*, v, 275, 294.

<sup>27</sup> *P. W.*, v, 301.

<sup>28</sup> *P. W.*, v, 336.

Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, and many others of obscurer note, with all their monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough of the things they register. This travail, rather than not to know at once what may be known of our ancient story, sifted from fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all their lifetime raking the foundations of old abbeyes and cathedrals.<sup>29</sup>

His criticisms of individual writers are too numerous to mention in detail, but a few may be quoted as representative. Brompton is "no ancient author . . . nor of much credit."<sup>30</sup> As to Henry of Huntingdon, "little credit is to be placed in Huntingdon single," i.e., unsupported.<sup>31</sup> A certain story in Matthew of Westminster he leaves there "to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my readers."<sup>32</sup> But on Geoffrey of Monmouth he concentrates his heavy artillery. Geoffrey is "the British author, whom I use only then when others are all silent."<sup>33</sup> Many of Geoffrey's materials are "such like stuff . . . too palpably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of truth."<sup>34</sup> He disposes of Scottish historians by labelling them "no more therefore to be believed for bare assertions, however quaintly drest, than our Geoffrey of Monmouth."<sup>35</sup> And how eloquent is his phrase about "Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose weight we know!"<sup>36</sup>

Here then is the picture of a man whose great ideal of life seemed to be to become a poet, and who yet on one side of his nature seemed to be working his hardest to defeat that aim. It has already been suggested that one reason why Milton gave up writing on the British story and turned to the story of the Creation was that he lost belief in the story of Arthur and other fabulous British characters.<sup>37</sup> The tone of the *History of Britain* amply confirms this view. But the matter goes deeper than a mere loss of faith in a particular story. It is the development of a character, of a philosophy of life. To the youthful Milton poetry may have been something more or less independent of life and of truth. The poet was perhaps "a star and dwelt apart." But to the middle-aged Milton, certainly, the lure of the world, of actuality, and of truth had become so strong as to shut out this view. It was in the arena of life that he made his appearances from 1640 to 1660. And life was too strong, too brutal, too direct for poetry. Only when life swept on without

<sup>29</sup> *P. W.*, v, 295-296.

<sup>30</sup> *P. W.*, v, 315.

<sup>31</sup> *P. W.*, v, 324.

<sup>32</sup> *P. W.*, v, 306.

<sup>33</sup> *P. W.*, v, 197.

<sup>34</sup> *P. W.*, v, 202.

<sup>35</sup> *P. W.*, v, 243.

<sup>36</sup> *P. W.*, v, 274.

<sup>37</sup> P. F. Jones, "Milton and the Epic Subject from British History," *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 901 ff.

him was he able to relax and return to his first love to create his splendid poems.

The obvious rejoinder that some of the sonnets are first-rate poetry is of course sound. In those on his blindness and that to his wife the critic in him is, so to speak, on leave of absence. In the "rather wooden translations from the Scriptures," on the other hand, to quote Moody's verdict,<sup>38</sup> there is little of high poetic quality. The sonnets to a "virtuous young lady" and to Lady Margaret Ley are graceful compliments; the pair defending his *Tetrachordon* are, though written in terrible earnest, hardly better than blurbs; two others have been called "poetical invitations to dinner."<sup>39</sup> Thus the amount of wholly first-rate poetry represented by these years is astonishingly small. This small amount is, of course, priceless; but one may venture the assertion without being too much of a Philistine that it could have been written—and perhaps was—in about a week of "running time." It constitutes hardly more than an episode in the long years from thirty-two to fifty-two, the productive years of the poet's prime.

Milton's mind, in other words, was essentially critical rather than creative. He was by sympathy a rationalist, a scientist, a thinker. He was attracted by satire, an essentially critical art. John Dryden told the anecdotist Aubrey that Milton "pronounced the letter R (*littera canina*) very hard . . . a certaine signe of a satyricall witt."<sup>40</sup> Again, it is not without significance that Keats should have eventually thrown Milton overboard, and given up his attempt at "Hyperion" as too Miltonic. Keats was simple, sensuous, passionate; Milton was complex, intellectual, critical.

It is astonishing how early the rationalistic spirit comes out in Milton. Mrs. Tillyard's recent edition of Milton's college prolusions affords admirable illustrations. In the very first of these exercises, in the name of Reason, Milton flouts the old myths:

I am . . . attempting to bring them to the test of reason, and thereby to examine whether they can bear the scrutiny of strict truth.<sup>41</sup>

So he goes on to examine the myths in the cold light of investigation, and even at times brings to bear almost the method of Mr. Erskine.

But why they should believe that Phanes, endowed as he was with a wondrous and superhuman beauty, was so much in love with Night, a mere mulatto or silhouette, as even to wish to marry her, seems a problem hopelessly difficult

<sup>38</sup> *Poems*, ed. Moody, p. 69.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>40</sup> John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (ed. A. Clark, Oxford, 1898), II, 67.

<sup>41</sup> Tillyard, *op. cit.*, 57.

to solve, unless the phenomenal scarcity of females at that time left him no choice.<sup>42</sup>

And when he felt moved to amend the curriculum of the college, his hope was to introduce, not more poetry, but more science!

But how much better were it, gentlemen, and how much more consonant with your dignity, now to let your eyes wander as it were over all the lands depicted on the map, and to behold the places trodden by the heroes of old, to range over the regions made famous by wars, by triumphs, and even by the tales of poets of renown, now to traverse the stormy Adriatic, now to climb unharmed the slopes of fiery Etna, then to spy out the customs of mankind and those states which are well-ordered, next to seek out and explore the nature of all living creatures, and after that to turn your attention to the secret virtues of stones and herbs. And do not shrink from taking your flight into the skies and gazing upon the manifold shapes of the clouds, the mighty piles of snow, and the source of the dews of morning; then inspect the coffers wherein the hail is stored and examine the arsenals of the thunderbolts. And do not let the intent of Jupiter or of Nature elude you, when a huge and fearful comet threatens to set the heavens aflame, nor let the smallest star escape you of all the myriads which are scattered and strewn between the poles: yes, even follow close upon the sun in all his journeys, and ask account of time itself and demand the reckoning of its eternal passage<sup>43</sup>

To put it differently, the world was much with Milton. Intellectual problems offered a challenge to his mind which he could not escape. I doubt whether he really groaned too heavily under the burden of the twenty years of prose servitude. If he had, he could have escaped from it—if his mind had been willing to let him! But the critical and scholarly bent of his temperament would not be downed while the situation continued as it was.

But—and here may be the answer to a question lurking in our minds all this time—the situation did not continue. Otherwise we might have had no *Paradise Lost* or *Paradise Regained* or *Samson Agonistes*. In fact, the situation changed very definitely and, for Milton, with startling completeness. We have seen that the chief factors influencing him in forsaking poetry for prose were the low estate of contemporary poetry, the stimulation or challenge of controversy, his appointment to public office, and his critical tendency combined with his wide and intense reading. By 1660 or somewhat earlier, all these conditions had been changed or eliminated. Poetry, thanks to Dryden and Waller, had revived; controversy was over and forgotten; his public position was swept away; and the reading which went hand in hand with the critical temper was impossible (except indirectly) on account of his blindness.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.



He was thrown back on himself and on his imagination for intellectual food. The powers of the imagination were therefore released, the severe curb of his mind was loosened, and the great poems ensued. The critical and scientific tendency still remained much in evidence; and everyone knows that one stumbling-block for many readers of the poems is the aggressiveness of their theological and philosophical content.<sup>44</sup> But the imaginative element had forged ahead; the simple, sensuous, and passionate had freer rein; the poet was more unhampered. The author of *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence* gave way to the author of *Paradise Lost*.

This conception of Milton is strengthened by certain other tendencies which appear in the *History of Britain*. One feels, for instance, a general weariness and cynicism in Milton's whole attitude towards the times he writes of. They are bad times, written of by bad historians; the course of history is depressing. His astonishing outburst against the past times is almost ridiculous by its very fury:

of the Romans we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beat us into some civility.<sup>45</sup>

In general,

Their actions . . . most commonly wars . . . the rest superstition and monastical affection. . . . Left only to obscure and blockish chronicles . . . volumes of rubbish.<sup>46</sup>

His weariness is accompanied by his customary distrust of liberty carried to a truly Ruskinian scepticism. The chief burden of this theme comes in the digression at the beginning of Book III, a tirade against the mistakes of his own time. Grave flaws of characters, he says,

brought those ancient natives to misery and ruin, by liberty, which rightly used, might have made them happy; so brought they these of late, after many labours, much bloodshed, and vast expense, to ridiculous frustration . . . for liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men.<sup>47</sup>

The ancient Britons, he continues, "adoring the name of liberty," but given to "licence," and lacking

the wisdom, the virtue, the labour, to use and maintain true liberty, . . . soon remitted their heat. and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of their own liberty, than before under a foreign yoke.<sup>48</sup>

Of similar significance is Milton's insistence on the value of brevity,

<sup>44</sup> Even so, it is illuminating to notice how prosaic, how lacking in romantic imagination, *Paradise Regained* is.

<sup>45</sup> *P. W.*, v, 198.

<sup>46</sup> *P. W.*, v, 295.

<sup>47</sup> *P. W.*, v, 236, 239.

<sup>48</sup> *P. W.*, v, 241.

not as the source of wit, but as essential to holding the interest of the reader. He announces his objective at the start:

But I intend not with controversies and quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of history . . . but shall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needed most, with plain and lightsome brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read.<sup>49</sup>

The stringent condensation which he applies to the material which he takes from Geoffrey of Monmouth and other historians has already been studied in considerable detail in Sir Charles Firth's illuminating essay.<sup>50</sup> Milton blue-pencils mercilessly, cutting down especially genealogies and long speeches, but also cutting out a wealth of vivid details.<sup>51</sup> The history, as Sir Charles Firth has pointed out, gains a great deal in modernness and in precision and in scholarliness in this process of cutting, but the poetic quality suffers.

To recapitulate, then, the writer of the *History of Britain* is a man whose interests are primarily prosaic—that is, critical, ratiocinative, scholarly; whose chief goal is truth—truth of fact—as little obscured by ornament and idle fancy as possible; and whose attitude towards the world is pessimistic and sceptical. It is that of a keen mind, with a sense of fact and plausibility which (if we desire to flatter ourselves) is strikingly modern. It is one of the miracles of history that such a temperament should have been so reversed by circumstances as to become a great poet. The poetic impulse and ability were always in reserve, but for twenty years they were nearly dormant. A great controversialist and critic were in the ascendant; the poet was submerged. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is to the fall of Cromwell and the blindness of Milton that we must be eternally grateful for *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*.

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<sup>49</sup> *P. W.*, v, 165.

<sup>50</sup> "Milton as an Historian," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, III (1907-8), 227-257.

<sup>51</sup> *E.g.*, *P. W.*, v, 210, 266, 299.

THE LATIN PASTORALS OF MILTON  
AND CASTIGLIONE

A COMPARATIVE study seems to show that Castiglione's Latin pastoral elegy, *Alcon*, is more closely related to Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* than to *Lycidas*, which has often been mentioned in connection with the Italian poem.<sup>1</sup> This paper undertakes only to set forth the parallels between *Alcon* and the *Epitaphium*, not to reach any absolute conclusions as to the extent of Milton's dependence.

The possibility of extensive indebtedness on Milton's part may appear, at the outset, remote and uncertain because of the very intimate and biographical nature of the tribute to Diodati. Of the Latin poems the *Epitaphium* is not only the best but the deepest in feeling, and that would seem to put it outside the province of the source-hunter. As the record of a profound emotional experience the later elegy differs from *Lycidas*, a greater poem because it is the fruit of Milton's sedulous pre-occupation with classical traditions. But the *Epitaphium* is in Latin, and as Masson truly remarks,<sup>2</sup> "this, in itself, removes it into the realm of the artificial." Moreover, there is another phase of its artificiality. The invocation in the poem, in fact the title itself, shows that Milton recognized, as Spenser did, that "a poet is responsible to the Muses that his works have artistic value apart from their value as an expression of his own feelings"<sup>3</sup>; and for both men artistic value implied imitation. In short, Milton's *Epitaphium*, as in less measure *Lycidas*, amply demonstrates that spontaneous and impassioned feeling gain adequate expression within the limits of pastoral elegy and by a discriminating use of its conventions.<sup>4</sup> Inevitably, then, the Latin elegy,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy: the Revival of Learning* (New York, 1883), pp. 490-491; Saintsbury, *The Earlier Renaissance* (London, 1901), p. 34; J. Cartwright, *Baldassare Castiglione* (London, 1908), I, 144-145; J. H. Hanford, "The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's *Lycidas*," *PMLA*, xxv (1910), 432; and *A Milton Handbook* (New York, 1926), p. 133; G. Norlin, "The Conventions of the Pastoral Elegy," *AJP*, xxxii (1911), 307; and L. E. Kastner, *Poetical Works of William Drummond* (London, 1913), II, 363.—Drummond's poem (1638) on the death of Sir Anthony Alexander is a frank adaptation of *Alcon*, but Kastner does not believe that *Lycidas* reflects Drummond. Independently both English poets had recourse to the same model.

<sup>2</sup> *Poetical Works of John Milton* (London, 1903), I, 113.

<sup>3</sup> W. L. Renwick, *Edmund Spenser* (London, 1925), p. 126.—The author is discussing the sources of the *Amoretti*.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Hanford, "The Youth of Milton" in *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne* (1925), p. 148, observes that the Latin elegy, even more than *Lycidas*, adheres to convention.

its title derived from Moschus' *Epitaphium Bionis*, faces toward classical models, chiefly Virgil's Tenth Eclogue,<sup>5</sup> and echoes from time to time the *Aeneid*, Ovid, and Horace.

These classical sources predominate in the *Epitaphium*. Yet as a late neo-Latinist Milton did not neglect his earlier confreres, he who boasted his acquaintance with Manso, friend to the author of *Gerusalemme Liberata*. And even amid the welter of sixteenth-century Latin hexameters<sup>6</sup> special reasons obtain for his remembering *Alcon*, in which Castiglione, also following Virgil, mourns the loss of Falcone, companion of his youth. Mantua was the home of both Castiglione and Falcone, youthful scholar, poet, and tutor to Baldassare's younger brother Jeronimo. When Falcone died, July 1505, Castiglione was in Rome. His friend's sudden passing evoked a letter to his mother expressing his sorrow: he and Falcone had been boyhood friends; they were reared together; he had expected to obtain Falcone a post in Rome, a post befitting a man of such rare qualities. In conclusion he begs for details of Falcone's death and asks that Jeronimo collect and save from loss his tutor's writings.<sup>7</sup> "If ever a man had a genius for friendship, it was Castiglione. No one loved his friends more tenderly, or clung to their memories with greater faithfulness."<sup>8</sup> But so filled with business was Castiglione's life that a year passed before he wrote the poetical tribute to his friend. As in *Alcon* he alludes to the death of his brother Jeronimo, in the summer of 1506, it is concluded that the author wrote the poem during his visit to England.<sup>9</sup>

Curiously similar were the circumstances leading to the writing of *Epitaphium Damonis*. Returning to England in the summer of 1639,

<sup>5</sup> Except for the title and an implied indebtedness at the beginning, Milton's *Epitaphium* manifests no direct dependence upon Bion's *Lament for Adonis*, which is not a pastoral, or upon Moschus' *Lament for Bion*. Hanford, "The Pastoral Elegy," *op. cit.*, p. 416, draws attention to Moody's error in stating that Milton's poem formally imitates Moschus. Kerlin, *Theocritus in English Literature* (1910), pp. 40-41, affirms that Milton's "immediate model no doubt" was Moschus. And W. MacKellar, *Latin Poems of John Milton* (1930), p. 61, citing Kerlin, states that the *Epitaphium* is a return to the manner of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus." Even to Theocritus Milton owes nothing directly.

<sup>6</sup> Of the many anthologies (cf. Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 451, and Saintsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 21) the most famous was *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum*, Florence, 1719. Those used in the present study are an earlier collection, with same title (Paris, 1576), 3 vols., and A. Pope's, *Selecta Poemata Italorum* (London, 1740), 2 vols.; *Alcon* appears in *Carmina* (Paris), I, 61-64, and in Pope, II, 237-242, as of course elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> Eleven years later a comedy by Falcone was performed during the festivities at Castiglione's marriage, "as a delicate attention to Castiglione."—C. Hare, *Courts and Camps of the Italian Renaissance* (N. Y., 1908), p. 113. <sup>8</sup> Cartwright, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 179-186, for an account of the English visit, during which Castiglione, as Duke Guidobaldo's representative, was installed as Knight of the Garter.

Milton learned the particulars of Diodati's death. Then perhaps he recalled Castiglione's *Alcon*, the intimate story of two friends separated at the last.<sup>10</sup> "Was there anything worth its cost in the sight of buried Rome . . . that for it I could be without *you*?" exclaims Milton.<sup>11</sup> But Castiglione, eager for his friend's coming, dwells upon the beauty of Rome and the Tiber, which "washes ancient ruins, lofty ornaments." And both poets, long unaware of tragedy, were thwarted in their fond dreams of later companionship. A detailed analysis of their elegies discloses more tangible affinities.

The structure of the two poems—their external form and their inner succession of moods—deserves first consideration; this phase of the comparison necessitates, however, some mention of structural origins, a subject which has never been adequately treated.<sup>12</sup> The framework of the later pastoral elegy was determined by three classical poems: Theocritus' First Idyll and Virgil's Fifth and Tenth Eclogues, which modify the pattern of Theocritus. In the first, two shepherds in sixty-three lines of dialogue, exchange compliments and arrange an elaborate gift for the singer. Then follows the lament proper (of varying length in later elegies), at the end of which, in ten lines, the singer demands his reward and is praised for his skill. Virgil's Fifth copies this formula with a difference. The introductory dialogue is reduced to nineteen lines; Mopsus then sings the lament for Daphnis (Julius Caesar), and after a break of eleven lines of dialogue, Menalcas celebrates his apotheosis, the eclogue being concluded with ten lines as the singers exchange presents. The note of joy, which in a sense completes that of sorrow introduced by Theocritus, becomes a stock feature. In Virgil's Tenth one singer, the poet, in eight lines introduces himself and his theme; he sings the consolation to Gallus, whose mistress has deserted him, and in eight concluding lines he announces that his song has ended. *Lycidas* is modelled upon this plan, even to the number of separate concluding lines, in which Milton, like Virgil, intimates that he is to sing no more pastorals.

Moreover, Virgil's Tenth provides the nearest approach to the pattern of *Alcon* and the *Epitaphium*. In these a separate introduction, replacing the separate conclusion of Virgil, announces the subject of the lament,

<sup>10</sup> Masson, *Life* (London, 1894), I, 830, concludes it was during his second stay in Rome or Florence that Milton heard of Diodati's death; two years later he wrote the *Epitaphium*, in the summer of 1640.

<sup>11</sup> The text and translation in the Columbia University edition of Milton (New York, 1931), I, appear throughout this study. For assistance in the translations from *Alcon* the present writer is obliged to Professor H. J. Leon, of the classical department, University of Texas.

<sup>12</sup> Norlin, *op. cit.*, 296–297, devotes a paragraph to the subject.

the setting, and the poet-singer, who then sings the lament proper through to the end of the poem. This preface, twenty-three lines in Castiglione and seventeen in Milton, obviously harks back to Virgil rather than to the longer prefatory dialogue of Theocritus, to which it is sometimes referred. Though scores of pastoral elegies adopted the framework found in *Alcon* and the *Epitaphium*, the general movements of the laments proper exhibit a marked similarity which a glance at their outlines will make clear.

The Italian lament (24-154) consists logically of three parts. Part One makes extensive use of the pathetic fallacy: the meadows have lost their splendor and deny their accustomed shade, the sterile fields fail their promised yield, all nature mourns Alcon's loss. The grass which dies springs up again green, the sun sets only to rise again; but once Death has seized upon man, he is ever shrouded in eternal gloom. No more will Alcon be seen in pastoral games ever the victor, no more will his pipe soothe the neighboring hills, nor again will he and his companion endure together the rigors of pastoral life. Part Two of *Alcon* (83-129) concerns Iollas' absence in Rome. He envies Leucippus, who was with Alcon when he died and who since has passed away to be with him in the Elysian fields. Unaware of his death, Iollas was fashioning idle dreams of Alcon's coming to Rome and of their happiness there. Part Three (130-154) concludes the poem, as Iollas invokes the shade of his friend and declares that he will raise an empty tomb on the banks of the Anio, deck it with flowers, and append an epitaph.

The lament in Milton's poem likewise falls into three parts. Its successive moods are more readily observed because of the refrain, the use of which beginning in Theocritus became general. What may be called Part One (18-111) precedes the account of the Italian journey. First (18-67) the singer mourns the loss of his companion in the fields, his comforter, his joy. In the visits of Mopsus and the various deities (68-92) Milton follows Virgil x.<sup>13</sup> The final passage (93-111) elaborates a contrast between animals and humanity, the significance of which will be discussed. Part Two (112-197) includes, first (112-160) the poet's memories of Damon and his grief in being absent when Damon died; second (161-178) plans for a British epic; and third (180-197) a description of the cups, gifts of Manso. The *Epitaphium* ends briefly (198-219) with an account of the heavenly joys of Damon, in which obviously the poet is following the ultimate precedent of Virgil in his deification of

<sup>13</sup> Professor Mustard in "Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets," *AJP*, xxx (1909), 249, believes the invocation "indicates that he has Theocritus in mind, not Virgil." The passage itself produces no evidence; and "Sicelicum carmen" may perhaps be regarded as a conventional literary epithet; cf. Virgil's "Sicelides Musae" (iv, 1).

Caesar (v, 56-80). Milton's notable originality here lies in the characteristic passage (215-219) in which Bacchic orgies "run riot with the thyrsus of Zion."<sup>14</sup>

Two structural differences between *Alcon* and the *Epitaphium* at once stand out: Milton's elaboration of his epic plans and the description of the cups.<sup>15</sup> For these structural entities *Alcon* affords no counterpart. Nor does Castiglione's last movement correspond to Milton's, which tells the celestial joys of Damon. Earlier in the lament, however, there is a passage which strikes the same note as in Castiglione's last lines.

Milton expresses a desire to offer tribute to Diodati (27-30, 33-34):

Quicquid erit, certè, nisi me lupus antè videbit,  
Indeplorato non comminuere sepulchro,<sup>16</sup>  
Constabitque tuus tibi honos, longùmque vigebit  
Inter pastores: . . . . .  
Si quid id est, priscamque fidem coluisse, piùmque,  
Palladiásque artes, sociùmque habuisse canorum.

(Whate'er shall come, one thing is sure: unless a wolf shall see me first, you, Damon, will not be crushed in an unlamented tomb, but your honors will be firmly fixed, firm set for you, and will long have vigorous life among the shepherds . . . if it counts for aught to have cherished faith like the faith of olden days, to have cherished righteousness, and the arts of Pallas, and to have had as comrade a man of song.)

Two features in these Virgilian lines may be traced in *Alcon* (139-140):

Iipse meis manibus ripâ hac Aniensis inanem  
Constituam tumulum, nostri solatia luctus.<sup>17</sup>

(With my own hands here on the bank of the Anio I shall raise an empty tomb, solace for my grief.) A flower passage follows, concluding (147-148):

<sup>14</sup> The significance of these concluding lines, "the mask of Latin being in itself a sufficient drapery," is discussed by Professor Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>15</sup> For discussion of classical authority in these two features, cf. Hanford, "The Pastoral Elegy," *op. cit.*, pp. 414 and 411 respectively. In the Renaissance pastoral elegy, digressions became an accepted license. Theocritus set the fashion for describing cups and other gifts; there is no evidence of direct indebtedness, one reason being that Milton's cups were probably actual gifts from Manso.

<sup>16</sup> Hanford, *ibid.*, p. 446, notes the similar phrasing in *Lyc.* 12: "He must not float upon his watery bier unwept." Compare further *Alcon* 101-102: "Ast ego nec tristes lacrimas in funere fudi, Debita nec misero persolvi justa sodali." The sentiment is fairly commonplace; see MacKellar's notes on the passage.

<sup>17</sup> With this Hanford, *ibid.*, p. 432, compares *Lyc.* 151 ff., where the singer "to interpose a little ease" fancies that he is decking the tomb. Professor Hanford further mentions the emphasis in *Lyc.* and *Alcon* upon the intimacy between singer and his friend. He does not, however, acknowledge any explicit connection between Milton's later elegy and *Alcon*.

Nos Alcon dilexit multum, & dignus amari  
Ipse fuit nobis, & tali dignus honore.

(Alcon deeply loved me, and he was worthy of my love, and worthy of such tribute.) The couplet suggests Milton's "Si quid id est," etc.

Structurally, then, the two elegies, both following Virgil, contain parallels which can hardly be regarded as accidental or conventional.

1. Near the beginning of Milton's elegy, Thyrsis<sup>18</sup> appears as the Nymphs are invoked to tell of his grief (5-8):

Et quibus assiduus exercuit *antra querelis*,  
Fluminaque, fontesque<sup>19</sup> vagos, nemorumque recessus,  
Dum sibi praereptum queritur Damona, neque altam  
Luctibus exemit noctem, loca sola pererrans.

(The ceaseless plainings wherewith he harried the grots, and the wide-ranging rivers, and the retreats within the woods, while he made lament that Damon had been wrested from him before his time. Nor did he exempt from his griefs the deeps of the night, as he wandered o'er lonely places.)

This not unconventional picture deserves to be compared with Castiglione's description of Iollas' grief, like that of the dove bereft of its mate (15):

Languidulus moestis complet nemora *alta querelis*.<sup>20</sup>

(Feebly he fills the high groves with mournful complaints.) And later (21-23):

Tantum inter silvas, aut solo in littore secum  
Perditus, & serae oblitus decedere nocti,  
Rupibus haec frustra & surdis jactabat arenis.

(Only amid the woods or on the solitary shore, alone with his despair and forgetting to yield to the late night, in vain he poured forth these words to the cliffs and sands unhearing.)

The lament of each singer begins in the same strain, with the same interrogations: *Epitaphium* (19-22), *Alcon* (27-29):

Hei mihi! quae terris, quae dicam numina coelo,  
Postquam te immiti rapuerunt funere Damon;

<sup>18</sup> Shepherd names in Milton as in Castiglione are commonplace and hence have little or no bearing upon sources: ultimately Thyrsis comes from Theocr. I and Damon from Virg. III and VIII, Iollas from Virg. II, and Alcon, suggested by Falcone, from Virg. V.

<sup>19</sup> C. S. Jerram in *Lycidas and Epitaphium Damonis* (London, 1874) regards the phrase as an obvious metrical imitation of Virg. *Aen.* III, 91, "liminaque laurusque dei."

<sup>20</sup> Italics mine, as in Milton's passage. Cf. *Alcon*, 138, "quasque cava haec responsant *antra querelas*." Verbal parallels between the two poems are few. Though Castiglione's hexameters are always smooth, Milton, better Latinist and poet, would resort to *Alcon* mainly for plan, ideas, or turns of thought.



Siccine nos linquis, tua sic sine nomine virtus  
Ibit, & obscuris numero sociabitur umbris?

(Woe is me! What powers divine shall I name on earth, what in heaven, since they have swept you off, Damon, by a merciless death? Is it thus, thus, that you leave me? Is merit such as yours to pass thus, nameless, and to be joined with a host of obscure shades?)

Quis Deus, aut quis te casus miser abstulit? ergo  
Optima quaeque rapit duri inclementia fati?  
Ergo bonis tantum est aliquod male numen amicum?

(What god, or what hapless chance has torn you from me? Does, then, the harshness of cruel fate carry away ever the best? Is, then, some divinity unkindly only to the good?)<sup>21</sup>

In their emphasis upon the intimacy of singer and his dead friend, *Alcon* and *Epitaphium* conspicuously extend the conventions of the kind. After promising to observe yearly rites, Milton effects a natural transition to the following mood (37-43, 51-52, 55-56):

At mihi quid tandem fiet modò? quis mihi fidus  
Haerebit lateri comes, ut tu saepe solebas  
Frigoribus duris, & per loca foeta pruinis,  
Aut rapido sub sole, siti morientibus herbis?<sup>22</sup>  
Sive opus in magnos fuit eminens ire leones  
Aut avidos terrere lupos praesepebus altis;  
Quis fando sopire diem, cantuque solebit?  
. . . . .  
Aut aestate, dies medio dum vertitur axe,<sup>23</sup>  
Cum Pan aesculeâ somnum capit abditus umbrâ,<sup>24</sup>  
. . . . .

<sup>21</sup> For the practice of repeating the dead shepherd's name, as in *Lyc.* 8-9, cf. *Alcon* 24-25: "Alcon, deliciae Musarum & Apollinis, Alcon Pars animae, cordis pars Alcon maxima nostri." Hanford, p. 443, quotes Spenser's *November* 37-38 and *Astrophel* 7-8. The shepherd's youth is also conventionally emphasized; with *Lyc.* 8, "dead ere his prime," cf. *Alcon* 1, "sub flore juventae." Beginning with Moschus, dead shepherds have been termed poets; with *Lyc.* 34, cf. *Alcon* 3, "Quem toties Fauni & Dryades sensere canentem," both inspired by Virg. *Ec.* vi, 27-28; and with *Lyc.* 42-44, cf. *Alcon* 73-74, "Non tua vicinos mulcebit fistula montes, Docta nec umbrosae resonabunt carmina valles." With Milton's lines Hanford, p. 423, quotes Virg. *Ec.* viii, 4.

<sup>22</sup> Italics mine. Cf. *Alcon* 38, "Prata suum amisere decus, morientibus herbis." Masson cites Virg. *Geor.* i, 424, "solem ad rapidum"; and MacKellar adds *Geor.* iv, 427-428, "arebant herbae, et cava flumina siccis faucibus ad limum radii tepefacta coquebant." Hanford, p. 421, notes that the imagery of Milton's entire passage owes something to Virg. *Ec.* x, 55-68.

<sup>23</sup> Jerram, *op. cit.*, cites Lucan's *Phar.* iii, 423, "medio cum Phoebus in axe est."

<sup>24</sup> The dread of disturbing Pan, Warton traces to Theocr. i, 15-17; MacKellar cites Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherdess* 1, 1, and Mustard, *op. cit.*, 247, observes its occurrence in Sann. *Arc. Ecl.* ix, 146-147, and in Balf, *Ecl.* xix.

Quis mihi blanditiásque tuas, quis tum mihi risus,  
Cecropiosque sales referet, cultosque lepores?

(But what of me? What loyal comrade will cling to my side, as you were wont oft to do, in the days of unrelenting cold, in places pregnant with frosts, or under the devouring sun, when the plants were dying of thirst, or when there was need to face in hand to hand encounter the monstrous lions, or to frighten the hungry wolves away from the high folds? Who will make it his habit with talking and with song to lay the day to rest? . . . Or, in the summer-time, when the day is revolving in mid-heaven, when Pan, hidden away in the shade of the oak, courts slumber, . . . who will renew for me your blandishments, your laughter, your sallies of Cecropian wit, and your cultured graces?)

*Alcon* presents a briefer, equally intimate, account (71-72, 78-82):

Non tecum posthac molli *resupinus in umbrâ*<sup>25</sup>  
Effugiam longos aestivo tempore soles;

. . . . .  
Nos etenim à teneris simul usque huc viximus annis,  
Frigora pertulimusque aestus, noctesque, diesque,  
Communique simul sunt pasta armenta labore.  
Rura mca haec tecum communia: viximus unâ.

(No more shall I, reclining at ease in the soft shade with thee, escape the hot sun of a long summer's day. For we two have lived together from our tender years until now; we have borne together cold and heat, nights and days, and our herds were pastured together with common labor. These my fields were thine, we lived as one.)<sup>26</sup>

Although these passages are limited by what Professor Hanford calls "the narrow range of pastoral equivalents for friendship," the imagery is enough alike to be interesting: Milton's "frigoribus duri" and Castiglione's "frigora"; summer "dies medio dum vertitur axe" and "longos aestivo tempore soles." Both singers recall the rigors of winter and the quiet, congenial delights in summer shade. That such charming pictures are rare in pastoral elegy makes it more likely that Milton knew the passage in *Alcon*, as also of course Virgil, the common source.

2. In neither of his pastoral elegies does Milton employ the pathetic fallacy for its own sake. In *Lycidas*, he dwells upon the beauty of natural objects rather than upon their sentience; in the *Epitaphium* he gains an effect more like Virgil<sup>27</sup> than like Castiglione. Their combined

<sup>25</sup> Italics mine. Cf. *Epit.* 148, "Imus? & argutâ paulùm *recubamus in umbra*."

<sup>26</sup> Hanford, "The Pastoral Elegy," *op. cit.*, p. 432, cites this passage as a source of *Lyc.* 23-31: "For we were nursed upon the self-same hill, Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade, and rill; together both" etc.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, *Ec.* I, 38-39: "Ipsae te, Tityre, pinus, Ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant." As Conington in *Opera* (London, 1881), I, observes, the pines, springs, and orchards called him back in the sense that they depended on his care.

influence upon Milton is perhaps illustrated in the following passages. Thyrsis' grief has caused neglect of his fields and flocks (63-67):

Heu quam culta mihi prius arva procacibus herbis  
Involvuntur, & ipsa situ seges alta fatiscit!  
Innuba neglecto marcescit & uva racemo,  
Nec myrteta juvant; ovium quoque taedet, at illae  
Moerunt, inque suum convertunt ora magistrum.<sup>28</sup>

(Ah me! How deeply my tilth-lands, once so well tilled, are clothed now with insolent herbage! The towering grain gapes open with mildew. The grapes, unwedded, are withering, their clusters neglected, and the myrtle-groves pleasure me not. I am weary even of the sheep, and they are turning their eyes in deepest sorrow on their master.)

Compare the conventional insipidity of *Alcon* (38-42):

Prata suum amisere decus, morientibus herbis  
Arida; sunt sicci fontes, & flumina sicca.  
Infoecunda carent promissis frugibus arva,  
Et mala crescentes rubigo exedit aristas.  
Squalor tristis habet pecudes, pecudumque magistros.

(The meadows have lost their splendor, shrivelling with the dying herbage; dried are the springs, the rivers are dry. The sterile fields fail their promised yield, and evil rust devours the growing ears. Squalor possesses the sad herds and squalor their masters.)

While Milton's lines are obviously the more natural and tasteful, they bear an obvious resemblance to Castiglione's. The three aspects of decay—sterile fields, blighted corn, neglected sheep—are described in the same order and with similar details.

3. Before the review of those parts of the two elegies which concern Milton's and Castiglione's travels, it will be convenient at this point to quote several passages, all of which further illustrate what seem to be Milton's liberal adaptations from Castiglione.<sup>29</sup> In the first of these Milton contrasts the free mating of animals with the unique lot of man, who, choosing one congenial soul out of a thousand, is thwarted in his happiness by untimely death. Milton's idea is not far removed from the

<sup>28</sup> MacKellar cites *Lyc.* 125, noting the conventionality of "hungry sheep"; and for line 65—no counterpart in *Alcon*—he finds a number of precedents.

<sup>29</sup> Commenting upon the Renaissance and Miltonic imitative art, Professor E. K. Rand observes, in "Milton in Rustication," *St. in Phil.*, xix (1922), 119: "He [a poet] must season his verse with the antique, but avoid too obvious reminiscence, sheer steals. . . . And not only words and images and turns of thought must be stolen from antiquity, but the flavor, the atmosphere. Substances inconsistent with one another must be combined harmoniously."

conventional comparison of human mortality with the cycle of life and death in external nature. The relevant passage from the *Epitaphium* is as follows (100-105):

... vilisque volucrum  
 Passer habet semper quicum sit, & omnia circum  
 Farra libens volitet, serò sua tecta revisens,  
 Quem si fors letho objecit, seu milvus adunco  
 Fata tulit rostro, seu stravìt arundine fossor,  
 Protinus ille alium socio petit inde volatu.

(The lowly sparrow always has some one with whom to spend his days, gladly, with whom to fly gladly about all the heaps of spelt, visiting again, late, his own shelter: but if chance has done this mate to death—mayhap a kite by its curved beak has brought to it its fate, or perchance a ditcher has laid it low with his shaft—straightway the sparrow, flying from the spot, seeks another to be his comrade.)

In the following simile the fact that Castiglione's idea is the exact opposite of Milton's does not necessarily affect its significance as a possible source of inspiration. Iollas' sorrow is compared to the nightingale's (8-15):

Aut qualis sociâ viduatus compare turtur,  
 Quam procul incautam quercu speculatus ab altâ  
 Immitis calamo pastor dejecit acuto:  
 Non viridi sedit ramo, non gramine laeto,  
 Non vitrei dulcem libavit fluminis undam,  
 Sed gemitu amissos tantum testatus amores,  
 Languidulus moestis complet nemora alta querelis.<sup>30</sup>

(Or like the turtle bereft of his mate which a cruel shepherd has spied incautious and with sharp reed has brought down from lofty oak. Resting neither on the verdant bough nor on the glad turf beneath, nor drinking the sweet water of the glassy stream, with his sighs bearing witness only to lost loves, feebly he fills the high groves with mournful complaints.)

Milton's contrast ends with the bitter reflection (109-111):

Aut si sors dederit tandem non aspera votis,  
 Illum inopina dies quâ non speraveris horâ  
 Surripit, aeternum linquens in saecula damnum.

(Or, if fortune, no longer harsh, at last vouchsafes one to our prayers, him some day, in an hour wherein one expects it not, steals from us, leaving us loss, everlasting, on into the [endless] ages.)

<sup>30</sup> The passage is derived from Virgil's famous simile in the *Georgics*, iv, 511-515: "Qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra Amissos queritur fletus," etc.

Had Milton adopted the conventional, he would have supplemented this passage by contrasting human mortality with the immortality of Nature's cyclic course.<sup>31</sup> In both *Lycidas* and the Latin elegy, he has avoided direct imitation of this common practice. But the foregoing lines from the *Epitaphium* provide a near approach, and *Lycidas* betrays the influence, not of the idea, but of a feature in Castiglione's elaboration of it. The lines from *Alcon* are conventional except in the description of the sun (57-62):

Adspice, decedens jam Sol declivis Olympo  
Occidit,<sup>32</sup> & moriens accendit sidera coelo;  
Sed tamen occiduo cum laverit aequore currus,  
Idem iterum terras orienti luce reviset.  
Ast ubi nigra semel durae nos flumina mortis,  
Lavere, etc.<sup>33</sup>

(Lo, the declining sun sloping in the heavens is setting, and dying kindles the stars in the sky; but when he has bathed his wheels in the western wave, yet again the lands with orient light will he revisit. But when once we have bathed in the black waters of cruel death, etc.)

Rejecting this mournful sentiment, Milton may yet have remembered Castiglione's graceful hexameters in the lines introducing the joyful close in *Lycidas* (168-172):

So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,  
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,  
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore  
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky:  
So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high.<sup>34</sup>

4. Disregarding usual conventions, Milton and Castiglione genuinely mourn their absence from their dying friends; this in turn leads to an account of Rome. Aside from its two digressions, on poetic aspirations and on the cups, this part of the *Epitaphium* offers interesting parallels with the earlier poem. Milton's passage begins (113):

<sup>31</sup> For the extensive use of this contrast in poetry from Moschus to modern times, cf. present writer, "Spenser and the Earlier Pastoral Elegy," *Texas Studies in English*, XIII (1933), 37-41.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Lyc.* 31, "Towards heaven's descent had sloped his westering wheel." Cf. further 190, "And now the sun had stretched out all the hills," with which Hanford, *op. cit.*, p. 423, cites Virg. *Ec.* I, 83, "Majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae."

<sup>33</sup> Similar passages occur in Catullus V, 4-6 and in Sannazaro, *Arc.*, *Ec.* XI, 61-63.

<sup>34</sup> In a note, which subsequently came to the present writer's attention, Norlin, *op. cit.*, p. 307, n. 1, quotes Mustard's observation that Castiglione's passage "will remind the English reader of the splendid passage in *Lycidas* about the Day-star and the ocean bed."

Heu quis me ignotas traxit vagus error in oras.

(Alas! what vagrant wandering drove me to go to stranger shores.)

Castiglione's corresponding line (83):

Heu male me ira Deûm patriis abduxit ab oris!

(Alas! in an evil hour the wrath of the gods parted me from my native shores!)

Momentarily Milton regrets his eagerness to view Rome (115-117):

Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam?<sup>35</sup>  
Quamvis illa foret, qualem dum viseret olim,  
Tityrus ipse suas & oves & ruia reliquit.

(Was there anything worth its cost in the sight of buried Rome?—[would there have been], even if she were as splendid as in the days when Tityrus went to see her, leaving the while his sheep and his country-side.)

Castiglione, in Rome, eagerly anticipates his friend's coming (122-125):

Hic redolens sacros primaevae gentis honores  
Perluit antiquas Tiberis decora alta ruinas.  
Hic umbrae nemorum, hic fontes, hic frigida Tempe,<sup>36</sup>  
Formosum hic pastor Corydon cantavit Alexin.<sup>37</sup>

(Here the Tiber, replete with hallowed glories of that age-old people, washes ancient ruins, lofty ornaments. Here are woodland shades, here fountains, here a cool vale, here the shepherd Corydon sang his fair Alexis.)

Had he stayed in England, Milton reflects (121-122):

Ah certè extremùm licuisset tangere dextram,  
Et bene compositos placidè morientis ocellos.

(Ah! I might at least have been privileged to touch for the last time your hand, and your dear eyes, decently composed as you died in peace.)

Similarly Castiglione (84-86):

Ne manibus premerem morientia lumina amici,  
Aut abeuntis adhuc supremum animae halitum in auras  
Exciperem ore meo, gelidis atque oscula labris.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Masson, *op. cit.*, II, 90, cites *Virg. Ec.* I, 26, where Meliboeus asks Tityrus, "Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?" Obviously Milton and Castiglione recall this eclogue, in which Virgil recounts his visit to Rome in the interests of his property.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Epil.* 71-72: "Hic gelidi fontes, hic illita gramina musco, Hic Zephiri, hic placidas interstrepit arbutus undas." Both poets here follow *Virg. Ec.* x, 42-43: "Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori. Hic nemus." <sup>37</sup> A paraphrase of *Virg. Ec.* II, 1 and v, 86.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Spenser's *Astrophel* 137-138, "Whilst none is nigh, thine eylds up to close, And kisse thy lips like faded leaves of rose."

(That I should not with my hands close the dying eyes of my friend, nor with my lips catch the last breath of his spirit as it was departing into thin air, nor receive the kisses from his cold lips.)

Absent from Diodati and ignorant of his death, Milton dreams of their future companionship (142, 145-146):

Ah quoties dixi, cùm te cinis ater habebat,<sup>39</sup>  
 . . . . .  
 Et quae tum facili sperabam mente futura  
 Arripui voto levis, & praesentia finxi.

(Ah! How many times I said, even when the black ashes possessed you, . . . And what then I, with complaisant mind, hoped would come to pass, I lightly forestalled in my prayers, and I portrayed it as already present.)

Castiglione, too, gives place to actual thoughts of Falcone in the passage beginning (103-4):

Quin etiam, sortis durae ignarusque malorum,  
 Vana mihi incassum fingebam somnia demens.

(Yea rather, unaware of his cruel lot and tragic fate, in vain was I fondly contriving idle dreams.)

And the close of his digression Milton denotes by the metaphor (180):

Haec tibi servabam lentâ sub cortice lauri.

(All these [plans and dreams] I was guarding jealously for you, Damon, under the pliant bark of the laurel.)

With similar phrasing Castiglione ends his digression (130):

Haec ego fingebam miser ab spe ductus inani.

(These things I was contriving, wretched man led by vain hope )

Structurally the passages correspond, and there is a slight verbal similarity. The digressions themselves, intimately revealing in both poems, have little in common. As the two friends lie in the murmuring shade, Damon will discourse about his healing herbs and juices, Thyrsis will tell his poetical plans. In the other poem Iollas looks forward to the companionship of Alcon, to those quiet times when "tandem optato laeti sermone fruemur" (112).

A survey of the foregoing parallels between *Alcon* and the *Epitaphium* makes it desirable to regain a proper perspective of Milton's elegy. *Alcon* rises far above the level of contemporary Latin pastorals in grace-

<sup>39</sup> For the clause Jerram cites Virg. *Aen.* iv, 633, "Namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat."

ful Virgilian movement and in emotional sincerity which outshine the banalities of the genre. And these qualities among others appear to have impressed Milton, who in his tribute to Diodati again resorted to the poem. Milton deliberately employed the pastoral as a medium, but he rejected much of its machinery. The comparison of his elegy with Castiglione's evinces not only Milton's superior taste but his method of transforming an original. Whatever its models, the *Epitaphium* remains a peculiarly intimate revelation of the author, a biographical record of Milton at thirty-two. Particularly does the poem reveal an increasing sense of disillusionment, to which recently Professor Grierson has referred,<sup>40</sup> as the youthful idealist is faced with a sudden reality.

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<sup>40</sup> *The Poems of John Milton* (London, 1925), p. vi.



## GAUDENTIO DI LUCCA: A FORGOTTEN UTOPIA

SOMETHING of a literary sensation in its day (1737), as well as a mystification, *Gaudentio di Lucca* has fallen into a state of progressive neglect that threatens to become oblivion. Students of utopian schemes of social organization seem to have forgotten its existence. Recent historians have either ignored it entirely or have accorded it only cursory attention. "Interesting from a certain oddity and air of 'key' about it rather than from much merit as literature," is the verdict of Professor Saintsbury;<sup>1</sup> while Professor Elton concedes that its author had some invention and color, and that his "'news from nowhere, 'unlike many fictions of the kind, includes adequate police intelligence.'"<sup>2</sup> Compared with the acclaim which once greeted *Gaudentio*, this is faint praise indeed. Said Clara Reeve:<sup>3</sup>

The work of a master . . . Such books cannot be too strongly recommended, as under the guise of fiction they warm the heart with the love of virtue, and by that means, excite the reader to the practice of it. . . . Let me beg you will read *Gaudentio di Lucca*.

Dunlop brackets it with *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver*, and declares that "in the class of *Voyages Imaginaires* no nation of Europe has produced three performances of equal merit."<sup>4</sup> A writer in the *Retrospective Review* is unrestrained in his admiration. He says:<sup>5</sup>

The work is as valuable for the hints thrown out for the improvement of man in his social character and for the softening of too harsh laws, as it is beautiful as a utopian scheme. . . . As a romance it is also worthy of admiration, the incidents being well contrived and agreeably related. In short, it contains such just principles of benevolence, is adorned with so rich and playful a fancy, and is composed in such clear, simple, and unconstrained style, that it has not only our approbation, but our perfect love.

One may so far concur in these ardent opinions as to say of *Gaudentio di Lucca* that it has claims upon the attention of the historical critic. Coming at a time when prose fiction was casting about for its appropriate subject-matter and was still in the experimental stages of its art, *Gaudentio* is almost the only specimen of the novel in English between *Crusoe* and *Gulliver* on the one hand, and *Pamela* on the other. The question of its authorship provoked spirited discussion for a generation

<sup>1</sup> *The English Novel*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *English Literature* (1730-1780), I, 231.

<sup>3</sup> *The Progress of Romance, through Times, Countries and Manners* (New York: Facsimile Text Society, 1930), I, 124.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Fiction*, ed. Wilson, II, 590.

<sup>5</sup> IV, 330.

or more, and it was long associated with one of the great names in the history of modern thought. Finally, its documentary value for the history of ideas in the eighteenth century constitutes a very legitimate claim to consideration.

For a long time many errors were current regarding the date of its first appearance. Clara Reeve gave the date as 1725.<sup>6</sup>

G. Lanson mentions an edition of 1733;<sup>7</sup> while in a prefatory note to the English edition of 1850 the statement is made that the work was first published in 1803.<sup>8</sup> The correct date is, of course, 1737. The advent of *Gaudentio* was announced to the world by the following note which appeared in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of that year, under the heading, "A Register of Books for April:"<sup>9</sup>

The Memoirs of Sig. *Gaudentio di Lucca*: Taken from his Examination before the Fathers of the Inquisition at Bologna, discovering an unknown Country in Africa, as ancient, populous and civilized as the Chinese. Faithfully translated from the Italian, by E. T , Gent. Printed for T. Cooper.

The work found favor almost immediately; and coincident with the growth of interest in the utopian romance came a lively curiosity respecting the identity of its author. In solving the problem, long-range guessing, based upon such internal evidence as the book afforded, was the only means at hand. Gradually, however, the prevailing opinion came to be that a work of such wisdom, gentleness, and humanity could have come from only one man—him to whom Pope ascribed "every virtue under heaven"—and thereafter it was, for many readers, taken quite out of the category of mere romance, and given the rating of a philosophical and moral apologue of great beauty and power. The way in which these associations began to take form is clearly shown in the following letter to the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, written shortly after *Gaudentio* was published:<sup>10</sup>

Mr. Urban,

The other Day as I was amusing Myself in a Bookseller's Shop, I chanced to take up a small Piece lately publish'd intitled *Memoirs of Signior Gaudentio di Lucca, discovering an unknown Country in Africa, as ancient, populous and civiliz'd as the Chinese*, etc. I must confess I took it up with the natural Prejudice serious Readers have to the romantick Kind. . . I read on; from a Trifle it became a beautiful Fiction, then a sublime Allegory. . . His new discovered People are such as Nations might be supposed to be, who had retained in their

<sup>6</sup> *Progress of Romance*, I, 124.

<sup>7</sup> *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature moderne*, p. 582.

<sup>8</sup> *The Adventures of Gaudentio di Lucca* (London: Chas Gilpin, 1850).

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*, VII, 257.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*, VII, 317.

Purity (except some few natural Deviations, thro' length of Time) the original Ideas of the Arts, Manners, Religion and Government of the first Men in the Infancy of the World. . . . I should have been very glad to have seen the Author's Name prefix'd to it; however, am of Opinion that it is very nearly related to no less a Hand than that which has so often, under borrowed Names, employ'd itself to amuse and trifle Mankind, in their own Taste, out of their Folly and Vices.

Yours,  
C. H

It was commonly, and no doubt rightly, understood that this correspondent's conjectures pointed to Bishop Berkeley. The great cleric's interest in all benevolent and meliorative enterprises was well known. His philanthropic and missionary ventures in America had been a recent topic of public and private discussion. Thwarted in his endeavor to realize his dream of a new golden age in the lands beyond the Atlantic, the argument ran, he had fashioned in his thought the happy land of the Mezzoranians amid the deserts of Africa. Besides the general correspondence between the ideal polity of Mezzorania and the expressed views of Berkeley, there were certain matters of detail that seemed to support the theory of Berkeleian authorship. For example, architecture, especially that of public buildings, which is so conspicuous a feature of *Gaudentio*, was known to be one of Berkeley's enthusiasms. Again, the life-long war which he had carried on against the deists and the disciples of Hobbes and Mandeville was continued in the novel. Finally, it was asserted that the manner of the author of *Gaudentio* strongly resembled that of Berkeley. That the philosophical and clerical character did not, in his case, preclude the ability to trifle gracefully, all would agree. In all his writings he had shown a fondness for the Socratic kind of levity, and from his contributions to the *Guardian* onwards, he had preferred, "under borrowed names—to amuse and trifle mankind out of their folly and vices."<sup>11</sup>

While direct evidence to prove Berkeley's authorship was lacking, no evidence of any kind in support of the contrary was offered, and so the matter ceased to excite interest. Some forty years later, however, upon the appearance of Bishop Stock's *Life of Berkeley*, the question was again opened; and Dr. Kippis, in connection with his researches for the *Biographica Britannica*, expressed doubt that the work had been correctly attributed to Berkeley. At this time came the first denial from any authoritative source that he was its author. A contributor to the *Gentlemen's Magazine* writes in part as follows:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> For an elaborate argument in support of Berkeley's authorship see *The Retrospective Review*, iv. 332 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Loc. cit.*, I, 125.

Dr. Kippis thinks that Gaudentio di Lucca might come from the pen of "Dr. Berkeley." In answer these are the words of his son the present Dr. George Berkeley: "Gaudentio di Lucca was *not* written by my father, nor did he see the book, untill I was a well grown lad; and he never read it, but only twirled over some of the leaves."

Five years later this negative assertion was supplemented by the following positive statement from another contributor to the same periodical:<sup>13</sup>

Mr Urban,

Reading in your last Magazine the review of Clara Reeve's book on romances, I find the Adventures of *Gaudentio di Lucca* and Bp Berkeley's title to it as the author, very properly introduced, and as I do not recollect ever seeing the name of the real author mentioned, it may gratify many of your readers to be informed who was the real author of this book, which hath had the honour of being attributed to the amiable Berkeley. This I can do on very good authority. His name was Barrington (*sic*), a Catholic priest. . . . Mr. Barrington wrote it for amusement in a fit of the gout . . .

Yours, etc.,  
W. H.

Either the "good authority" upon which this statement was made was not fully credited, or the information failed to gain currency; for fifty years later the question was still regarded as unsettled, with the weight of evidence pointing strongly to Berkeley. The correspondent's information was substantially correct, however. *Gaudentio di Lucca* is the work of Simon Berington,<sup>14</sup> member of a well-known English Catholic family,

<sup>13</sup> *Loc cit.*, iv, 757.

<sup>14</sup> The impression left by Berington upon his age is by no means commensurate with his learning and abilities. The following details as to his life and activities are ascertainable: Simon Berington, son of Mr. John Berington, of Winsley, County Hereford, and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Wolryche, was born January 16 (o s), 1679. Like several other members of the family, he was educated at the English College at Douay, taking his degree in divinity in 1704. For twelve years following his graduation he was Professor of Poetry and Philosophy in his alma mater. His earliest published work, a laudatory poem "To His Most Excellent Majesty, James III, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of this Faith," etc, describes him as "Priest and Present Professor of Poetry in the English College at Douay." He returned to England in 1716, and began service upon the mission, succeeding his cousin Thomas Berington at St. Thomas's, near Stafford, in 1720. At some undetermined date he assumed charge of the clergy library for Catholics, at Gray's Inn, and died in his chambers there in 1755. Two members of his family, Bishop Charles Berington (1748-88), a cousin and Dr. Joseph Berington (1746-1827), a nephew, were able and influential men, and leaders in the movement toward liberalism which stirred English Catholics during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The list of Simon Berington's published writings is a long one, though it contains mostly works of pamphlet dimensions. A considerable number of his unpublished manuscripts

and kinsman of the better known Dr. Joseph Berington, author of *A Literary History of the Middle Ages*. Why the true author never saw fit to acknowledge his work must remain his own secret. He lived eighteen years beyond the date of its first appearance. Possibly he regarded the warmth of the purely romantic element as out of keeping with the gravity of the clerical character—a consideration which might also have strengthened the doubt of Berkeley's authorship.

It is a question whether the dissociation of the great name of Berkeley from *Gaudentio* does not mark the beginning of the decline from its once high estate. With the great Christian idealist as its supposed sponsor, it attained to a rank and dignity comparable to that of the *Republic* of Plato, the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, and the *New Atlantis* of Lord Bacon. But a work emanating from a mere obscure priest could not readily justify such lofty pretensions. Discerning readers, however, must have perceived in *Gaudentio* elements and purposes wholly foreign to its eminent prototypes. In the long interval separating More and Bacon from Simon Berington voyagers and explorers had awakened a strong popular interest in the far places of the earth—in races and peoples, manners, customs, flora, fauna, in the changes and chances of foreign travel, in all the concrete facts and experiences of life in remote regions. This interest Berington undertook to satisfy. The earlier utopias lacked concreteness. In fact, they can hardly be said to exist in an objective sense, but only as abstractions. Berington's Mezzorania, on the other hand, is as real as Mexico and Peru; and integrated with his philosophy and social theory is a narrative that runs the whole gamut from idyllic romance to luscious intrigue and bloody adventure. Nevertheless, as a social and moral philosopher, Berington can stand upon his own merits, and the early appraisal of his work which saw in it the reflection of a wise, humane, and generous spirit does not have to be seriously discounted.

What, precisely, did this moral and social system include, which was so highly regarded that only the greatest philosopher and the most enlightened humanitarian of the age seemed equal to it? The answer to

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yet remain in the Chapter archives. His erudition is said to have been most impressive, and the range of his reading astonishingly wide. One of his books, *Dissertations on the Mosaical Creation, Deluge, Building of Babel and Confusion of Tongues*, is especially interesting in connection with *Gaudentio di Lucca*, as indicating the origin of the elaborate annotation supplied by "the learned Signor Rhedi." The sources of information concerning Berington are Burke, *Landed Gentry of Great Britain*, Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century*, Milner, *Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics*, and Chas. Butler, *An Account of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Alban Butler* (London, 1799).

this question is embraced in Gaudentio's narrative before the Holy Inquisition at Bologna, which is in outline as follows:

Through the expedients of conventional romance the narrator finds himself in the heart of Central Africa, in a vast and beautiful country, shut in by mountains and deserts, and as completely sundered from the rest of the world as if it were a part of the moon. No stranger has ever set foot upon its soil or even so much as suspected its existence. Yet the splendor of its civilization surpasses anything that Europe or Asia can boast. Majestic cities rise beside its broad rivers, stately temples crown its hills; and a numerous and happy people bear witness to the character of its institutions and its laws. With astonishment Gaudentio learns its history. Three thousand years ago the ancestors of these people were living in a state of primitive innocence and happiness in a section of the world since called Egypt. A fearful calamity befell them when their land was invaded by savage Hyksos, or Shepherds Kings, from the East. Their religion forbidding them to shed human blood, they were defenseless before their ruthless enemies, and had to choose between death and slavery, or else seek refuge in flight. They chose the latter. One patriarch, taking his family of five sons and five daughters, sought refuge in the inhospitable deserts. A kind fate conducted them to the marvelous country which has since been their home, and which they call Mezzorania, in memory of Misraim, the ancient name of Egypt. The land bore no mark of human occupation, and so no conquest was necessary. The whole vast domain seemed to have been divinely appointed as an asylum for these gentle and innocent children of nature. Behind their natural barriers of mountain and desert they have lived for almost three thousand years, knowing neither war nor invasion; expanding in utter purity of race, holding no commerce with the world and hence escaping the contamination of its vices. Their religion, their laws, and all their institutions are the dictates of nature and pure reason. They worship the sun, as the minister of that inscrutable power upon which their lives depend. Their laws are merely the first principles of natural justice. All their civil polity is but the application to a nation—literally one in blood—of the natural ties that unite the family. At the head of all is the Grand Pophar—prince-priest and patriarch by virtue of direct descent through primogeniture from the original founder of the state. He administers for the common good, in all things temporal and spiritual. The whole country is divided into five districts, or nomes, corresponding to the five sons of the original Pophar, with the hierarchy resting upon the principle of eldership from the Grand Pophar down to the head of each household. "In a word the whole country is one great family, governed by the laws of nature. . . . Every individual looks upon himself as a part of that great family. The Grand Pophar is the common father, esteeming all the rest as children and brothers, calling them universally by that name, as they call one another brothers, bartering and exchanging their commodities as one brother would do with another" (p. 183).

Gaudentio was welcomed into the national family, was ultimately married to the Pophar Regent's daughter, and for many years lived a life of radiant happiness in this paradise of utopias. At last, his family having died, he yielded

to the desire to end his days in a Christian land, and returned to Italy. Here some unguarded remarks touching his extraordinary experiences aroused the suspicions of the Holy Inquisition, and he was haled before the Reverend Fathers to give an account of himself.

In its general outlines this seems to be merely another utopia, unique in some respects, perhaps, but reproducing all the essential features of the type. On closer examination, however, it is found to be a document of considerable significance for the historian of ideas. The current of history brought to the social theorizer of the eighteenth century something more than the fixed utopian tradition. The two hundred years that separate More and Berington had seen the accumulation of much new knowledge. Europeans had come in contact with strange peoples, living under unfamiliar forms of government and social organization, in all parts of the world. Rumors had long been current, too, of lands beyond the seas where the dream of social brotherhood had been realized, where the primitive innocence of human nature remained uncorrupted, where wealth and poverty were both unknown, where government was administered in the interest of all alike, where laws were simply the first principles of natural justice, and religion the expression of the in-born impulse to worship and revere. The effect of this strain of thought upon the history of ideas in Europe is well known. In the realm of religion and morals it gave rise to deism; in the history of social and political theory it developed into the body of doctrine embraced by the school of Rousseau. The utopian tradition lent itself readily to the dissemination of these ideas. After the age of discovery and exploration had greatly excited popular curiosity regarding the manners and customs of remote peoples, it was easy to turn this interest to the service of propaganda. The strange accounts of actual travelers suggested the form, and the fertile imagination of enthusiasts supplied the matter, for many experiments in ideal statecraft.

It is the utopian tradition thus modified and expanded that animates the social organism of Berington's Mezzorania. To his experiment in social and political architectonics he brought a wide acquaintance with world literature, ancient and modern. His reading had familiarized him with what, at the time, passed for the established historical account of the nations and peoples of antiquity, and the patriarchal simplicity of their civilization. In the lore of ancient Egypt there was the tradition of a gentle, non-military people, living under a paternal government, practising a natural religion of great purity, and attaining a far more humane and enlightened plane of living than any other people in the world at that time. Upon this tradition, as reported by Manetho, Berington engrafted his story of the Mezzoraniens, and thereby gave

his social and philosophic ideas "a local habitation and a name." The ideas, however, owe little or nothing to antiquity. In origin they are modern and western.

Berington's utopianism, like so much else in the life of his century, is a product of the combined influence of two forces—rationalism and sentimentalism. The first of these had its origin in the naturalistic impulsion communicated to European thought by such men as Telesius and Bruno, Bacon and Campanella. Nature, according to this view, was simply the inexorable order of things as determined by immutable law. By the study of phenomena man might learn this law, and use the knowledge thus gained to his own infinite profit. But to ignore nature's plain manifestations was by choice to walk in the dark, and to attempt to go in opposition to them was to court utter disaster. It was as important that man find and follow nature's order in one department of life as in another. Government and society come under natural law no less than physics. Utopian thought was strongly influenced by this variety of naturalism throughout the seventeenth century, and most ideal commonwealths of the period were constructed in accordance with it. The eighteenth-century manifestation known as sentimentalism changed this conception completely. Nature, instead of being merely a rationalistic scheme of things—abstract, impersonal, and coldly indifferent to man as an individual—came to be conceived of as a divine order which included not only the ultimate wisdom but the ultimate good—an active, beneficent influence upon the individual life, a sort of guide, counsellor, and friend of man, if he would but hearken to her teachings. It is the lofty, if naïve, idealism engendered by this conception which constitutes the animating principle of Berington's experiment in utopian statecraft. In utter singleness of heart man goes to nature for light and guidance; she gives him a religion of absolute purity, a moral code of elevated simplicity, and a political and social system of excellence superlative.

The Edenic quality imparted to the Mezzoranian civilization as a result of this infusion of sentiment tends to obscure, somewhat, its historical affiliations among utopias. The line of its descent, however, is clear. Divested of its romantic drapery, it is seen to bear a striking resemblance to the more prosaic and rationally conceived commonwealths of the seventeenth century. Among these, its closest affiliates are found in *The Royal Commentaries of Peru* of Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Civitas Solis* of Tommaso Campanella, and the *Histoire des Sévarambes* of Denis Vairasse d'Alais.

That Berington knew the current account of the Incan civilization is certain. In one of the numerous notes of "Signor Rhedi," which con-



stitute a general commentary upon Gaudenzio's narrative, a parallel is drawn between the social usages of the Incas and those of the Mezzoransians. The story of the Incas is one of the earliest sources from which purely rational ideas on society and religion entered the stream of European thought. It is not a utopian romance, but purports to be a faithful account of a highly successful naturalistic system of law, government, and religion in operation among the Indians of Peru at the time of the Spanish conquest. Its author, Garcilaso de la Vega, was himself the offspring of a Spanish soldier and a princess of the Inca line. His *Comentarios reales que tratan del origen de los Incas* and *Historia general del Peru* appeared early in the seventeenth century and by 1700 had become well known in Europe.<sup>15</sup>

The similarity in general outline as well as in detail between Mezzorania and the civilization of the Incas is marked. The civil government of both is paternalistic, and the animating spirit of the whole social system in both countries is that of benevolence and altruism. Mezzorania is "a kingdom of brothers and friends, no man having the least suspicion or fear of another" (p. 203); and "all the law of Meum and Tuum is that 'Thou shalt do no wrong to any one'." (p. 173). The Inca carefully instructed his people in "the rules of Friendship and Brotherhood as the Laws of Nature and Reason dictated" (I, xii, 17). Obviously, under such a system political theory is reduced to its lowest terms. No warrant for a fine-spun theory of the state in its relation to the individual is found in natural law. What nature exemplifies and sanctions is a frank subordination to eldership—the obligation of parent to offspring—and the identity of interest between all members of the family-state. In both countries the administration of government is intrusted only to those who have given evidence of moral and intellectual capacity above their fellows. In Peru, "when any one was more gentle, affable, pious, ingenious, and more zealous for the public good than others, he was presently advanced to government" (I, xii, 18). In Mezzorania, "those who give indications of more wisdom and prudence in their conduct than others, are marked out for governors, and gradually raised according to their merit" (p. 187).

The national religion of both the Incas and the Mezzoransians, like their civil polity, is dictated by natural reason.<sup>16</sup> The one understandable

<sup>15</sup> References in this article are to the English translation, *The Royal Commentaries of Peru*. Written originally in Spanish and done into English by Sir Paul Rycaut, Kt. (London, 1688).

<sup>16</sup> The deistical character of the religion of the Incas, as well as the paternalism of their government, is discussed by Geoffrey Atkinson, *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature*, pp. 20 ff.

cause from which all things proceed is the generative force in nature. The immediate manifestation of this force is in parenthood; the more remote, they conceive to be the sun. Two principles therefore animate their religion: veneration for ancestors and worship of the sun. "Our Father the Sun," ran the Peruvian tradition, "sent a Son and Daughter of his own from Heaven to Earth, to instruct our people . . . that they might conform their lives like men of Reason and Civility" (I, vii, 12). Thus originated the first of the Incas. The Mezzoranzians assign a similar celestial origin for the founder of their race, and find warrant for the worship of the sun in the same course of deistical reasoning. The necessity of a prior First Cause is, however, recognized by both. "Besides the Sun, the Incas. . . proceeded by the mere light of Nature to a knowledge of the True Almighty God . . . which they called by the name of Pachacamac; . . . but because they did not see him, they could not know him; for that reason they erected not temples to him; however they worshiped in their hearts and esteemed him for the unknown God" (II, ii, 29). The Mezzoranzians also have "The Unknown God" whose existence they establish by inference. Besides the sun, to whom only they offer prayers and erect temples, they "acknowledge one supreme God, maker of all things, whom they call El, or the Most High. This they say natural reason teaches them" (p. 59).

It might be supposed that, since *Gaudentio* is an engraftment upon an ancient Egyptian legend, the Mezzoranzian religious system was an extension of the worship of the sun-god Ra. On the contrary, it is essentially the deistical theology promulgated by European rationalism and bears little resemblance to the chaotic pantheism of the ancient Egyptians.

Conspicuous also among the sources that supplied material for Simon Berington's experiment in ideal statecraft is the work of his co-religionist and fellow-dreamer, Tommaso Campanella. It would of course be too much to assert that the story of *Gaudentio di Lucca* was suggested by the misfortunes of Campanella, though it is perhaps not purely a coincidence that the occasion of Gaudentio's narrative is a situation exactly parallel to that of Campanella during the period of his first imprisonment: his papers and all personal effects having been seized, he is haled before the Inquisition to answer charges of unlawful practices and beliefs. It was not, however, the personal career, but the ideas, of Campanella which mainly influenced Berington. The *Civitas Solis* is the first of the true utopian romances to show strongly the influence of naturalistic influences in the formation of a civil and religious polity. A follower of Telesius, Campanella repudiated the traditional methods of philosophy, and declared nature to be the sole arbiter of truth. "He

who fears contradiction from things of nature," he says, "is conscious of his own falseness." The jargon-logic of the schoolmen he sought to replace with a system of logic based upon natural law. His conception was not, however, the "system of nature" of the eighteenth century revolutionary philosophers. Though a friend of individual liberty, he speaks not so much of natural "rights" as of natural duties, obligations, opportunities. Nevertheless, he found in nature warrant for his dream of universal brotherhood and a universal religion founded upon the natural and obvious teachings of Holy Scriptures.

The direct appeal to nature and reason as the warrant for their utopian theories puts Berington and Campanella in the same category as social philosophers, and suggests that their ideal states would have many characteristics in common. Such is the case. The similarity in spirit of the social, economic, and political life of these two utopias is very marked. Both have successfully grappled with the problem of social unity, and have solved it in the same way—by eliminating from the communal life everything that makes for class distinction. Individual aggrandizement of every kind is frowned upon. The glory of the state is the consuming passion of all the citizenry. That the individual may not be without incentive to exert himself for the common good, a system of public honors—eulogies, banquets, wreaths, and statues—is used with preëminent success in both countries. The education of all children, "without any distinction except personal merit," is the care of the state. Nature rather than books, and objects, instead of words, constitute the staple of education. Public officials are chosen only from those who have distinguished themselves in the pursuit of the "sublime sciences." The honor in which agriculture is held, the scorn of trade and commerce, the uniformity of dress, the serving of the old by the young, the strict regulation of the details of daily life—all these matters are set forth with the utmost emphasis, and often with a striking parallelism in language, as constituting the staple of life in both Mezzorania and the City of the Sun.

The religious systems of the two commonwealths are so much alike as, at first sight, to seem identical. Closer examination, however, reveals very significant differences. The prominence of the sun in each system is perhaps the most arresting feature. Among the Mezzoranians it is the object to which all adoration is paid and all prayers addressed. In Campanella's system, on the other hand, worship is accorded only to God—a metaphysical conception of the Christian deity—and the prominence given the sun and the other heavenly bodies is due in part to Campanella's interest in astrology, but mainly to his passionate belief that theology, like all else in life, must rest upon nature.

A direct borrowing of rather large proportions is seen in Berington's appropriation of Campanella's plan of the solar city, together with the magnificent temple, which is its physical, as well as its spiritual center. The emphasis upon physical order, cleanliness, and sanitation as characteristics of utopian life begins with Sir Thomas More. Campanella is the first to lay out his city according to an elaborate geometrical design, and in this Berington follows him closely. The City of the Sun consists of seven concentric circular walls, the largest being more than seven miles in circumference. Attached to these walls, as if they constituted one continuous range of buildings, are the residential halls and other structures necessary in the life of the city. At the geometrical center of the city stands the temple, a marvel of beauty and splendor. Berington alters these general features of Campanella's solar city only in the direction of further elaboration. His capital city of Phor is a series of concentric circles with the temple as a center. The number of these circular ranges of buildings is not restricted to seven, however, as with Campanella, but is determined by the number of people to be accommodated with residences. His Temple of the Sun is almost an exact reproduction of the great solarian fane conceived by Campanella.

Along with these numerous and striking parallels in the ideal civilizations conceived by Berington and Campanella are differences which leave them widely asunder. In the first place, Campanella, following Plato, rejects the family in his effort after social unity, and insists that all union between the sexes shall regard only the good of the race. Berington follows Sir Thomas More in holding the family to be the most sacred and natural of human institutions and the one cohesive force without which society cannot exist. He succeeds in the difficult task of harmonizing its claims with a system of state-controlled property, without heritage, and a form of communized domestic life. Indeed, with Berington the family is the pattern of the perfect state in miniature, and the state only one great family. Again, the City of the Sun wages offensive and defensive war, even the women being trained for military service. Campanella entertained no illusions that his dream of a world united under one government and one religion could be realized by merely pacific means. The Mezzoraniens, on the other hand, abhor all violence, and refuse to shed blood even as a punishment for crime. Finally, Campanella looked to the future, and envisaged a world made over by the cooperation of man with nature, and the improvement of the race through eugenics, while Berington's "return to nature" followed a romantic path back to the primitive innocence of a traditional golden age in the history of man.

The precise extent of Berington's obligation the *Histoire des Séver-*

*ambes*,<sup>17</sup> of Denis Vairasse, is not easily determined. Most of the numerous parallels between them are found in either Garcilaso or Campanella, or in both, and might have reached Berginton without the intermediation of Vairasse. But whatever their origin, among the common characteristics are a political system with strongly marked paternalistic features, a rational religion founded upon sun-worship, state socialization of all goods and possessions, a form of communal domestic life, and a system of public honors in recognition of services rendered the state. Some of these are, of course, conventional features of all utopias. What is significant here is their combination into a civil and religious polity which is held to be the direct transcript and legacy of nature to man.

Now and then we find Vairasse and Berington emphasizing details which Garcilaso and Campanella pass over lightly or omit altogether. For example, both say much of the physical perfection of their respective utopians. The Mezzoraniens, according to Berington, "are the handsomest race of people this day in the universe" (p. 132). "The men are universally well-shaped, tall and slender, except through some accidental deformity, which is very rare" (p. 153). Through their temperance, scorn of idleness, and love of athletic exercise "comes that strength of body and mind in their men, and modest blooming beauty of their women; so that among this people nature seems to have kept up its primitive and original perfection" (p. 189). The Severambians are equally favored by nature: "des Hommes et des Femmes d'une taille extraordinaire, mais—d'ailleurs fort bien faits, et de plus, fort doux et fort traitables" (I, 227). We learn further that "ils sont fort robustes et jouissent d'une grande sante pour la plupart, ce qui vient en partie de leur naissance, et de la manière de vivre, et en partie de leur gayeté (II, 10). Thanks to a perfect social system, "ils n'ont ni souci, ni avarice; ils ne manquent jamais de rien, et leur plus grand soin est de jouir avec modération des plaisirs légitimes de la vie" (II, 11).

One of the chief problems of the Mezzoranian government was, as we have seen, to guard themselves against contamination by contact with the world and its vices, and at the same time to avoid the stagnation which comes of complete isolation. The Severambians were confronted with the same dilemma, and met it in the same way. Their law-giver, Sévarias,

leur recommanda l'innocence des mœurs, et leur ordonna de n'avoir point de

<sup>17</sup> *Histoire des Séverambes, peuples qui habitent une partie du troisieme continent appelé Terre Australe* (Paris, 1677-79).—References in this article are to the Amsterdam edition of 1716.

commerce avec les Nations de l'autre Continent, de puer que leurs vices ne corrompissent aussi les Sévarambes. Cependant comme parmy les hommes vicieux on voit souvent briller de grandes vertus, soit dans la Politique, soit dans les Sciences ou dans les Arts; Sévarias trouva qu'il n'étoit pas avantageux, fuyant leur vices, de mépriser leurs vertus, et de négliger les bons exemples, et les belles inventions qu'on peut tirer des Chinois, et des autres peuples, [and so he directed them] voyager dans les autres Pais, pour remarquer tout ce qu'il y avoit de considerable, afinque de toutes ces remarques on en pût tirer ce qu'il y auroit de bon et de propre a l'usage de notre Nation (I, 169).

Lest the inhabitants of these happy lands cease to be human in their approach to perfection, they are endowed with certain weaknesses. Of the Mezzorandians, it is said that the love of glory and praise seems to be their greatest passion. Besides:

Their wise governors have such ways of stirring up their emulation by public honours, harangues, and panegyrics . . . that were it not for that fraternal love ingrafted in them from their infancy, they would be in danger of raising their emulation to too great a height" (p. 187).

The Severambians betray the same human frailty:

Ils sont fort amoureux des louanges, et lorsque quelqu' un de leurs Magistrats les loue de s'être bien acquitez de leur devoir, ou d'avoir fait quelque action genereuse, ils en sont plus contens que nous ne le sommes quand on nous fait de riches presens (II, 5-6).

We are told at great length how the authorities in Mezzorandia, through education and supervision, corrected a dangerous propensity to amorosness on the part of its young people. Of the Severambians we hear that

les vices où ils sont naturellement les plus inclins, sont l'amour et la vengeance; mais les Loix remédient aux excès du premier, en ordonnant le Mariage à la jeunesse dès qu'elle est capable de cette passion; et pour l'autre, leur éducation la corrige beaucoup (II, 9).

Despite this similarity in external, or mechanical features, the two utopias differ radically in spirit. Vairasse's system brings to a culmination the rationalizing drift of utopian theory which dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century. No touch of poetry or generous idealism animates it. Though its citizens are said to be virtuous and happy, we cannot help feeling that theirs is a mere prudential virtue and a very unspiritual happiness. Of the nobler impulses of human nature Vairasse seems to have had little conception. The loftiest moral precept inculcated is that of temperance. The whole of life is left to the direction of a cold, passionless logic suggestive of Bentham and Mill.

The question which is likely to persist with most readers of *Gaudentio di Lucca* is, whether it was intended to serve some ulterior purpose, and, if so, what that purpose was? Professor Saintsbury thought he detected a suggestion of "key" about the book, whereas the correspondent of the *Gentlemen's Magazine* asserted that it was "written for amusement in a fit of the gout." But this correspondent, who gives no authority for his statement, was writing forty-eight years after the first appearance of *Gaudentio* and thirty years after Simon Berington was laid in his grave. As regards the philosophical and theological ideas advanced by the author, the intention is pretty clear. The strength of his naturalistic arguments is not to be taken as indicating a sympathetic attitude toward the "wretched people who call themselves deists" (p. 260). The episode of the mongrel Englishman who practised the theoretical morality of Hobbes and Mandeville shows his true feelings in this respect.<sup>18</sup> He chose, rather, the familiar strategy of turning the deists' arguments against themselves by setting up the "analogy" between natural and revealed religion.

There is reason for believing, however, that *Gaudentio di Lucca* was intended to serve a cause much nearer the author's heart than that of controverting the arguments of deism. The whole work is the apotheosis of the patriarchal theory of government, along with the corollary principle of strict primogeniture and the proposition that the state is but the family on a vastly greater scale. This view of the origin of civil government once found general favor, especially among writers within the canonical fold. Thus Chrysostom held that "the descent of all men from Adam signifies their subordination to one sovereign." It was upon this view, of course, that the theory of the divine origin and sanction of monarchical authority rested. In practice it involved the maintenance of the strictest line of primogenitary descent from the earliest historically authentic king, who was supposed to inherit directly through Noah from Adam. "It was assumed," Hallam says,—<sup>19</sup>

that a patriarchal authority had been transferred by primogeniture to the heir-general of the human race; so that kingdoms were but enlarged families; and an indefeasible right of monarchy was attached to their natural chief, which, in consequence of the impossibility of discovering him, devolved upon the representative of the first sovereign who could be historically proved to have ruled over any nation.

In England this theory was much in favor among the adherents of the house of Stuart. The argument began to be vigorously asserted early in the reign of James I, and was never abandoned, at least by that

<sup>18</sup> See *Gaud.*, pp. 251 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, III, 158.

section of Jacobite opinion which had its direct affiliations with the church. The nature and scope of the argument thus adduced is strikingly illustrated in the title of a book which appeared in 1604:

*The Genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch, James, By the Grace of God, King of Great Brittain, etc., with his lineal descent from Noah by divers direct lynes to Brutus, first Inhabitant of this Ile of Brittain, and from him to Cadwalader, the last King of the Brittish blood; and from thence, sundry wayes to his Majesty. . . . Where also is handled the worthy descent of his Magesties ancestour, Owen Tudyr, and his affinity with most of the greatest Princes of Christendome. . . . Gathered by George Owen Harry, Parson of Whitcherch in Kemeis.*

It will be recalled that the earliest known work of Simon Berington is an encomiastic poem, "To His Most Excellent Majesty, James III, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," etc. There is no evidence to show that the ardor of this youthful attachment to the house of Stuart cooled with age, though the return of the author to England some years later may have suggested more discretion in its open avowal. Of the twenty-four titles of Berington's surviving work, all suggest the seriousness of his mind and practically all show conclusively that they were dictated by the zeal of the faithful servant of the church. It is difficult to believe that *Gaudentio di Lucca* is nothing more than the diversion of a period of enforced idleness. More probably, it was intended to serve the cause which was permanently lost, eight years after its first appearance, in the abortive efforts of Charles Edward to regain the throne of his fathers.

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## BURNS AND THE SMUGGLER ROSAMOND\*

THE good ship *Rosamond* first appeared in an account of Burns's life in the spring of 1828, when Constable & Co. issued a *Life of Robert Burns*, by J. G. Lockhart, LL.B., as Volume XXIII of their *Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications*. Inevitably Lockhart had based his biography upon Dr. Currie's, which since its appearance in 1800 had run through many editions, and had carried Burns's fame to virtually all parts of the English-speaking world. But Lockhart, working under the eye of his distinguished father-in-law,<sup>1</sup> was not content merely to rehash old material. Though modestly stating that his purpose was "no more than to compress, within the limits of a single small volume, the substance of materials already open to all the world,"<sup>2</sup> he admitted that "little touches of novelty"<sup>3</sup> might be discovered in his narrative, particularly in the chapters dealing with Burns's later years. Robert Chambers, whom Lockhart characterized as a "diligent local antiquary of Edinburgh, to whom I owe many obligations,"<sup>4</sup> had passed on to the biographer whatever he had gleaned from conversation with Burns's surviving acquaintances; William M'Diarmid, editor of the *Dumfries Courier*, had supplied other "particulars";<sup>5</sup> Allan Cunningham, who shared with James Hogg the honor of Lockhart's dedication, was the authority for still more new matter;<sup>6</sup> various unpublished journals and letters were also laid under contribution.<sup>7</sup> The total result was a picture of Burns recognizably like Dr. Currie's, but tricked out with such a wealth of anecdotal novelty that the subscribers to Constable's *Miscellany* must have been well aware that here in truth was an "original" and not merely a "selected" publication. And in this original publication everything concerning the *Rosamond* was new.

The merits of Lockhart's biography as a whole I do not propose to discuss. As the publishers of the Bohn reprint said in 1882, it was "a graceful treatment of his subject";<sup>8</sup> perhaps the adjective may be

\* My thanks are due to Dr. Henry W. Meikle, Librarian of the National Library of Scotland, for courteous assistance in the preparation of this article, and to John Dunlop, Esq., of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, for a large-scale map of the Firth of Solway, based upon surveys made shortly after the capture of the smuggler.

<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. H. W. Meikle, unpublished letters in the National Library of Scotland make it clear that Scott watched Lockhart's work with interest. See *Burns Chronicle* for 1934, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. vi f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109, n.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184, n.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g., ibid.*, p. 230.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* (New York, 1892), p. v.

allowed to stand unchallenged. The story of the *Rosamond*, however, I shall examine in some detail, with the hope of throwing a little new light upon the career of a poet whose excise duties once brought him under the fire of a well-armed crew of twenty-four smugglers. But first, a brief account of what one may call the history of the legend.

I begin with Lockhart's original version:

At that period [1792] a great deal of contraband traffic, chiefly from the Isle of Man, was going on along the coasts of Galloway and Ayrshire, and the whole of the revenue officers from Gttna to Dumfries, were placed under the orders of a superintendent residing in Annan, who exerted himself zealously in intercepting the descent of the smuggling vessels. On the 27th of February, a suspicious-looking brig was discovered in the Solway Frith, and Burns was one of the party whom the superintendent conducted to watch her motions. She got into shallow water the day afterwards, and the officers were enabled to discover that her crew were numerous, armed, and not likely to yield without a struggle. Lewars, a brother exciseman, an intimate friend of our poet, was accordingly sent to Dumfries for a guard of dragoons; the superintendent, Mr. Crawford, proceeded himself on a similar errand to Ecclefechan, and Burns was left with some men under his orders, to watch the brig, and prevent landing or escape. From the private journal of one of the excisemen, (now in my hands,) it appears that Burns manifested considerable impatience while thus occupied, being left for many hours in a wet salt-marsh, with a force which he knew to be inadequate for the purpose it was meant to fulfil. One of his comrades hearing him abuse his friend Lewars in particular, for being slow about his journey, the man answered, that he also wished the devil had him for his pains, and that Burns, in the meantime, would do well to indite a song upon the sluggard: Burns said nothing; but after taking a few strides by himself among the reeds and shingle, rejoined his party, and chanted to them the well-known ditty, *The Deil's run awa' wi' the Exciseman*. Lewars arrived shortly afterwards with his dragoons; and Burns, putting himself at their head, waded, sword in hand, to the brig, and was the first to board her. The crew lost heart, and submitted, though their numbers were greater than those of the assailing force. The vessel was condemned, and, with all her arms and stores, sold by auction next day at Dumfries: upon which occasion, Burns, whose behaviour had been highly commended, thought fit to purchase four carronades, by way of trophy. But his glee went a step farther;—he sent the guns, with a letter, to the French Convention, requesting that body to accept of them as a mark of his admiration and respect. The present, and its accompaniment, were intercepted at the custom-house at Dover; and here, there appears to be little room to doubt, was the principal circumstance that drew on Burns the notice of his jealous superiors.<sup>9</sup>

Thus the tale in its original form—a curious mixture of truth and demonstrable untruth, blended with an indefinite amount of what at present cannot be certainly accepted or rejected.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 218 f.

Six years after Lockhart had thus given publicity to the anecdote of Burns and the *Rosamond*, Allan Cunningham published his life of Burns, and cast the first shadow of doubt on the most picturesque feature of Lockhart's story:

That the smuggler was captured chiefly by the bravery of Burns I have been often told; but I never heard it added that he purchased her guns and sent them to the Directory.<sup>10</sup>

Despite Cunningham's scepticism, the story seems to have been accepted readily enough in all its details. It gave a romantic account of the origin of "The Deil's Awa'"; it explained plausibly—though falsely—Burns's subsequent trouble with the Excise Board; it showed the poet in a dashing rôle in which his admirers were glad to see him. And no one appears to have pressed Lockhart for the documentary evidence underlying his story.

But when Robert Chambers, in 1851-53, published the first life of Burns that made any effective attempt to go behind Currie's returns, he set forth what he knew about Lockhart's possible sources. There were, according to Chambers, who quoted Joseph Train—antiquary, and after 1825 Supervisor of Excise in Castle Douglas—three important documents concerning the *Rosamond* episode: (1) a journal by Crawford, Excise officer; (2) "an account of the seizure and sale of the vessel by Burns himself"; and (3) an account by John Lewars narrating Burns's purchase of the carronades, and his subsequent sending of them to "the French Convention."<sup>11</sup> Apparently, however, Chambers had actually seen none of these manuscripts. He appears to have taken Train's word for their existence.

This was still the situation in 1896, when William Wallace brought out his thorough-going revision of Chambers. After retelling the story in Lockhart's words, he added a note that "Unfortunately the documents vouched for by [Train] have not been recovered."<sup>12</sup> But it is clear that he gave full credence to Lockhart's story.

Despite this general acceptance of at least the major outlines of Lockhart's picturesque addition to the growing store of Burns anecdotes, one Scottish scholar remained stubbornly unconvinced. In 1877 William Scott Douglas, in his notable Edinburgh edition of Burns's prose and verse, put the matter thus, in a footnote to "The Deil's Awa'":

<sup>10</sup> Allan Cunningham, *The Works of Robert Burns; with his life* (London, 1834), I, 284.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Chambers, *The Life and Works of Robert Burns* (N. Y., 1851-53), III, 225.

<sup>12</sup> *The Life and Works of Robert Burns*, edited by Robert Chambers, revised by William Wallace (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1896), III, 317, n.

Lockhart has furnished an anecdote, by way of explaining the origin of this song, which is romantic enough, if true. . . . We believe, however, that Lockhart's statement . . . is purely fanciful.<sup>13</sup>

Five years later, when Scott Douglas edited Lockhart's life of Burns for the Bohn Library, he was even more outspoken, and virtually laid the entire matter at the door of Joseph Train:

It is to be hoped, he wrote in a vein of irony, that this "private journal" and relative productions in support of so incredible a story are still in existence at Abbotsford.<sup>14</sup>

In the absence of any confirmatory documents, this queer story depends on the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Train. . . . The man who could, for Sir Walter's delectation, manufacture so plausible a myth about "Mollance Meg" [Meg Merrilies], would have no difficulty in fabricating the story of Burns's "four carronades."<sup>15</sup>

In 1919 Professor Hans Hecht summed up the situation clearly when he wrote, in his admirable biography of Burns:

Die ganze Episode ist dokumentarisch nicht genügend beglaubigt, gehört aber zum eisernen Bestand des Kanons der Burnsanekdoten.<sup>16</sup>

Burns's most recent biographer followed the lead of Scott Douglas. Knowing that Burns's own account of the origin of "The Deil's Awa' " was utterly at variance with Lockhart's, detecting a certain inherent improbability in the story of a brig captured by cavalymen, aware of the fact that both Lockhart and Train were imaginatively inclined, and skeptical of the whole affair because none of the documents seemed to be in existence and because Burns himself had never alluded to it in his extant correspondence, this writer came to the summary conclusion that "The brig *Rosamond* affair should be absolutely deleted from any account of Burns's life."<sup>17</sup> With this broadside he undertook to blow the ghostly smuggler out of her uneasy berth in the Solway.

Here the matter might have rested had not the present owner of Abbotsford, Sir Walter Maxwell-Scott, Bart., recently transferred to the National Library of Scotland a large body of manuscripts, now designated as the Abbotsford Collection, which for virtually a century had been stored in Sir Walter's library. In the process of cataloguing these papers—unpublished letters, account books concerning Scott's financial troubles, and many miscellaneous documents—the librarian of the National Library, Dr. Henry W. Meikle, discovered three manuscripts dealing with a schooner *Rosamond* that had been seized as a smuggler

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 76 f., n.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 228, n. (New York, 1892).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230, n.

<sup>16</sup> Hans Hecht, *Robert Burns* (Heidelberg, 1919), p. 274.

<sup>17</sup> F. B. Snyder, *The Life of Robert Burns* (New York, 1932), p. 397.

in February, 1792. Here was a day-by-day journal of Walter Crawford, Excise officer, containing his version of the affair. Here were two large sheets in Burns's handwriting, setting forth the expenses incurred on behalf of the Crown in repairing, guarding, and laying-up the vessel; and here, attached to a formal notice of her sale, was a clerk's inventory of her sails, spars, rigging, and furnishings, and a brief summary of the amounts realized at the auction. In other words, here were two of the three documents which Joseph Train had cited as authority for the whole story, but which had been hidden from sight till the approach of the Scott Centenary made it seem worth while to examine the miscellanea on Sir Walter's well-stocked shelves.

Thereupon Dr. Meikle, in an article in the *Glasgow Herald*, described the various papers, reconstructed the history of the legend, tagged Burns's most recent biographer as a "sceptical dogmatist," and concluded that "the Rosamond affair can no longer be 'absolutely deleted from any account of Burns's life'."<sup>18</sup> The result of this genial reproof from Dr. Meikle was a visit to the National Library in Edinburgh, where the documents in question were placed at my disposal, and arrangements made for having them photostated. Thus at long last it becomes possible to tell the story of this much-discussed incident.

The episode took place in the Solway Firth, in the late winter of 1792, not far from the mouth of the river Annan, or Annan Waterfoot. Turn a boot upside down, hold it in front of you, toe to the right, and you have a crude representation of these upper reaches of the Solway. Just above the heel to the left is Dumfries; Sarkfoot, seaport for Gretna, is at the toe twenty miles to the right. Midway between the two—roughly speaking—is Annan Waterfoot, from where the low-lying coast of Cumberland is but two miles to the south, across the narrowest part of the Firth. When the tide is high, the intervening space will be full of water—shallow, but navigable by one who possesses local knowledge. At the ebb, however, long stretches of sand reach outwards from both shores, and leave only a shifting and narrow channel, bordered by patches of quicksand, to separate English soil from Scottish. But it is during the first hours of the flood, when the waters of the Irish Sea crowd themselves back into the narrow estuary, that the Firth is at once most picturesque and most dangerous. Sir Walter himself says in *Redgauntlet*:

He that dreams on the bed of the Solway may wake in the next world. . . . For the tide advances with such rapidity upon these fatal sands, that well-mounted

<sup>18</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, November 11, 1932. Dr. Meikle's article, somewhat amplified, appears also in the *Burns Chronicle* for 1934, pp. 43 ff.

horsemen lay aside hopes of safety if they see its white surge advancing while they are yet at a distance from the bank.<sup>19</sup>

There is a certain dramatic exaggeration in this statement of Scott's, for only under exceptional circumstances does the tide come in as a bore. But always the currents are swift and baffling, and what was an open channel one month may be blocked with silt the next. All in all, then, it was an ideal spot for a smuggler's operations, this northeast arm of the Solway. Navigation was hazardous, and His Majesty's cutters were sure to remain well out to sea. England lay close aboard on one hand, and Scotland on the other; it was not probable that both shores would be thoroughly patrolled at the same time. Furthermore, the populace along the coast was friendly to smugglers, and could be counted on for assistance in case of need—a fact which Burns and his companions were to discover.

When the *Rosamond* undertook to land her contraband cargo,<sup>20</sup> and probably to carry away a shipment of local products that had escaped the Exciseman's prying eyes, the official charged with enforcing Scottish Excise law along the northern coast of the Solway was Collector John Mitchell, head of the Dumfries District. Strictly speaking, he was not concerned with foreign articles that might be smuggled into Scotland; they were the responsibility of the Customs, not the Excise. But actually the two services overlapped, and in times of emergency each assisted the other. Next in rank below Mitchell was Supervisor Alexander Findlater, one of Burns's intimate friends. Reporting to him was a field-force of twelve officers, one of whom was Burns, in charge of the Dumfries Third Division.<sup>21</sup> (Incidentally, this Third Division was one of the best assignments in Mitchell's district. The poet was no longer required to keep a horse and ride his two hundred miles each week; his concern was chiefly with tobacco; only occasionally need he go far from home.) On the thirteenth of January, 1792, a newcomer joined Mitchell's official family: Walter Crawford, or Crawford, as he spelled it in his legible boyish hand on the first page of his *Journal*. Where he came from there is no evidence. But since he was still a "riding officer," as the heading of his journal proves, he was probably young in the service, and Mitchell sent him to Annan, where he was to find lodgings, and to learn his duties under the tutelage of William Craig, officer in charge of the Annan division.<sup>22</sup> Like all Excisemen, he was to keep a diary, setting down from day to day the time spent on His Majesty's service, and the nature of the work on which he was engaged.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* (London: Adams & Charles Black, 1897), p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Of what sort, the records fail to show.

<sup>21</sup> John Sinton, *Burns, Excise Officer and Poet* (Kilmarnock, n.d.), p. 47.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

It is an interesting document, this rediscovered record of Walter Crawford's excise activity. To read it is to realize that a "riding officer's" position was no sinecure, and that Crawford himself was a young man of considerable initiative and daring. From January 12 to February 29, 1792, we can follow him on his tours of duty. Then his manuscript comes to an abrupt end, torn across, apparently, by someone who discarded everything that followed Crawford's vivid story of the capture of the *Rosamond*. By way of introduction to this account, I quote certain of his earlier entries:

January 12th Arrived at Dumfries.

13th Waited on the Collector for his directions.

14 Sunday. [Ordinarily a day of rest, when smugglers and their friends could work unmolested.]

17 M10<sup>23</sup> Went with Mr. Craig offr of Annan D. To learn more of the Country—Retd E7

18 E5<sup>24</sup> Rode out to Learn more of hie roads.

On the nineteenth Crawford had a taste of more arduous labor:

Jany 19 M2 out all night by the foote of the river Annan.

Next day he was off on a generously long trip:

20 M4 Having gone out 19 E9 Rode by Ecclefechan and Gratna

On the twenty-first we read:

21 Noon Gone to Dumfries to inform the Supervisor of a Lugger called the Spider being expected to Land the Beginning of next week.

Thus forewarned, Crawford began a week of strenuous patrolling. Typical entries are:

24 M5 Been out all the night at the usuale place of Landing saw nothing

26 M3 went dun the road by Gratna & ret. by the shore—with me two Dragoons.

Next day Crawford learned of the *Spider's* untimely end:

27 M5 out all night by Annan Wattir fott—Saw nothing—but learned that the Spider Cutter was taken at Sea—By Mr. McConnochie in the Service of the Customs

With the *Spider* thus safely in the web, Crawford gave up his emergency service as coast guard and resumed his more normal activity. We find him at Langholme consulting with "the Langholme officer which are the most likly roads for intercepting goods going to England," and at Dumfries to "Concert miswers for mutuale assistance" with McCon-

<sup>23</sup> Ten o'clock in the morning.

<sup>24</sup> Five o'clock in the evening.

nochie of the Customs Service. Before long, however, he was back on the coast, keeping all-night vigils with a military patrol to support him:

11 M4 Been out on the East Coast with four Dragoons

21 M3 out all night watching about Brewhouses the general place of landing smuggled goods

25 M5 on the Bye roads on the east Shore with four Dragoons—saw nothing.

The following afternoon, however, brought news which sent Crawford post-haste to Dumfries, even though the day was Sunday. Apparently the square topsails of the *Rosamond* had been seen in the Solway, and the information had reached Crawford:

26 E4 Gone to Dumfries to acquaint the supervisor and officers that a landing was expected that Week—In the mean time having left a person in whom I could thoroughly confide to ride Express to me on the first appearance of a Landing for which he was deligently to watch—

27 E11 My Express arrived informing me that a Landing was making or about to be made, on which I set off with Mr Lewars directly, leaving Messrs. Burns Penn & Ranking to follow as fast as possible—<sup>25</sup>

From this time until the vessel was finally captured Crawford moved with rapidity and decision:

By the 28 M5 arrived at Annan and immediately sett out with the party of Dragoons—Searched Mr McDowalls and most of the Smuglers house between that and the Shore—and about Noon Rode down to the Shore where I was informed that the Vessal could not get off for want of watter—I made an attempt to Board her with the Millitary But when wee offered to appoch her they hailed us that they would fire on us if wee appoched any farther—As my Party had only Pistols and were but few in number and a great number of men appearing to be on Deck I stoped the Soldiery and riding up to the Vessal allone asked liberty to Come on board which after some altercation they granted—I Boarded her & found Twenty four men under arms with fifteen round of Shott each.—I returned to shore, and consulting with the officers and Millitary wee agreed that greater force would be absolutely necessary—In consequence of which Mr Lewais sett off for Dumfries to bring Twenty four more Dragoons while I went to Ecclefechan for the Party there with which I patrolled the roads till the arrival of Mr Lewars with the additional force from Dumfries

On the 29 M9 wee approached the Vessal with the following force, Dragoons from Dumfries Twenty Three Annan thirteen Ecclefechan Eight in all forty four fully accoutered and on horse-back. The vessal having fallen down the Sollway firth abouth a mill from where she was yesterday and being about a mile within sea mark most of which space being covered with watter, and a very heavy Currant running between us and the Vessel we deemed it impossible to

<sup>25</sup> Horses had to be hired for four officers, as Burns's accounts make clear. Crawford was probably riding his own.



get at her either on foot or on horse-back so we agreed to Search the coast for Boats in which to board her—but the Country People guessing our design got the start of us and staved every Boat on the Coast before we Could reach them, the vessel in the mean time keeping up a fire of grape Shott and musquetry—we resolved as last resource to attempt the passage on foote as the quick sands made the ridding on horseback dangerous, or iather impossible—We drew up the Millitary in three divisions determined to approach her & attact her if the stream was foardable—one party fore and [one] aft and the Third on her Broad-side The first party being Commanded by Quarter Master Manly, the second by my self and the Third led by Mr Burns—

Our orders to the millitary were to reserve there fire till within eight yards of the vessel then to pour a volly and board her with sword & Pistol—The Vessel kept on firing thou without any damage to us, as from the situation of the ship they could not bring their great Guns to bear on us, we in the mean time wading breast high, and in Justice to the party under my Command I must say with great alacrity; by the time we were within one hundred yards of the Vessel the Crew gave up the cause gott over side towards England which shore was for a long long way dry sand. As I still supposed that these were only Country people they were putting ashore and that the Crew were keeping under Cover to make a more vigorous immediate resistance, we marched up as first concerted—but found the vessel compleately evaucuated both of the Crew and every movable on board except as pr inventory, the Smugglers as their last instance of vengence having poured a six-pounder Carronade through her Broadside—She proved to be the Roseomond of Plymouth Alexander Patty Master and about one hundred tons burthen Schooner r[igged]—

At this point Crawford's journal comes to an abrupt end, and its author is heard of no more. That he proved a competent officer there can be little doubt, for during the seven weeks in which we can follow him, he did his duty admirably. And his story of the *Rosamond* is complete enough so that the reader has no difficulty in reconstructing the major features of the episode. In her haste to unload her cargo the schooner took the ground probably on February 27, on the Scottish side of the Firth not far from the village of Brewhouses. Next day Crawford boarded her alone, and, learning the size of her crew, promptly sent for reinforcements. By February 29, when he was ready to seize her, she had worked clear of the sand, moved about a mile down the Solway, and again run aground, probably at high tide, and certainly on the English side of the channel. Here her crew abandoned her to the officers of the law, her career as a smuggler came to an end, and Robert Burns took charge of her for the Crown. It is to Burns himself that we turn for the rest of the story.

If Burns left a journal-record of his activity, it does not appear to have survived; but two large pages from his pen show how he was engaged in

repairing the vessel, guarding her, and keeping her pumped out till a high spring-tide should float her, and ultimately sailing her to Kelton, just below Dumfries on the Nith, where she was dismantled and laid up.

His first two entries prove that the crew had done a reasonably thorough wrecking-job before seeking safety in England:

To materials for repairs . . . . . [£] 3.8  
To two Carpenters empl. 11 days, & four Seamen empl. nine days . . . . [£] 8.18

Appended to this is an explanatory note, for the information of superiors who might question his expenditures:

N B before the Smugglers quitted the vessel, they poured a carronade down through her broadside; besides, the incessant rains brought down such a land flood that strained her in all parts & started many of her timbers, & pooled the sand so much from below her side that it was with the utmost difficulty & all the exertion of every one aboard at the pump, &c, that she was kept from filling at the hatchways—untill a spring-tide should come, which alone could float her.

Apparently the grounded schooner had such a list that she was in danger of being completely inundated by each ordinary flood. Burns and his helpers had to make her as tight as possible, stand by the pump, and hope that the full moon would bring a tide that would lift the *Rosamond* free from the sand, and not merely swamp her.

Burns's next entry gives a definite clew to the location of the vessel when she was captured:

To a Pilot from Brewhouses to Annan-waterfoot & from thence to  
Kelton where the vessel was laid up. . . . . [£] 3.3.0

The hamlet of Brewhouses—or Browhouses—was, and is, a village in Gretna Parish, five miles east of the mouth of the river Annan. Not far from here the *Rosamond* met her fate, caught in the sand as her crew tried in vain to work her down a narrow channel to the open water west of Annan.<sup>26</sup> Next Burns records the expenditure of £17-10 for

maintainance for the fishermen, seamen, Carpenters, & sixteen dragoons, before she floated out of the firth; besides always one, & often two, Excise Offrs. aboard.

Why sixteen dragoons had to be "maintained" on board a captured vessel, hard aground, seemed also to require explanation:

N.B. the vessel, to those that knew the ground, was easily approachable on foot every ebb, & we had the best reason to believe that a deforcement of the vessel was intended & & determined on.

<sup>26</sup> Dr. H. W. Meikle points out, in the *Burns Chronicle* for 1934, p. 43, that the Edinburgh *Evening Courant* of Thursday, March 8, 1792, says the smuggler was seized at Sarkfoot, a short distance east of Brewhouses.

A subsequent entry shows that Burns paid each of his sea-going dragoons a bonus of a shilling a day, "they having wrought very hard at the pump, &c. 16 for nine days, & 8 for 2 days."

In this notation one finds the clue to the date on which the *Rosamond* "floated out of the firth." If the dragoons were set to work at the pump on February 29, the day the vessel was captured, and kept busy for nine days, the conclusion seems justified that on March 9 the hoped-for spring tide may have come to lift the schooner from her precarious berth. The Hydrographic Office of the United States Navy, called upon for aid through the courtesy of Captain Guy Davis, U. S. N., Professor of Naval Science and Tactics at Northwestern University, tells me that the moon was full on March 9, 1792, and that about noon on that day a spring tide in the Solway might have reached the height of some twenty-eight feet. Hence one may fairly assume that March 9 brought relief from the danger of "filling at the hatchways," and that Burns paid off his dragoons because his prize was at last afloat, and there was no longer need of their aid on the pump-brakes.

In charge of a pilot, the *Rosamond* sailed west from Brewhouses to Annan Waterfoot, thence west again to the mouth of the Nith, and up the Nith to Kelton, where she was dismantled, and her equipment stored in a warehouse which Burns rented for two guineas. Even then there was still cause for worry. The schooner's "long boat," "of about four tons burden" according to the inventory, and too large to be warehoused at Kelton, was a prize to be guarded with care. So Burns sent the boat still further up the river to Dumfries, where it would be safe under lock and key. This precaution cost His Majesty 19 shillings—an expense which Burns justified with the note: "there being reason to fear that the Smugglers would attempt to steal her." Next Burns paid a guinea for having his prize appraised; invested one pound two shillings in advertising the sale in Edinburgh, Dumfries, and Whitehaven newspapers; and was out of pocket sixteen shillings petty cash for "expenses at sale."

This sale, a "publick roup" held "in the coffee house at Dumfries," took place at six o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, April 19, and brought in a total of £166-16-6, of which £68-0-0 is noted as being a "Premium." The inventory prepared for this sale shows that the *Rosamond* had been admirably equipped and well-found. She carried the relatively new American schooner rig for working her way through narrow thoroughfares, and also crossed square topsails and stu'nails—useful in running with the wind. The clerk who inventoried her for the auction let little escape him: one finds the cook's pot, two lanterns, four spare dead-eyes, and one fish-hook, carefully listed. No hint appears, however, as to what her contraband cargo may have been. It had been

safely unloaded, as Crawford made clear, before the law took control. But obviously Captain Alexander Patty of Plymouth had been prepared to give a good account of himself in defence of his lading. The final item in the inventory reads as follows:

Four four pounders Carronade Guns mounted on Carriages with tackle and furniture compleat. Round, Case,<sup>27</sup> doubleheaded & Grape shot, &c &c &c

Had the *Rosamond* remained on an even keel when she grounded, and Patty been able to bring these guns to bear on Burns's attacking force, the story might have ended differently. But Fate was against this Devonshire mariner, and after burning a quantity of powder without injury to any one, he followed his crew across the sands to England, and to oblivion.

And what, in conclusion, can one say of Lockhart's statement that Burns purchased the four carronades and sent them to France? Evidence on the matter is entirely lacking. All we know is that thirty-three hundred-weight of "guns" were sold at the auction, and brought in £4-2-6; but the summary of the sale gives no clue to the purchaser. It is clear that Lockhart did not follow accurately the record which Crawford had left behind him, and which Joseph Train probably found in the files of the Dumfries Excise office. Perhaps Lockhart invented the story of Burns and the carronades, as artistic embroidery on an otherwise matter-of-fact anecdote. Perhaps a century from now some one will pry further into the store-rooms at Abbotsford and discover the missing document, in Lewars's handwriting. But the story of Burns and the *Rosamond* is complete without any further additions. For some seven weeks—from February 28 to April 19—Burns had found relief from the routine of his lack-lustre official life at Dumfries, and had played a leading part in what must have seemed to him a glorious adventure. When it was ended, the bills paid, and the last account verified, he went back to Dumfries, where Jean Armour was teaching her sixth child to walk, and where—possibly, at least—pretty Anne Park, "Anna wi' the gowden locks," in the Globe Inn, had just seen her daughter Elizabeth safely through the first year of babyhood. There was Maria Riddell, too, at Woodley Park, outside the town—already growing a little tired of the husband whom she had impetuously married in the West Indies. Is there any wonder that a poet forgot to tell precisely what happened to those four guns?

FRANKLYN BLISS SNYDER

*Northwestern University*

<sup>27</sup> ? barr.

## XXXIV

## RITSON'S LIFE OF ROBIN HOOD

JOSEPH RITSON'S antiquarian interest was of early inception. From his school days in Stockton, he had been interested in history, old songs, and ballads.<sup>1</sup> This interest continued throughout his life. It resulted in a series of publications ranging from the history of certain legal offices, through British topography and royal geneology, to old English and Scottish songs and ballads. In all this work he was careful to use the oldest manuscripts and sources he could find: he showed amazing diligence in searching out original documents. His editing was in accord with modern practice: it did not suffer from the misleading procedure of such editors as Percy. He was extremely critical of the treatment of texts by his contemporaries, and justly deserves to be called the watchdog of English scholarship.<sup>2</sup>

The *Life of Robin Hood* and the *Notes and Illustrations*, which serve as a preface to his edition of the Robin Hood ballads in 1795,<sup>3</sup> are of particular interest for the light they throw upon his critical faculty. The *Life* and *Notes* show us Ritson's method, its excellences and defects, and illustrate the weakness of the man as a critic.

The *Life of Robin Hood* is a short preface of some eleven pages, to which are subjoined some 105 pages of *Notes and Illustrations*. In the beginning of the *Life*, Ritson promises little more than to bring together the "scattered fragments" mentioned by Sir John Hawkins, of which Sir John, in *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776), gives only "two or three trite and trivial extracts, with which everyone, at all curious about the subject, was as well acquainted as himself."<sup>4</sup> According to Ritson, Robin Hood was born at Locksley, in Nottinghamshire, about 1160. Of noble extraction, his true name was Robert Fitzooth: he was frequently styled Earl of Huntingdon, a title to which in his later years he actually had some pretension. Having rioted away his patrimony in his youth, he sought asylum in the woods of northern England, where he was soon joined by a number of persons in similar circumstances. His favorites were Little John, William Scadlock (or Scarlet) George a Green, Much, Friar Tuck, and Marian. His

<sup>1</sup> Henry Alfred Burd, *Joseph Ritson, A Critical Biography*. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature (Urbana, 1916), II, No. 3, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See Burd for a general critical study of Ritson's work as a whole, and Annette B. Hopkins, "Ritson's *Life of King Arthur*," *PMLA*, XLIII (March, 1928), 251-287.

<sup>3</sup> *Robin Hood: a collection of all the ancient Poems, Songs, and Ballads, now extant, relative to that celebrated English Outlaw: to which are prefixed Historical Anecdotes of his Life*, London, 1795, 2 vols.

<sup>4</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, iv.

company consisted of one hundred men, all skilled at fighting and archery. In the woods of Barnsdale and Sherwood, Robin Hood reigned as an independent sovereign, at perpetual war with the king of England and all his subjects, except the poor, the needy, and the oppressed. This band lived on the royal deer and the proceeds of their robberies. The Abbot of St. Mary's in York and the Sheriff of Nottingham were the chief objects of his detestation and attacks. Yet withal Robin Hood was a pious man. In his old age he became ill and applied to his kinswoman, the prioress of Kirkleys nunnery in Yorkshire, for aid. She treacherously let him bleed to death on November 12, 1247, at the age of eighty-seven.

The foregoing is in brief Ritson's account of the life and death of Robin Hood. The Notes and Illustrations, which follow the Life, give his sources. The Notes are full of references to all kinds of books, manuscripts, and authorities. The facts of Robin Hood's birth Ritson obtains from Sloane MS. 715, and he quotes in support of this source: Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Major's *Britanniae Historia*, Stow's *Annales*, Harleian MS. 1233, Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, Boece's *History of Scotland*, Lionel Charlton's *History of Whitby*, and Munday's and Chettle's two plays, *The Downfall of Robert, earle of Huntington* and *The Death of Robert, earle of Huntington*. It is illuminating to note the assurance with which Ritson cites these authorities. The Sloane MS. Ritson admits to be of the sixteenth century; few of his other authorities are earlier; yet not for a moment does he hesitate over their verity. He takes whatever will support his theory, and quite guilelessly asks us to believe whomever he chooses. Thus:<sup>5</sup>

A modern writer, (*History of Whitby*, by Lionel Charlton, York, 1779, 4to) though of no authority in this point, has done well enough to speak of him as living "in the days of abbot Richard and Peter his successor"; that is, between the years 1176 and 1211.

Although Charlton cannot be relied upon as an authority, Ritson nevertheless quotes him in support of his own theory.

If this were the only instance of a failure of critical acumen we might pass over it lightly. Unfortunately such is not the case, for immediately after the foregoing quotation appears this statement:<sup>6</sup>

The author of the two plays upon the story of our hero [Munday's and Chettle's plays, *supra*], of which a particular account will be hereafter given, makes him contemporary with king Richard, who, as well as his brother prince John, is introduced upon the scene; which is confirmed by another play, quoted in Note (D). . . . We must not therefore regard what is said by such writers as the

<sup>5</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xvi.

<sup>6</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xvi-xvii.

author of "George a Greene, the pinner of Wakefield," 1599 (see note G) who represents our hero as contemporary with king Edward IV.

This is quite illogical and is an example of Ritson's lack of critical judgment. Munday's and Chettle's plays and *George a Greene* were written about the same time. The latter is at least based upon the ballad of *Robin Hood and the pinder of Wakefield*,<sup>7</sup> yet Ritson ignores it, because it does not fit into his scheme, he gives no other explanation.

The Sloane MS. gives Robin Hood's birthplace as Locksley in Yorkshire, or in Nottinghamshire. Ritson is surprised at the ignorance of the writer, who had only to consult the ballads to find that the birthplace was "Locksly town" in Nottinghamshire. Ritson is indiscriminate in his choice of authorities; here he relies on the ballads for "facts" in support of his thesis. He is frank enough to say that he has investigated several works on village names, and Locksley in Nottinghamshire is not to be found.<sup>8</sup> Although the nonexistence of a place is not conclusively proved by the fact that the name is not to be found, its existence at any time might well be doubted, if no one has ever heard of it.<sup>9</sup>

The claim to nobility put forth by Ritson on behalf of Robin Hood is another extraordinary performance. Despite the fact that almost all the ballads refer to Robin Hood as a yeoman, Ritson is not to be taken in. The ballads are older than some of his authorities, but they do not fit in with his preconceptions. Hence we have another tour de force on his part.<sup>10</sup>

In "an olde and auncient pamphlet," which Grafton the chronicler had seen, it was written that "This man disceded of a noble parentage." The Sloane MS. says "He was of . . . parentage"; and although the material word is illegible, the sense evidently requires *noble*.

Ritson relies upon Dr. Stukely's pedigree as further proof of Robin Hood's claim to the earldom of Huntingdon, although he has been kind enough to quote Parkin in opposition.<sup>11</sup>

In the list of plays centering about Robin Hood, Ritson deals at some length with two plays by Munday and Chettle. It is from them that he obtains additional authority for the nobility of Robin Hood. Of them he says:<sup>12</sup>

As they seem partly founded on traditions long since forgotten, and refer occasionally to documents not now to be found, at any rate, as they are much

<sup>7</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xxix.

<sup>8</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xv-xvi.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Wright, *Essays on subjects connected with the literature, popular superstitions, and history of England in the Middle Ages* (London, 1846), II, 202.

<sup>10</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xviii.

<sup>11</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xxii.

<sup>12</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, li.

older than most of the common ballads upon the subject, and contain some curious and possibly authentic particulars not elsewhere to be met with, the reader will excuse the particularity of the account and length of the extracts.

After long quotations from these plays, Ritson says, concerning *The Death of Robert, earle of Huntington*:<sup>13</sup>

The next quotation may be of service to Dr. Percy, who has been pleased to question our heros nobility, because "the most ancient poems make no mention of this *earldom*," and the old legend expressly asserts him "to have been a *yeoman*." It is very true; and we shall here not only find his title established, but also discover the secret of his not being usually distinguished or designed by it.

*Enter Roben Hoode.*

*King.* How now, *earle Robert*!

*Fri.* A forfet, a forfet, my liege lord,  
My masters lawes are on record,  
The court-roll here your grace may see.

*King.* I pray thee, frier, read them mee.

*Fri.* One shall suffice, and this is hee.  
*No man that commeth in this wood,*  
*To feast or dwell with Robin Hood,*  
*Shall call him earle, lord, knight, or squire,*  
*But, Robin Hood, plain Robin Hoode,*  
*That honest YEOMAN, stout and good,*  
*On paine of forfetting a marke . . .*

Now, the reason that "the most ancient poems make no mention of this *earldom*," and the old legend expressly asserts him "to have been a *yeoman*," appears, plainly enough, to be, that as, pursuant to his own injunction, he was never called, either by his followers, or in the vicinity, by any other name than *Robin Hood*, so particularly the minstrels, who were always, no doubt, welcome to Sherwood, and liberally entertained by him and his yeomanry, would take special care never to offend against the above law: which puts an end to the dispute. Q.E.D.

The reference to the minstrels and their habits would be almost unbelievable were it not for Ritson's dispute with Percy about the origin of ballads and ballad singers. This astounding bit of evidence would scarcely do for a court of law, but we would not turn for persuasive proof to Sir Edward Coke's *Institutes*, as Ritson does elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> Ritson's critical acumen gains no additional lustre, in view of this admonition to Percy, when, in a footnote, he intimates that Stukely was to be believed, because he was "a professed antiquary, and a benefited clergyman of the church of England."<sup>15</sup> Percy, being an opponent,

<sup>13</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, lxiv-lxv.

<sup>14</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xvii.

<sup>15</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xxii.



is not given benefit of clergy; he is guilty until proven innocent, a most unsatisfactory critical method.

According to Ritson, the true name of Robin Hood was Robert Fitzooth, "which vulgar pronunciation easily corrupted into Robin Hood."<sup>16</sup> This naive conclusion leads to a scornful reference to "A writer in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*" [lxiii (March, 1793) 226] who:<sup>17</sup>

under the signature D. H. pretends that *Hood* is only a corruption of "*o' th' wood*, q.d. of *Sherwood*." This, to be sure, is an absurd conceit; but, if the name were a matter of conjecture, it might be probably enough referred to some particular sort of *hood* our hero wore by way of distinction or disguise.

While the writer who signed himself D. H. can be casually brushed aside, one writer later than Ritson must be given weight. Child supports the view of D. H. in his *English and Scottish Ballads*. He refers to Robin de Bois, a mythical figure in France; the correspondence in name suggests that Hood is not patronymic, but occupational:<sup>18</sup>

The natural refuge and stronghold of the outlaw was the woods. Hence he is termed by Latin writers *silvaticus*, by the Normans *forestier*. The Anglo-Saxon robber or highwayman is called a wood-rover, *wealdgenga*, and the Norse word for outlaw is exactly equivalent. It has been often suggested that Robin Hood is a corruption, or dialectic form, of Robin of the wood, and when we remember that *wood* is pronounced *hood* in some parts of England (as *whoop* is pronounced *hoop* everywhere), and that the outlaw bears in so many languages a name descriptive of his habitation, this notion will not seem an idle fancy.

The surmise of D. H. is no worse than Ritson's; in fact, it is sounder and much more plausible.

We come now to a problem which taxed the ingenuity of Ritson to solve, but with which later writers, such as Child, have not been faced. Ritson made an exhaustive search of all available books and manuscripts for mention of Robin Hood. The earliest reference to the hero he found, with one exception,<sup>19</sup> was in the *Vision of Piers the Plowman*,

<sup>16</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, iv.

<sup>17</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xix.—Wright follows Ritson partly, when, in dealing with the shifting of the elements in the story of his Saxon mythical figure, he suggests that a simple title, intelligible to all, might be assumed, i e., Robin with the Hood, pointing to a similar name having been derived from apparently similar circumstances in the case of the German spirit Hudekin. But he goes on to say that he is "not opposed to the conjecture which has been made, that the name Robin Hood is but a corruption of Robin of the Wood, because we find analogies in other languages" Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 207.

<sup>18</sup> Francis James Child, *English and Scottish Ballads* (Boston, 1859), v, xxiv-xxv.—See also article by H. K., "Robin Hood," *Notes and Queries*, VI (December 25, 1852), 597 f. and Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 207-208.

<sup>19</sup> Ritson found a manuscript among Peck's collection for the history of Premonstra-

now universally accepted as the first. But it does not occur until after the middle of the fourteenth century, over a hundred years after Ritson's date for the death of his hero. The first historian to mention Robin Hood is Fordun in his *Scotichronicon*, between 1377 and 1384 (and Bower in his continuation of the work, about 1450).<sup>20</sup> Ritson realized that the earlier historians had omitted mention of the outlaw, and that this omission might be used as evidence of the nonexistence of his hero, as in fact it was. He therefore ingeniously affirms:<sup>21</sup>

The principal if not sole reason why our hero is never once mentioned by Matthew Paris, *Benedictus abbas*, or any other ancient English historian, was most probably his avowed enmity to churchmen, and history, in former times, was written by none but monks. From the same motives that Josephus is pretended to have suppressed all mention of Jesus Christ, they were unwilling to praise the actions which they durst neither misrepresent nor deny. Fordun and Major, however, being foreigners, have not been deterred by this professional spirit from rendering homage to his virtues.

It is this same reason which leads Ritson to the conclusion that an anecdote has been eliminated from all copies of Fordun but one.<sup>22</sup> This unconvincing line of reasoning affronts the intelligence of both Wright and Child. Wright wonders where Ritson learned of the early historians' habit of omitting mention of avowed enemies of churchmen, and why the fact that Fordun and Major were foreigners had any influence on their "professional spirit."<sup>23</sup> Child's argument against Ritson's conclusion is more persuasive: he gives as an illustration the parallel case of the famous outlaw Adam Gordon. Adam Gordon, a follower of Simon de Montfort, lived as an outlaw, and, after an encounter with Prince Edward, was returned to his former position and estates. A story romantic enough, yet Adam Gordon is not the hero of any ballad, although most contemporary historians devote a paragraph to him. Equally significant is the fact that Hereward is celebrated both in a prose romance and in contemporary histories.<sup>24</sup> Ritson was forced to ignore this situation (he had read Matthew Paris, in which Adam Gordon appears) in order to make his point. It is merely another in-

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tensian monasteries which he thought was dated July 22, 1304, and from which he concluded that Robin Hood was both mentioned and compared with William Wallace in that year. Child has pointed out that the manuscript is of the eighteenth century and that the date refers to the matter in the poem: the title mentioning Robin Hood is Peck's own contribution. F. J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston and New York, 1888), III, 40.

<sup>21</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xv.

<sup>20</sup> Child, *op. cit.* (1859), v, x.

<sup>22</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xlv.

<sup>23</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 202.

<sup>24</sup> Child, *op. cit.* (1859), v, xix-xx.

stance of the failure of Ritson to think critically, when to do so might upset his theories.<sup>25</sup>

Ritson proves gullible in at least one instance. In all sincerity he asserts that both Robin Hood and Little John frequently shot arrows a measured mile, "which, it is supposed, no one, either before or since, was ever able to do."<sup>26</sup> As proof he adduces a statement by the same Charlton, whom he elsewhere finds unworthy of credence,<sup>27</sup> that tradition says that Robin Hood and Little John both shot arrows more than a mile from the top of Whitby Abbey. Charlton has the grace to leave the credibility of the story up to his readers.<sup>28</sup> Ritson does not.

One other example of Ritson's lack of judgment will suffice. In Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis* Ritson found a reference to Robin Hood's gravestone, with an inscription scarcely legible. In the Appendix to Thoresby, he found a note to the effect that among the papers of Dr. Gale, the dean of York, was found an epitaph of Robin Hood, which called him Robert, earl of Huntingdon. Ritson does not tell us how the scarcely legible inscription mentioned by Thoresby is identified as the epitaph among Dr. Gale's papers. Percy had been audacious enough to say at first that "this epitaph is suspicious," although later he modified his expression to "*appears to him suspicious*."<sup>29</sup> Ritson clears the air once and for all with another astounding Q.E.D.:<sup>30</sup>

As for the present editors part . . . he can perceive nothing in it from whence one should be led to pronounce it spurious, *i.e.*, that it was never inscribed on the gravestone of Robin Hood. That there actually was some inscription upon it in Mr. Thoresby's time, though then scarce legible, is evident from his own words: and it should be remembered, as well that the last century was not the era of imposition, as that Dr. Gale was both too good and too learned a man either to be capable of it himself or to be liable to it from others.

No wonder such a trusting soul lost his money on the Exchange.

The first scholar to criticize Ritson's life of Robin Hood was Wright, who was scarcely more courteous than was Ritson:<sup>31</sup>

The life, by Ritson, prefixed to his edition of the Robin Hood ballads, with the pedantic notes which illustrate it, is the barren production of a poor mind. The "accurate" *mister* Ritson, who condemned with such asperity the slightest wanderings of the imaginations of others, has therein exhibited some truly

<sup>25</sup> Compare Ritson with the more sensible view that the historians were only interested in the activities of the nobility: B. H. Coates, "Note on Robin Hood," *Godey's Lady's Book*, xxiv (April, 1842), 203 ff.

<sup>27</sup> See *supra*, p. 523.

<sup>29</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xlvii.

<sup>31</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 201.

<sup>26</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xxxiii.

<sup>28</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xxxiv.

<sup>30</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xlviii.

pleasant vagaries of his own. He gives us an essay upon the *private character* of the outlaw!

Child as early as 1857 used these words:<sup>32</sup>

Those who desire a full acquaintance with the fabulous history of Robin Hood, will seek it in the well-known volumes of Ritson, or in those of his recent editor, Gutch, who does not make up by superior discrimination for his inferiority in other respects to that industrious antiquary

John Matthew Gutch, so roughly treated by Child, recanted in part in 1861. Nine years after the publication of Joseph Hunter's *Robin Hood*, Gutch appeared in print solely because of newly discovered evidence, and took up the story of Hunter's discovery, lamenting the fact that general credit will not be given it.<sup>33</sup> Hustvedt acknowledges the service Ritson performed in collecting materials and giving an account of Robin Hood in the drama. But he is no more complimentary than Wright.<sup>34</sup>

Particularly interesting in *Robin Hood* is Ritson's critical treatment of the legendary material which had accumulated about the figure of the outlaw and his men. The concise *Life of Robin Hood*, and the stupendous array of "notes and illustration" which accompanied it, show the antiquary at his best and the critic at something less than his best. . . . An uncritical, though otherwise valuable, compilation.

Burd, in his critical biography of Ritson, says as little as possible:<sup>35</sup>

It is a monument of industry, the result of years of investigation and study, and brings to a fitting close the first period of Ritson's editorial activity. The *Life of Robin Hood*, with which the first volume opens, does not profess to be historically authentic. Although Ritson considered Robin Hood as an historical character, he was unable to ground his biography on unassailable authorities . . . he constructed a history, "which, though it may fail to satisfy, may possibly serve to amuse." . . . The bringing into one view of this vast store of material was a meritorious service.

Burd takes too literally the statement of Ritson that his history may serve to amuse, if it fails to satisfy.<sup>36</sup> Nowhere did Ritson evince the

<sup>32</sup> F. J. Child, "Robin Hood," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1 (December, 1857), 166: reprinted in his *English and Scottish Ballads* (1859), v, vii ff. See also his comment on Robin Hood and history, *supra*, p. 527.

<sup>33</sup> J. M. Gutch, "The Ballad Hero, Robin Hood. His Identity Discovered," *The Reliquary*, 1 (January, 1861), 143.

<sup>34</sup> Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt, *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain during the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1916), p. 266.

<sup>35</sup> Burd, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>36</sup> A reviewer in the *Spectator*, LIX (July 24, 1886), 994, holds a similar view. "Whether the 'Life' is to be taken as a serious production or not is, considering its style and the

diffidence of Percy; he was an avowed antiquary, with strong feelings with respect to the duties and liberties of an editor. He is notorious for his vitriolic criticisms and scurrilous attacks. It is inconceivable that a man with such tendencies would devote so much time and care upon a work which he thought of as merely amusing. His character was earnest; one cannot imagine him touching anything lightly. There are many criticisms of other editors and writers which are in poor enough taste in a serious work, and which would be entirely out of place in a work intended to be regarded as entertaining. The language on the note by D. H.,<sup>37</sup> the reference to *George a Greene, the pinner of Wakefield*, "re-printed, with other trash, in the late edition of Dodsleys *Old Plays*,"<sup>38</sup> a reference to Percy, who "evidently asserts what he would probably find it difficult to prove",<sup>39</sup> the gratuitous remark about "mister John Pinkerton," of whom he says that "indeed, this worthy gentleman, as Johnson said of Goldsmith, only stumbles upon truth by accident";<sup>40</sup> and the equally gratuitous observation upon Dr. Johnson, "'Robin Hoods fat frier' is frier Tuck; a circumstance of which doctor Johnson, who set about explaining that author [Shakespeare] with a very inadequate stock of information, was perfectly ignorant,"<sup>41</sup> leave little room for doubt that the *Life of Robin Hood*, together with the *Notes and Illustrations*, is a serious work. Throughout it all there runs the vein of acrimony that characterized so much of his criticism; little is required to produce a scornful remark. The whole work is best described in Hustvedt's words, "an uncritical, though otherwise valuable, compilation." Ritson erred by starting with a few dates and allusions, which he thought were correct, bolstering up his case by anything which fitted into his scheme, and discarding all that did not serve. That he used the ballads to prove one point did not prevent him from rejecting them, when to do so was more convenient than an explanation. He is not the only one who has attacked the problem of Robin Hood uncritically; but for one of his judgment in other matters, the *Life and Notes* are merely a monument of industry. The prefatory matter is convincing proof that his scholarship was not well rounded. On the side of accuracy, painstaking labor, and industry, he leaves little to be desired. On the critical side he is distinctly inferior; instead of the zealous guardian of truth, we find him the dupe of playwrights and balladists.

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peculiar character of the author, more than doubtful. Probably it was intended as a summary of the current beliefs as to Robin Hood, rather than as sober history . . . as Ritson was of a notably cynical and unbelieving turn of mind, and he distinctly recognizes Robin Hood as the "patron saint of archery," and comments on the universality of his presence, it is extremely improbable that he regarded him as a historical personage."

<sup>37</sup> *Supra*, p. 526.

<sup>38</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xxix.

<sup>39</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xxxii.

<sup>40</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xl.

<sup>41</sup> Ritson, *op. cit.*, I, xcii.

Bishop Thomas Percy, regardless of his failings as an editor, was sounder in his criticism of the story of Robin Hood than Ritson. In the short introduction to the ballad *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne* Percy is content to quote Stow's *Annals* for the "heads" of Robin Hood's story, and makes a suggestion which is more plausible than Ritson's reliance on Stukely's pedigree:<sup>42</sup>

[The common people] not content to celebrate his memory by innumerable songs and stories, have erected him into the dignity of an earl.

Percy doubts the genuineness of the epitaph, because no mention of the earldom is made in the most ancient poems and Robin Hood is always referred to as a yeoman. Percy evidently believes in the existence of the man, but there is a suggestion of skepticism throughout the introduction.

The remarks by D. H. in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1793, are more in accord with the latest view of the existence of Robin Hood:<sup>43</sup>

I have long been of opinion, that his names and title were misnomers and imaginary honors; and that as *Robin* of *Ridsdale* was the name of a notorious robber in Northumberland, given to one of the Umfranvilles, and to one of the Hilliards in the Lancastrian army, in the reign of Edward IV and from them applied to a rude Roman statue in the Roman station in Risingham in Northumberland, so *Robin Wood*, *Whode, o' th' wood*, q.d. of *Shirwood* . . . was that of a deer-stealer of equal eminence in that track and neighborhood, and that the title of *Earl* of *Huntingdon* was a nickname for a great hunter or forest-marauder, who, like the borderers on most of our forests and chaces from that time to the present, thought the king's game public property.

D. H. believes that tradition concerning Robin Hood is earlier than history, which accounts for so many place names. He doubts the genuineness of the gravestone, and is convinced that the story of Robin Hood's being bled to death is nothing but a story. Despite the efforts of Dr. Stukely to prove that Robin Hood was descended from the earls of Huntingdon, "we may venture to pronounce that he was nothing more or less than Robin Wood, or the Forester, a notorious hunter, i.e., deer-stealer."<sup>44</sup>

The first historical studies of the Robin Hood cycle were made in France by Edward Barry<sup>45</sup> and Augustin Thierry.<sup>46</sup> Both Barry and

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (London, 1775), I, 82.

<sup>43</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXIII (March, 1793), 225-226.

<sup>44</sup> D. H., *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXIII (March, 1793), 226.

<sup>45</sup> *Thèse de Littérature sur les Vicissitudes et les Transformations du Cycle populaire de Robin Hood* (Paris, 1832).

<sup>46</sup> *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (Paris, 1825).

Thierry believe Robin Hood to have been one of the outlaws who resisted the first intrusions of the Normans. Thierry bases his theory on Fordun, who said that the famous robber, Robin Hode, lived about 1190. Thierry conceives of Robin Hood as an outlaw-chief, generous and kindly, whose chief victims were the agents of royal authority, governors of towns and counties. Robin Hood and William Long-beard are the last two of a long line of opponents of the Normans. By the end of the twelfth century this opposition had died down.<sup>47</sup>

Wright is unconvinced by Barry's conjectures. From the frequent occurrence of Robin Hood in ballads and in the close connection of Robin Hood with the May games, Wright is disposed to believe him the representative of some northern chieftain, whose actions gained a place in popular myths.<sup>48</sup> The origin of the name Robin Hood is conjectural; the most likely solution is that it is a corruption of Robin of the Wood. Wright points out analogies in other languages. *Witikind*, the opponent of Charlemagne, who concealed himself in the forests, is none other than *witu chint* in old High Dutch, and signifies son of the wood, denoting an exile or outlaw. *Witikind*, although such a person seems to have existed, appears to be the representative of all defenders of his country against invaders. Old Norse *skoggangr* corresponds to Anglo-Saxon *weald-genga*.<sup>49</sup> One of the strongest proofs of the mythical character of Robin Hood is the connection of his name with mounds and stones, such as the peasantry attributed to fairies in popular superstition. Wright presents his theory as follows:<sup>50</sup>

The legends of the peasantry are the shadows of a very remote antiquity, and in them we may place our trust with much confidence on a subject like the present. They enable us to place our Robin Hood with tolerable certainty among the personages of the early mythology of the Teutonic peoples

Following in the footsteps of Thierry is G. F.<sup>51</sup> For this writer Fordun's note is particularly important, as it calls Robin Hood one of the "exheredati." G. F. places Robin Hood among the followers of Simon de Montfort. Although the battle of Evesham did not take place until 1265, G. F. thinks that the hostility directed towards the Sheriff of Nottingham was the result of enmity towards the conquerors. Nottingham was an important defensive point, and the royal agent there was the representative of the invaders and the oppressor. From his language

<sup>47</sup> Thierry's *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans. with its causes from the earliest period, and its consequences to the present time*. Trans. by Charles Claude Hamilton (London, 1825), III, 234-287.

<sup>48</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 203 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 207-208.

<sup>50</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 211.

<sup>51</sup> *London and Westminster Review*, XXXIII (1840), 424-491.

we may judge that G. F. was still incensed by the Conquest; he sees Robin Hood as the representative of.<sup>52</sup>

the permanent protest of the industrious classes of England against the galling injustice and insulting immorality of that framework of English society, and that fabric of ecclesiastical as well as civil authority, which the iron arm of the Conquest had established.

G. F. makes out a fairly good case for himself, but his judgment is overcome by his anger.<sup>53</sup>

The Rev. Joseph Hunter was the next to attack the problem. Wright's theory is an affront to this red-blooded Englishman, and so it is dismissed<sup>54</sup>

to that limbo of vanity, there to live with all those who would make all remote history fable, who would make us believe that everything which is good in England is a mere copy of something originated in countries eastward to our own, and who would deny to the English nation in past ages all skill and all advancement in literature or in the arts of sculpture and architecture.

He dismisses the conjecture that Robin Hood is the creation of a poetic mind. Robin Hood was an outlaw living in the woods, and nothing is attributed to him not belonging to man [including the 1760 yard arrow-shot!]. Moreover, the facts of the Robin Hood cycle are proved in part. *The Lytel Geste of Robyn Hood* gives his life and deeds. Although the second ballad of the *Lytel Geste*, *Little John and the Sheriff of Nottinghamshire*, "is probably wholly fiction,"<sup>55</sup> and the events in the fourth ballad, *Robin Hood, the Sheriff of Nottingham, and the Knight*, do not "admit of any historic elucidation . . . The whole is probably a poetic fiction,"<sup>56</sup> yet mention of "Edward our comely king" serves to date Robin Hood. The inconsistency is worthy of Ritson. But Hunter has something with which to back up his statements. According to the *Lytel Geste*, "Edward our comely king" made an expedition into Lancashire, and upon his return to London brought with him Robin Hood to serve him. Edward II did make an expedition into Lancashire in 1323, spending some time at Nottingham. Hunter has found, in the *Jornal de la Chambre* for 1324, records of payments to a Robyn Hode, a "vadlet" of the king. He says: "I, for my part, believe it is the same person."<sup>57</sup> Bearing out his theory

<sup>52</sup> G. F., *op. cit.*, 483.

<sup>53</sup> See also W. Mountford, "Robin Hood," *North American Review*, LXXXIV (January, 1857), 26 ff., for a similar attitude toward the Normans.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph Hunter, *The Great Hero of the Ancient Minstrelsy of England*, "Robin Hood" (London, 1852), p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>56</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>57</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 36.—Child, *op. cit.* (1888), III, 55, referring to this passage, says Hunter "could have identified Pigrogromitus and Quinapalus, if he had given his mind to it."



is the dismissal of this Robyn Hode in November, 1324; this period roughly approximates the time the ballads say Robin Hood spent with the king. Child takes issue with Hunter on this point. The *Jornal* gives as the reason for Robin Hood's dismissal "poar cas qil ne poait pluix travailler" and the ballad says he continued to maintain himself in the forest for twenty-two years. Child insists that a man who could not work at court would find it impossible to support himself in the forests; but Child fails to notice that Hunter contends that the passage concerning the twenty-two years was added by the compiler of the *Geste*.<sup>58</sup> Child's failure is not as uncritical as Hunter's use of part of a ballad, otherwise a fiction, which has suffered at the hands of a compiler. Hunter makes other assumptions equally illogical. He seeks to identify the prioress who was related to Robin Hood, and selects one Elizabeth de Staynton in preference to Margaret Savile, saying:<sup>59</sup>

That either of them could be guilty of the treachery imputed, cannot be believed, and least of all, not Elizabeth de Staynton, in the face of the touching and plaintive inscription [DOUCE JHU DE NAZARETH FILS DIEU AYEZ MERCI A ELIZABETH STAYNTON] which, at her own suggestion as it may seem, is found upon her tomb

Such a conclusion has a fitting companion in "From this religious family [Staynton] too he might acquire that devotional turn, which the ballad-writers have sought to impress upon us that he possessed."<sup>60</sup> However, Hunter's is an excellent piece of work in many respects. He concludes the alleged epitaph of Robin Hood to be a fabrication, and Stukely's pedigree a sorry performance. He proves that the Barnsdale district was infested with robbers, from court records. He explains Robin Hood as one of the Contrariantes, the supporters of Lancaster in 1322. The whole theory has the semblance of truth, but as Child says, it rests upon the rarity of the name Robin Hood; Child gives six instances of the appearance of the name in the forty years between 28 Edward I and 10 Edward III, from the *Record Publications*.<sup>61</sup>

Child's analysis of the historical studies first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, I, 156-166, and was reprinted in his *British and Scottish Ballads* (1859). He gives the hypotheses of Thierry and Barry, of the contributor to the *London and Westminster Review*, and of Hunter, and dismisses them all on two grounds: first, that Robin Hood is not mentioned in contemporary histories,<sup>62</sup> second, that there is no political animosity or

<sup>58</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>59</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>60</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>61</sup> See the enthusiastic review of Hunter's *Robin Hood* in "A Search for Robin Hood," *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, XVIII (August 28, 1852), 136 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Child is right, but ballads are used to celebrate contemporary events. (Thierry,

any suggestion of enmity towards the Normans or the king, expressed in the ballads.<sup>63</sup> Child is reluctant to give any opinion, but if forced to make a choice, he would believe Robin Hood *the ideal of the outlaw class*, a class numerous in all countries in the Middle Ages.<sup>64</sup> Child discusses the theory advanced by Wright and Kuhn,<sup>65</sup> that, because of the connection of Robin Hood with May-day games and the pagan origin of these games, there is some relation between Robin Hood and the Germanic gods, even Wodan. Child successfully refutes Wright and Kuhn, and makes a very penetrating remark about Robin Hood and May:<sup>66</sup>

Why the adventures of Robin Hood should be specially assigned, as they are in the old ballads, to the month of May, remains unexplained. We have no exquisite reason to offer, but we may perhaps find reason good enough in the delicious stanzas with which some of these ballads begin. . . . The poetical character of the season affords all the explanation that is required.

In his edition of 1888, Child has more to say about Robin Hood. "Robin Hood is absolutely a creation of the ballad-muse."<sup>67</sup> The ballad hero is described as yeoman, religious, a respecter of women, a lover of the king, friendly to the poor, courteous and good tempered.<sup>68</sup>

This is what Robin Hood is, and it is equally important to observe what he is not. He has no sort of political character, in the Gest or any other ballad. This takes the ground from under the feet of those who seek to assign him a place in history.

Professor Child has set up a theory which few scholars have attempted to controvert. Messrs. Hales and Furnivall follow him; they do not deny the existence of some such person, because of the local color, but they do not attempt to place Robin Hood definitely. They regard him as the people's hero, the representative of forest life. These editors also feel the spirit of the greenwood in the ballads, which "are inspired by the breath of its breezes. They re-echo with the song of its birds. They rejoice with a great joy in its abundant beauty."<sup>69</sup> Francis Gummere agrees with Professor Child:<sup>70</sup>

a petty fugitive of whatever name, poaching on the royal preserves, may well have grown in fame, appropriated the legends of other fugitives, and so become what Professor Child has called him, the ideal outlaw.

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*op. cit.*, II, 109; Mountford, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 9.) In our own time we have had *The Death of Floyd Collins* and *The Wreck of the Shenandoah*.

<sup>63</sup> Child, *op. cit.* (1859), v, xviii-xx.

<sup>64</sup> Child, *op. cit.* (1859), v, xxiv.

<sup>65</sup> A. Kuhn, "Wodan," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, v (1845), 472-494.

<sup>66</sup> Child, *op. cit.* (1859), v, xxxi.

<sup>67</sup> Child, *op. cit.* (1888), III, 42.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 43.

<sup>69</sup> J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1867), I, 11.

<sup>70</sup> Francis B. Gummere, *The Popular Ballad* (Boston, 1907), p. 272.

Rudolf Kiessmann concludes his study of the Robin Hood ballads:<sup>71</sup>

Robin Hood ist eine durch die Balladendichtung popular gewordene Persönlichkeit, deren historische Grundlage einer oder einige der um die Wende des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts lebenden outlaws sind, die grollend über die Beschränkung der alten Freiheit in den Wäldern des Landes um Barnesdale herum ein freies Abenteuerleben führten.

One hundred and thirty-five years of criticism and study have elapsed since Ritson's *Robin Hood* first saw light of day, and in that time much study and ink have been spent on the hero of the greenwood. The personal existence of the Robin Hood of the ballads has been successfully refuted, and upon hypotheses for which Ritson had the material. It is unfortunate that so brilliant an antiquary and scholar made so little critical use of it, and that, as a result, Ritson's work is now but an uncritical retailing of scattered fragments, a monument to antiquarianism. But practically nothing has been added to the references given by Ritson; he was thorough and painstaking in his work.

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<sup>71</sup> Rudolf Kiessmann, *Untersuchungen über die Motive der Robin-Hood-Balladen*, English Monographs, vol. 40 (Halle, 1895), pp. 41-42.

## TIECK'S ESSAY ÜBER DAS ERHABENE

IN Box 18 of the "Ludwig Tieck-Nachlass" in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, we find, in Tieck's hand, on six quarto leaves, an unfinished essay entitled *Über das Erhabene*, dated 1792. It has never been published and is barely touched upon in the voluminous literature on Tieck, although it is not without significance in the long series of critical works for which its author is famed.

Kopke, in his biography of Tieck (1855), does not mention it, nor does he include it in his "Chronologisches Verzeichnis von Tiecks Werken." Adolf Hauften, in an important article on Tieck's unpublished writings (1887),<sup>1</sup> takes no notice of it. The first and, indeed, only one to devote any significant discussion to it was Edgar Regener in a Rostock dissertation of 1903.<sup>2</sup> On pages 20-22 of this work Regener calls attention to it as an early product of Tieck's voracious reading:

Er mag die Bucher einerseits im Dienste des Schulmeisters, andererseits auf Antrieb seines eigenen Bedürfnisses hin verarbeitet haben, indem er aus ihnen die Beispiele zu seiner Studie "Über das Erhabene" nahm. Grosse Flüchtigkeit und keck sich äussernde Oberflächlichkeit zeigen, wie sehr der Aufsatz die Arbeit einer flinken Feder ist. Trotzdem ist er uns für die Entwicklung des Knaben wertvoll. Wenn wir z.B. Sätze darin finden wie: "Ein Dichter kann uns nur gefallen, wenn wir zu seinen Bildern, Charakteren und Seelenerscheinungen Analogien in uns selbst finden, die uns jene wahrscheinlich machen, oder gar die nämlichen Bilder und Ideen," so haben wir in diesen Worten ein Moment, aus dem wir uns sein früh reifes Verständnis und sein ausserordentlich sicheres Gefühl erklären können in der Schätzung von Goethe, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Holberg u.a. und in der heftigen Abneigung gegen Iffland und die Schriftsteller seiner Art. Wenn er auch den Schluss zu dem Ritterroman "Die eiserne Maske" und in dem gleichen Stil den "Bairischen Hiesel" schrieb. Oder wir dürfen die ersten Hinweise auf seine später betätigten Kunstanschauungen darin finden, wenn Tieck sagt: "Es ist unleugbar, dass alle unsere feinsten geistigsten Begriffe, alle unsere Erfahrungen und Analogien sich endlich in ein Labyrinth von Empfindungen verlieren, wo der Beobachter den leitenden Faden verliert." Diese Worte könnten von Maurice Maeterlinck sein; sie könnten in "Le trésor des humbles" stehen. So richtig diese Äusserungen sind, so wenig Zustimmung wird er wohl erhalten haben bei der Behauptung: "Jeder Vorgang wird an das Erhabene streifen, wenn ich mit seiner Vorstellung eine Menge von Gedanken verbinden kann." Durch ein Beispiel will Tieck dies näher beleuchten und meint: ein bettelnder Belisar gibt uns Gedanken, ein bettelnder Blinder

<sup>1</sup> Zu Ludwig Tiecks Nachlass," *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, xv, 316 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Tieck-Studien. Drei Kapitel zu dem Thema: Der junge Tieck*. Berlin-Wilmersdorf (1903).

nur Rührung. Ich glaube: in der gleichen Weise, wie ich bei Belisar Gedanken haben kann, werden sie sich auch bei dem blinden Bettler einstellen. . .

Die Arbeit ist Bruchstück, sie hört in der Mitte auf. Interessant ist der Aufsatz für uns insofern, als er uns—ich möchte sagen: einen Lesezettel des jungen Dichters gibt. Die Beweise für und gegen das Erhabene nimmt er aus den Werken von Milton, Ariost, Homer, Vergil, Horaz, Shakespeare, Spencer, Blumauer, Uz, Kleist, Hume,<sup>3</sup> Brockes, Haller, Lessing, Äschylos, Sophokles und Euripides. Immerhin für den Neunzehnjährigen ein gutes Zeugnis. Seine literarische Bildung war ziemlich luckenlos.

Although the manuscript reveals the year of composition as 1792, we cannot be certain as to the more exact time. During the summer semester of that year, that is, from Easter until September, Tieck was a student at Halle. In the autumn he changed the scene of his academic activities to Göttingen. It seems likely that he wrote the essay either in Halle or in Göttingen. Probably he meant to read it before some literary society at either place. The expressions "meine Zuhörer" and "meine Vorlesung" would point to this. Perhaps he composed it as an exercise for his professor of classical antiquities at Halle, the famous Friedrich August Wolf, or for Christian Gottlob Heyne, under whom he studied classical philology at Göttingen. This seems plausible when we recall that another of his early critical essays, *Die Kupferstiche nach der Shakespeare-Galerie in London* (published in Nicolai's *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* in 1795),<sup>4</sup> was also written under professorial guidance—that of Heyne and the Italo-German art historian Johann Dominik Fiorillo.

To complete our list of Tieck's earliest critical works we need to mention only another unpublished essay, found in a rather rough and illegible form in Box 18 of the Berlin "Nachlass" and entitled *Soll der Mahler seine Gegenstände lieber aus dem erzählenden oder dramatischen Dichter nehmen?*,<sup>5</sup> the essay *Shakespeares Behandlung des Wunderbaren*,<sup>6</sup> written in Göttingen in 1793, submitted to Göschen in 1794 for Schiller's *Thalia* but rejected, and finally published in 1796 by Nicolai as a preface to Tieck's prose version of *The Tempest*; and the long first draft of *Das*

<sup>3</sup> An error on Regener's part for "Home."

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted in Tieck's *Kritische Schriften* (Leipzig, 1848), I, 3 ff.

<sup>5</sup> This essay has never been noticed or even mentioned by any writer on Tieck. It covers four quarto sheets and gives preference to the dramatic poets (not surprising in view of Tieck's early interest in histrionics), entirely overlooking nature itself as a possible subject, perhaps because the author had only historical painting in mind. Tieck here opposes both Caylus and Lessing, who, he claims, recommend epics, especially those of Homer. But he adds: "Ich mag es nicht wagen, darüber zu streiten, ob Lessing in seiner Kritik gegen Caylus nicht vielleicht zu weit gegangen sei, denn es ist zu gefährlich, sich mit einem solchen Gegner in einen Zweikampf ein zu lassen." <sup>6</sup> Reprinted *Krit. Schr.*, I, 37 ff.

*Buch über Shakespeare*, written in Gottingen, probably in 1793–94.<sup>7</sup> It will be noted that of these five works, three deal with Shakespeare. Aside from its importance otherwise, *Über das Erhabene*, together with the fragment on the use of literature by painters, is therefore significant as Tieck's first attempt in a field of criticism not relating directly to Elizabethan England.

The following reprint, made with the kind permission of the authorities of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, is an attempt faithfully to reproduce the text of the manuscript.

#### UBER DAS ERHABENE 1792.

Es ist vielleicht in der Ästhetik nichts schwerer, als aus ihrem unzertrennlichen Zusammenhang irgend eine Wirkung der schonen Künste herauszureißen, diese zu zergliedern, zu zeigen, worin ihr Wesen besteht, und auf welche Art sie auf unsre Seele wirkt. Diese Anatomie der Schönheit wird von Vielen als zwecklos und unnütz verschrien, weil, wie diese Gegner sagen, der Genuß des Schönen selbst dadurch zerstört wird, weil der Untersucher auf Spitzfindigkeiten stößt, die ihn von der Wahrheit abführen, und bei der Schönheit selbst keine Anwendung leiden, weil der Verstand dadurch gewohnt wird zu grubeln, wo das Herz vorher in Genüssen schwelgte. Es ist in unsern Zeiten schon viel für und wider diese Meinung geschrieben, und dies mag mir die Widerlegung dieser Behauptungen ersparen. Es ist unleugbar, das alle, selbst unsre feinsten, geistigsten Begriffe, alle unsre Erfahrungen und Analogien sich endlich in ein Labyrinth von Empfindungen verlieren, wo der Beobachter den leitenden Faden verliert.<sup>8</sup> Wenn aber das *γνώθι σαύρον* und die Psychologie nicht unwichtig sind (und welchem Menschen sollten sie dies nicht sein), wenn daran liegt, die zarten Schwingungen zu entdecken, in den unsre Empfindungen zittern, die Stufe aufzufinden, wo Idee und Gefühl sich begegnen, und eins werden, der wird dem Gang einer solchen Untersuchung mit Vergnügen folgen. Home und Lessing, die diese Bahn am glücklichsten betreten haben, reissen jeden mit sich fort, und wenn die Gegner dieser Forschungen bedächten, daß hier der Dichter und der Kritiker einerlei Zweck hatten, so wurden sie nicht mehr über die Zwecklosigkeit klagen; denn ob der Dichter die Empfindungen, ihr geistiges Band, ihre Verschmelzung und ihre anscheinenden Widersprüche dem Beschauer darstellt, eben die Gefühle in seiner Seele klingen läßt, und sie ihm auf diese Art erklärt, oder ob der Untersucher uns ihre Bestandtheile auseinandersetzt, und auf ihren Stoff zurückführt, ist im Grunde doch ein unwesentlicher Unterschied.

Man hat mehrere einzelne brauchbare Compendien und Systeme der Aesthetik, aber nur noch wenig gute Auseinandersetzungen einzelner Kräfte der

<sup>7</sup> *Das Buch über Shakespeare*. Handschriftliche Aufzeichnungen von Ludwig Tieck. Aus seinem Nachlass [i.e., Stadtbibliothek, Berlin] herausgegeben von Henry Ludeke (Halle, 1920), pp. 1–364.

<sup>8</sup> This sentence, with the omission of "selbst," is quoted in Regener, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Kunst, und dies mag mich entschuldigen, wenn ich vielleicht die Erwartungen meiner Zuhörer tausche, da es hier nach vielem Denken doch so schwer ist, gründlich zu sein, da ich im Grunde nichts vor mir finde, auf dem ich weiter bauen könnte. Man darf daher nichts als abgerissene Gedanken erwarten, und der Spruch mag mich bei einer so schweren Abhandlung entschuldigen: *Et voluisse sat est*

Ich sagte, daß mir so gut als gar nicht vorgearbeitet sei, und die Sache bedarf fast keines Beweises. Home spricht nur im Allgemeinen übers Erhabene und über dessen Gegentheil, nach Heineke und Schlosser (in ihren Übersetzungen des Longin)<sup>9</sup> ist jedes vollendete Gedicht erhaben und der fragmentarische Longin giebt uns gar nicht ganz genau an, was er sich unter eigentlich Erhaben denke, er begnügt sich, an mehreren Stellen die Erhabenheit auseinanderzusetzen, und in andern Beispielen zu zeigen, wie andre Dichter und Redner gegen die wahre Erhabenheit gesündigt haben. Doch bis jetzt ist sein Werk noch immer das beste, was wir über diesen Gegenstand besitzen, und es sei mir erlaubt, seiner Methode zu folgen, da oft der Leser einen Satz weit leichter versteht, wenn er ihn sogleich auf ein gegebenes Beispiel anwenden kann.

Schon Longin sagt in dem achten Abschnitt seiner Abhandlung,<sup>10</sup> daß die Fähigkeit, erhaben zu denken, mit uns geboren werden mußte, und ich möchte hinzusetzen, auch die Fähigkeit Erhabenheit zu fühlen und zu verstehen. Ein Dichter kann uns nur gefallen, wenn wir zu seinen Bildern, Charakteren und Seelenerscheinungen Analogien in uns selbst finden, die uns jene wahrscheinlich machen, oder gar die nehmlichen Bilder und Ideen.<sup>11</sup> Je häufiger dies der Dichter thun kann, in je mehrere Situationen er den Leser hineinwirft, je mehr anscheinende Widersprüche er ihm auflöst, je mehrere Charaktere, die uns in der alltäglichen Welt aus——<sup>12</sup> fremd und keine Ähnlichkeit mit uns selbst zu haben scheinen, je näher er diese dem Leser bringt und ihm gleichsam ein Serohr in die Hand giebt, durch dessen Hülfe er tausend verborgene Kräfte in der Seele entdeckt, je mehr ist der Dichter Genie. Er muß alle Seelen gleichsam vor uns aufschließen, und uns das ganze verborgene Triebwerk sehen lassen, das dem gewöhnlichen Menschen mit einem undurchdringlichen Schleier bedeckt ist. Dies eben ist die große Alchemie, durch die der wahre Dichter Alles, was er berührt, in Gold verwandelt, wo der gewöhnliche Kopf über Durftigkeit und schon erschöpfte Materien klagt, und dies ist das große Geheimniß, durch das der große Dichter so unaussprechlich auf die Seelen wirkt, er gießt seinen Geist in tausend Kornern, durch Millionen Pulse fliegen seine Gedanken und Gefühle—so hauchte Tyrtäus seine Flammen durch das ganze spartanische Heer, so war es einem griechischen Redner möglich, die Verächtlichkeit des Lebens so anschaulich zu machen, daß er viele seiner Zuhörer zum Selbstmord verleitete; auf diese Art sprachen Sophocles und Euripides so allmächtig von der Bühne herab;—darum kniete ganz Griechenland vor seinen Dichtern nieder. In unserm

<sup>9</sup> C. H. Heinecke published his translation of Longinus, with commentary, life and critical essay, in Dresden, 1737–38: J. G. Schlosser his in Leipzig, 1781–82.

<sup>10</sup> Corrected from "in seinem achten Abschnitt."

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by Regener, p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Several illegible words, crossed out.

schaalen Zeitalter ist die große Kunst zur Ausfüllung eines langweiligen Abends verwiesen, zum bloßen Vergnügen herabgesetzt kann sie kaum noch auf einzelne Herzen wirken, unmannlich tandelt sie um uns her und ist zufrieden, wenn sie uns ein Lacheln abgewinnt. Die Vater des Volks sehn auf allen hohen Enthusiasmus, wie auf eine Unwürdigkeit ihrer Kinder herab, der durch ihre weisen Einrichtungen nicht nur unnutz, sondern sogar schädlich geworden ist; alle Künste sind als unschuldige Spielwerke in ihre Werkstätte zurückgewiesen und der wurde als ein Thor verlacht werden, der ihnen von ihrem vorigen großen Einfluß etwas wiedergeben wollte.—So ist nun auch die hohe Muse bloder und zurückhaltender geworden, sie hat sich zur Unmundigkeit des Zeitalters herabgelassen und gehorcht den Befehlen der Fürsten, wenn sie gleich eine Gottinn ist. Die Erhabenheit der alten Welt kann daher unmöglich uns noch beseelen, wir haben so viele große Ideen, Patriotismus, Freiheit, Aufopferung verlohren, vielleicht auf sehr lange, und die ganz reinen, ganz gelauterten hohen Empfindungen kommen vielleicht nie zu uns zurück, da seit unserer Geburt tausend Armseligkeiten uns begleitet und sich tief in unsre Seele geprägt haben, daher kommt es, daß viele alles Gefühl für's Große und Erhabene verlohren haben, und diese hohe Flamme nur kalt anstauen, da sie keinen ähnlichen Funken in ihrem Busen spüren. Der Feigherzige wird bei des Odysseus Gefahren wenig zittern, und nie den hohen Muth des Leidenden verstehen, der kalte Mensch wird die hohe Liebe als ein unglaubliches, phantastisches Märchen ansehen, weil keine einzige Empfindung ihm je etwas davon erzählte, der in sich selbst Zurückgezogene wird den Patriotismus des Curtius ewig als eine Thorheit betrachten. Auf diese Art lassen sich vielleicht die widersprechenden Meinungen über Meisterstücke vereinigen, wo der eine gerade das vergöttert, wo der andre mit Verachtung auf den Künstler hinabsieht, es ist blos der kleine Unterschied, der eine ist ein trübes Wasser, das keinen Eindruck rein und deutlich annimmt, der andre ein heller See, wo die ganze reizende Landschaft sich mit ihren feinsten Schattirungen bespiegelt. Der Gerührte weint beim Anblick des Unglucks, der andere kann beim Großen seine Thränen nicht zurückhalten, da er beim Ruhrenden kalt vorübergeht. Wenn dieser ganze Satz richtig ist, so möchte vielleicht nächstens dahin kommen, daß sich beim Aeschylos und Shak. alle Augen roth weinten, so wie man neulich an den Thränen über Siegwart und Stella eine schöne Seele erkennen wollte.

Aus diesem folgt, daß Erhabenheit einzig in den Ideen bestehen könne, der Ausdruck kann bloß dazu dienen, um die Worte nicht des Gedankens unwürdig zu machen, eben dies sagt auch Longin; denn obgleich einige seiner Abschnitte auch vom Ausdruck handeln, so sieht man doch aus dem ersten deutlich, daß er der Meinung ist, der Ausdruck könne blos die Erhabenheit der Idee unterstützen.

Longin definirt im siebenten Abschnitt das Erhabene auf folgende Art: Groß ist das, dem wir auf keine Art widerstehen können, was sich tief in unsre Seele prägt und sich nicht wieder auslöschen läßt. Man sieht, es ist mehr eine Beschreibung als eine Definition dieses Wortes.

Um mich deutlicher zu machen, werde ich in meiner Vorlesung die Worte



Gedanke<sup>13</sup> und Idee<sup>13</sup> unterscheiden. Idee soll jede Vorstellung bedeuten, und Gedanke seine gewöhnliche Bedeutung behalten.

Nach meinem Urtheil besteht das Wesen des Erhabenen darin, daß ich es sogleich mit Freude bemerke, es nicht ohne Muhe zu meinem Eigenthum mache,<sup>14</sup> und eine Menge Gedanken<sup>13</sup> außer dem Hauptgedanken in ihm entdecke.—Man konnte dieser Definition eben das vorwerfen, was ich an der des Longin getadelt habe, aber ich will mich deutlicher machen. Eine Menge klarer<sup>14</sup> Gefühle<sup>13</sup> ist das Wesen des Schönen, viele dunkle<sup>13</sup> Gefühle<sup>13</sup> der Character des Schrecklichen<sup>13</sup> und Gedanken<sup>13</sup> das Zeichen des Erhabenen.<sup>13</sup>

Die Erhabenheit bemerke ich sogleich; weil ich in ihr einen Widerschein von meinem eignen Selbst wiederfinde, bemerke ich sie mit Freude als ein Gut, was mir eigenthümlich zugehört, ich strebe, sie in mich selbst zu verwandeln, aber diese Verwandlung ist nicht ohne Muhe; ich entdecke hundert neue Gedanken in dem Hauptgedanken, und in diesem Entdecken, in diesem Bestreben besteht der Genuß<sup>13</sup> des Erhabenen.

Man wurde mir sehr Unrecht thun, wenn man hieraus folgern wollte, daß alles<sup>13</sup> Erhabene bloß gedacht<sup>13</sup> und gar nicht empfunden<sup>13</sup> werden konnte, ich behaupte dies bloß von den erhabenen Gedanken<sup>13</sup> nicht von erhabenen Ideen.

Der Genuß der Schönheit wird uns weit leichter, als der Genuß des Erhabenen, mit wenigen Krafften vereinigen wir die Schönheit in uns, das Erhabene<sup>13</sup> (die Definition liegt gleichsam im deutschen Worte selbst) steht über uns; wir bewundern, wünschen und erringen endlich den schönen Preis, statt daß in der Schönheit klare<sup>13</sup> Gefühle<sup>13</sup> um uns her spielen und uns freiwillig entgegen kommen.

Eine der reizendsten Stellen in Kleists Frühling ist folgende:

Wie schimmert der blühende Garten, wie duften die Lauben! Wie gaukelt  
In Wolken von Blüthen der fröhliche Zephyr! Er führt sie gen Himmel  
Und regnet mit ihnen herab.<sup>15</sup>

Wir nehmen das Gefühl leicht und willig in uns auf; wir sehen den Gegenstand der dichterischen Beschreibung deutlich, wir<sup>16</sup> empfinden mancherlei Gefühle,—wer aber wird dieser Stelle nicht das kleine Epigramm von Logau<sup>13</sup> vorziehen, wo er vom May sagt:

Dieser Monat ist ein Kuß, den der Himmel giebt der Erde,  
Daß sie izt<sup>17</sup> seine Braut, künftig eine Mutter werde.

Hier ist die Schönheit offenbar der Erhabenheit untergeordnet, und die Er-

<sup>13</sup> This word is underscored.

<sup>14</sup> Here the words "und es mit meinem Blick" are crossed out.

<sup>15</sup> Tieck quotes very freely and inaccurately. Cf. *Deutsche Nationallit.*, 45<sup>2</sup>, p. 173:

... von blühenden Fruchtbäumen schimmert

Der Garten, die kreuzende Gänge mit roter Dunkelheit füllen,

Und Zephyr gaukelt umher, treibt Wolken von Blüten zur Höhe,

Die sich ergießen und regnen.

<sup>16</sup> Here the word "fühlen" is crossed out.

<sup>17</sup> The original has "ietzund." Cf. *Friedrichs von Logau sämtliche Sinngedichte* herausgeg. von Gustav Eitner, Bibl. des Literar. Vereins in Stuttgart, cxiii (Tübingen, 1872), epigram 2434.

habenheit entsteht nur aus der Menge der Gedanken,<sup>18</sup> die in dem Hauptgedanken liegen.

Die Stelle in Hallers Gedicht über die Ewigkeit:

Als mit dem Unding noch das neue Wesen rang,  
Und kaum noch reif die Welt sich aus dem Abgrund schwang<sup>18</sup>

oder:

Der Sterne stille Majestät,  
Die uns zum Ziel befestigt steht,  
Eilt von dir weg wie Gras an schwulen Sommertagen;  
Wie Rosen, die am Mittag jung  
Und welk sind vor der Dämmerung,  
Ist gegen dich der Angelstern und Wagen<sup>19</sup>  
sind voll der größten Erhabenheit. Auch noch die folgende Stelle  
Die schnellen Schwingen der Gedanken,  
Wogegen Schall und Zeit und Wind,<sup>20</sup>  
Und selbst des Lichtes Flügel langsam sind,  
Ermüden über dir und hoffen keine Schranken.  
Ich haufe ungeheure Zahlen,  
Gebirge Millionen auf,  
Ich wälze Zeit auf Zeit und Welt auf Welten hin,  
Und wenn ich auf der Mark<sup>21</sup> des Endlichen nun bin,  
Und von der fürchterlichen Höhe  
Mit Schwindeln wieder nach dir sehe,  
Ist alle Macht der Zahl, vermehrt mit tausend Mahlen  
Noch nicht ein Theil von dir.

Wie ausgewählt ist jedes Wort, um mit jedem Begriff mehrere Gedanken zu vereinigen.

Eben so ein Gedanke eines izeit vergessenen Alten Deutschen Dichters Brockes,<sup>18</sup> der von Gott sagt, er sei ein Zirkel, dessen Mittelpunkt allenthalben, dessen Umkreis nirgends ist.<sup>22</sup> Kann man sich erhabner ausdrücken? Und liegt hier nicht die Erhabenheit darin, daß wir diesen großen Gedanken nie ganz zu Ende denken können, daß sich immer noch neue Begriffe darbieten, wenn man ihn auch hundertmal überlesen hat?

Zu den erhabenen Gedanken gehören auch Gemälde, Bilder und Vergleichen, ich will zu zeigen versuchen, daß die Erhabenheit hier auch bloß in der mehr oder weniger großen Menge der Nebengedanken liege.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Deutsche Nationallit.*, 41<sup>2</sup>, p. 110. The authentic text has "rung" and "schwung."

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Deutsche Nationallit.*, *ibid.* Quoted, with three serious errors, in J. G. Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 2. Teil, neue verm. zweite Aufl. (Leipzig, 1792), sub "Erhaben," p. 99.

<sup>20</sup> Accurate text in *Deutsche Nationallit.* 41<sup>2</sup>, p. 111: "Zeit und Schall und Wind." The first four lines are quoted by Sulzer (*ibid.*, p. 98) with "finden" instead of "hoffen" in line 4.

<sup>21</sup> The original has "wann . . . March."

<sup>22</sup> In *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*. A favorite concept of Brockes, suggested in his shorter poems, too.

Wenn ich in eine schöne<sup>23</sup> Gegend trete, die mit allem Zauber des Reizes geschmückt ist, so werde ich empfinden, Erinnerungen und Traume werden mich umgeben, alles wird mich aus meinen gewöhnlichen Gefühlen heraus reißen,—aber wenn ich auf einer Klippe stehe, die sich weit uübers Meer hinaus buckt, die Unendlichkeit vor mir, unten nur unermeßliche Abgrunde, da wird die Seele sich erhoben fühlen, aus meinen Gefühlen werden sich große erhabene Gedanken entwickeln, ich werde mich selbst in der großen Masse verlihren, und tausend Gedanken von Ewigkeit und Unendlichkeit werden sich tief in mein Inneres graben.

Wenn man folgende beide Stellen vergleicht, wird man diese Anmerkung bestätigt finden, Uz beschreibt einen Frühlingsmorgen:

O welche frische Luft haucht vom bebuschten<sup>23</sup> Hügel!  
 Welch angenehmer West durchzieht  
 Mit rauschendem, bethautem Flügel  
 Das<sup>24</sup> holde Thal, wo Alles grünt und blüht!  
 Hier wo die Grazien sich ihre Blumen holen,  
 Hier seh' ich, wie der Morgen lacht,  
 Der unter duftenden<sup>25</sup> Viole  
 Und beim Gesang der Vögel aufgewacht.

Gedanken wurden diese sanften Empfindungen stören,—aber wenn Pindar in der ersten pythischen Ode den Ausbruch des Ätna beschreibt, da wird das Gefühl den Gedanken untergeordnet, in der furchterlichen Beschreibung Sh. von der hohen Klippe zu Dover drängen sich tausend Gedanken herbei:

Wie furchtbar grausig ist's, den Blick so tief  
 Hinabzuwerfen! Krähn und Raben, die  
 Die mittlere Luft durchfliegen, scheinen  
 Kaum wie die Käfer, in des Felsen Mitte  
 Hangt einer, welcher Muscheln sammelt; ein  
 Gefährlich Handwerk, er ist kaum so groß  
 Als wie sein Kopf, die Fischer am Gestade  
 Sind nur wie Mause, jenes große Schiff  
 Am Anker ist nicht größer als sein Boot,  
 Das Boot wird von dem Auge kaum gesehn.  
 Die Woge, die sich murmelnd an den tausend  
 Gesteinen bricht, wird nicht so hoch gehört.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The original has "bebuschten." Cf. *Samtliche poetische Werke von J. P. Uz*, 1. Band (Leipzig, 1768), p. 191. The title of the poem is "Empfindungen an einem Frühlingsmorgen."

<sup>24</sup> The original has "dieß."

<sup>25</sup> The original has "duftenden."

<sup>26</sup> Shakespeare's *King Lear*, iv, 6:

How fearful  
 And dizzy 'tis, to cast one's eyes so low!  
 The crows and choughs that wing the midway air  
 Show scarce so gross as beetles: half way down  
 Hangs one that gathers samphire, dreadful trade!  
 Methinks he seems no bigger than his head:

Jeder neue Zug, der das Gemählde vermehrt, bietet neue Gedanken dar, die Vögel in der Luft, unter ihnen der Muschelsammler, nichts ist in der Beschreibung unnötig, und kein Wort ist da, das uns nicht neue Gedanken zuführte; darum ist die Stelle erhaben, und man kann sie unzählige Mal lesen, und immer wieder etwas Neues dabei denken.

Am deutlichsten sieht man den Unterschied des Sanften und Erhabenen, wenn man Leben in ein Gemählde bringt, man denke sich eine Landschaft<sup>27</sup> (in einem Schauspiel oder Epos) wo auf einer umgesturzten Saule ein Bettler sitzt und weint,—vielleicht ein ruhrender, ein ergreifender Anblick, der unser Mitleid erregt, aber man sage aus, daß dieser weinende Bettler Cajus<sup>13</sup> Marius<sup>13</sup> sei, der auf den Trummern von Karthago seine Thranen vergießt, so wird aus diesem Act des Mitleids Erhabenheit werden, bloß weil ich mit dieser Vorstellung eine Menge von Gedanken verbinden,<sup>28</sup> ich kann diesen Begriff hundertmal von neuem denken, ohne diese Gedanken ganz zu erschöpfen. Jeder blinde Greis, der auf einer Laute Gesänge spielt, ist ein schöner<sup>13</sup> Anblick (man sehe oben den Begriff von schon) aber nur der blinde Greis Homer, oder Ossian machen den Anblick erhaben, der bettelnde Belisar giebt uns Gedanken, ein bettelnder Blinder nur Ruhung.<sup>29</sup>

Die Erhabenheit der Bilder besteht ebenfalls nur in Gedanken, der Chor in Sh. Heinrich V sagt:

Denn izt sitzt die Erwartung in der Luft,  
Und hält ein Schwert, vom Griff bis an die Spitze  
Mit kaiserlichen und mit Königskronen  
Bedeckt, für ihn und sein Gefolge.<sup>30</sup>

Daß die Erwartung in der Luft schwebt, das Zweifelhafte der Schlacht, daß die Gefahr vor der Idee der Belohnung verschwindet, diese Gedanken machen das Bild erhaben, nimmt man diese fort, so kann ein Bild noch immer Schönheit behalten, aber die Erhabenheit geht durchaus verloren.

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The fishermen, that walk upon the beach,  
Appear like mice, and yond tall anchoring bark,  
Diminish'd to her cock; her cock, a buoy  
Almost too small for sight: the murmuring surge,  
That on the unnumber'd idle pebbles chafes,  
Cannot be heard so high.

Baudissin's translation, first published in 1832 (cf. *Shakespeares dramatische Werke* übers. v. A. W. v. Schlegel u. Ludwig Tieck, 11. Band [Berlin, 1840], p. 98), is more accurate in form and content.

<sup>27</sup> The words "auf einen" are crossed out here.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted very freely (but in quotation marks!) by Regener, p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted by Regener, p. 21.

<sup>30</sup> *King Henry V*, Act II, Prolog:

For now sits Expectation in the air,  
And hides a sword from hilts unto the point  
With crowns imperial, crowns and coronets,  
Promised to Harry and his followers.

Schlegel's translation, first published in 1801 (cf. *op. cit.*, 2. Band [Berlin, 1840], p. 131), is more accurate in form and content

Eben dies findet bei den Vergleichen statt, und wie nothwendig die Gedanken zur Erhabenheit sind, kann man wieder daraus sehen, daß selbst viele Bilder, die an sich nicht erhaben sind, durch die Gegenstände, mit denen sie verglichen werden, erhaben werden, bloß dadurch, daß ich nun eine Menge von Gedanken an dieses Bild knüpfe. Ein Esel, der von Knaben aus dem Kornfelde gejagt wird, ist nichts weniger als eine erhabene Vorstellung, wenn wir aber die bei uns bloß konventionelle Verachtlichkeit des Esels vergessen, und Homer nun den Ajax, der von vielen Feinden verfolgt, langsam und ruhig, ohne seine Schritte dadurch zu beschleunigen, mit einem Waldesel vergleicht, der ein Kornfeld zertritt, und ohne sich nach den Knaben, seinen Verfolgern umzusehn, zurückweicht,—so ist das Bild erhaben.

Dieses Gleichniß Homers ist sehr oft als unedel getadelt worden, und selbst der neuste Herausgeber Virgils<sup>31</sup> zieht sehr oft dessen Vergleichen denen des Homer vor, wenn der lateinische Dichter sie von dem Griechischen entlehnt hat, aber eben in der Erhabenheit unterscheiden sich vorzüglich das große und das kleinere Genie; der wahre Dichter wird selten einen Fehlgriff thun, während der Nachahmer oft ins Burleske fällt, um seinen Vorgänger noch zu übertreffen, ich will nur ein paar Beispiele geben, weil sie ganz gleich den Satz bestätigen, daß ohne Gedanken keine Erhabenheit möglich sei.

Im vierzehnten Buch der Iliade kämpft Ajax mit dem Hektor, eine der größten Situationen im Homer, Ajax wirft den Hektor mit einem sehr großen Stein auf die Brust, den Stein beschreibt Homer näher, sehr groß, und sagt dann vom Ajax:

Schleuderte gleich einem Kräusel ihn, daß er tanzend sich drehte.<sup>32</sup>  
*στρούμβος* war bei den Griechen gewöhnlicher Krausel aus Erz.

Ajax wird um so größer, da er das Fels Stuck nur wie ein Spielwerk so vor sich hin wirft, Virgil will hier den Homer verbessern, verfehlt aber ganz und gar das Tertium, durch das die Erhabenheit entsteht, nämlich das Hinweisen auf die Verachtlichkeit, im 7<sup>ten</sup> Buch der Aeneide beschreibt er die Wuth der Amata;<sup>33</sup> sie wird von einer wilden Begeisterung durch die Stadt gejagt,—und vergleicht diesen Zustand nun sehr weitläufig mit einem Kräusel, den Knaben umherpeitschen,—bei diesem Vergleich haben wir weiter keine Gedanken, als daß sie nur lächerlich erscheint, die wuthende Amata erscheint uns nicht furchtbar, sondern burlesk.

In eben diesem Gesange kömmt Alecto zum Turnus, und haucht ihm einen wüthenden Enthusiasmus ein, in dem er Krieg und Schlachten brennend wünscht, man verlangt kein Bild, oder wenigstens nur solches, das uns diese Wuth recht groß, passend und fürchterlich darstellt; er aber vergleicht sie mit einem Kessel, worin Wasser gekocht wird, das endlich schäumend überläuft. Das Tertium der Vergleichung ist wirklich burlesk, aber um dies noch zu verstärken, mahlt der Dichter auch noch Nebenzüge aus, wie das Wasser rauscht, wie das Holz untergelegt wird.—Auf diese Lächerlichkeit wäre Virgil gewiß

<sup>31</sup> The reference is either to *Eclogae, Georgica et Aeneidos libri XII cum notis novis*. . . Chr. Junker, Leipzig, 1787; or to *Bucolica et Georgica, Hirtenlieder und wirtschaftliche Gedichte nach Heyne, mit deutschen erklärenden Anmerkungen von Johann G. Brieger, Grottkau, 1790.*

<sup>32</sup> *Iliad*, xiv, 413.

nicht gefallen, wenn er nicht zuweilen den Homer ohne Geschmack hätte nachahmen und übertreffen wollen, denn eine ganz ähnliche Stelle findet sich wieder im 21 Buch der Ilias; nur macht der Zusammenhang und die Absicht der Dichter hier einen sehr großen Unterschied.

Der zurnende Hephaistos laßt nemlich dort den Fluß Xanthus so aufbrausen und Homer vergleicht sein Schaumen mit einem kochenden Keßel. Dieses kleine Bild vergrößert das Große, es stellt mir auf die sinnlichste Art die Macht des Gottes dar, und so wird Homer in eben den Versen erhaben, in denen Virgil lacherlich ist, bloß dadurch, daß durch die Vergleichung Gedanken in uns erregt werden, und doch lobt der geschmackvolle Herausgeber des Virgil<sup>33</sup> diese letzte Stelle und zieht sie der homerischen vor, weil er die Vergleichung mit der Wuth schicklicher findet. Die genauere Ausmahlung der Nebenzüge, die er auch lobt, kann gewiß nicht dazu dienen, den Virgil in ein schöneres Licht, als Homer zu setzen.

Eben darum, weil Gedanken das Erhabene bilden, kann die Allegorie, bei der Gedanken der Hauptzweck sind, sehr erhaben werden, obgleich noch wenige Dichter mit Gluck in diesem Fach gearbeitet haben. Daß ich nicht allegorische Gedichte meine, wie die *Fairy Queen* von Spenser, brauche ich wohl nicht zu erinnern, sondern als kleine Theile, als Figuren eines Gedichts, oder als kleine für sich bestehende Gedichte. Die christliche Dogmatik und die Weitschweifigkeit abgerechnet, findet man viele Erhabenheiten in Miltons Allegorie vom Tode und der Sunde; eben so in einer übrigens sehr schlechten Allegorie Ariosts, in der er die schrecklichen Wirkungen der Melancholie beschreibt.—Daß die bekannte Allegorie des Horaz: *O navis, referent in mare u.s.w.*,<sup>34</sup> nicht wirkt, liegt eben, dunkelt mich, darin, daß sie uns nicht sowohl mehrere, als nur einen Gedanken giebt, der durch das ganze Gedicht herrscht, sie ist also mehr witzig als erhaben, denn dadurch unterscheidet sich der Witz von der Erhabenheit, daß er nur einen Gedanken enthält, den ich sogleich begreife und der mich beim zweiten Denken keine andre Seite entdecken laßt.

Mehrere Travestirer und Liebhaber der Travestien haben sich eingebildet, man könne einen großen Gedanken wie einen Handschuh umkehren und ihn dadurch burlesk machen,—sie haben darin einen Theil ihres Genusses gesucht, allein es gehort nur wenig Überlegung dazu, um einzusehn, daß der Gedanke immer derselbe bleiben muß; und daß Blumauer keine einzige seiner Plituden dem Virgil, sondern allein seinem eignen Genie zu verdanken hat.

Ich habe bis izt gezeigt, daß die Erhabenheit der Gedanken<sup>35</sup> bloß durch die Menge der Gedanken entstehe, es bleibt mir nun noch übrig, den Beweis zu versuchen, daß dies auch bei den übrigen Vorstellungen der Fall sei. Man wird sich nemlich meines festgesetzten Unterschiedes zwischen Gedanken und Idee noch von vorher erinnern.

Here the manuscript proper breaks off. It is followed by a continuation of about seven hundred words of notes, written in an extremely careless, illegible hand. We summarize the contents as far as possible:

<sup>33</sup> Here Tieck probably has Heyne in mind. His edition first appeared in Leipzig in 1767-75.

<sup>34</sup> *Odes*, No. xiv.

"Der Mensch ist in zwei Zuständen," writes Tieck. He is either "leidenschaftslos" or "in Leidenschaft." Longinus teaches that "Pathos (= Leidenschaft)" can enhance the sublime. "Nur große Leidenschaften sind der Erhabenheit fähig.—Je mehr der Mensch seine thierischen Kräfte in Seelenkräfte verwandelt, je edler wird er selbst—je mehr die thierische Antipathie zur Idee, die thierische Sympathie Liebe wird, je höher steht der Mensch. Leidenschaften haben drei Stufen: Wohlwollen, Zärtlichkeit, Liebe—Haß, Zorn, Wuth—Feigheit, Furcht, Angst—Kummer, Gram, Verzweiflung—Selbstdunkel, Selbstliebe, Stolz. Das bloß Schöne liegt in der Mitte." The poet has the advantage of speech over the artist. Some passions, for instance, envy, greed, avarice, always remain cold. They are suitable for comedy. Passions too much aroused spoil the illusion in a drama, perhaps also in an epic poem.

As Tieck himself indicates, his chief source was Longinus. But he mentions also Henry Home (*Elements of Criticism*, 1762 ff.), Heinecke, and Schlosser. Among other contemporary works on esthetics, he may have used the essay *Vom Erhabenen* by Conrad Curtius, the *Theorie der schönen Wissenschaften* by J. A. Eberhard, the *Philosophie der schönen Künste* of J. C. König, the *Theorie der schönen Wissenschaften* by A. H. Schott and the *Theorie der schönen Künste* of J. Riedel.

Internal evidence makes it fairly certain that he consulted the article "Erhaben" in the famous *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* of Johann Georg Sulzer,<sup>35</sup> a work which may almost be called the secular Bible of the German Rationalists. Several ideas of Sulzer are reechoed by Tieck, especially the notions that thinking sublimely must be inborn<sup>36</sup> and that sublimity can reside only in ideas, while the means of expressing it are of secondary importance.<sup>37</sup> More important evidence for Tieck's use of Sulzer is the fact that two passages from Haller's "Unvollkommenes Gedicht über die Ewigkeit," which are inaccurately and partially quoted by Sulzer, appear in corrected and amplified form in Tieck. That the latter was well acquainted with Sulzer's work is proved by a reference in a letter to Wackenroder of June 12, 1792, and by a quotation in his 1793-94 draft of *Das Buch über Shakespeare*.<sup>38</sup>

Aside from its indication of Tieck's wide early reading and its interest in a purely esthetic question, the importance and significance of *Über das Erhabene* may be considered from several points of view.

1. At this time, it will be noted, Tieck, like Friedrich Schlegel, still admired antiquity and scorned his own age, particularly on account of its aversion to such lofty ideas as Patriotism, Liberty, and Sacrifice. In this respect he opposes Sulzer, who believed that the moderns were

<sup>35</sup> The first edition of Sulzer, in two volumes, appeared in Leipzig, 1771-74. It is possible that Tieck used the second edition. See note 19 above.

<sup>36</sup> Sulzer, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., II, 108.

<sup>37</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>38</sup> von der Leyen, *Wackenroders Werke und Briefe* (Jena, 1910), II, 67; Lüdtke, *Das Buch über Shakespeare*, p. 138.

more successful than ancients in treating the sublime (2nd ed., II, 104).

2. Tieck had a decided preference for Homer as against Virgil.

3. It will be noted, too, that in spite of the literary references in which *Über das Erhabene* abounds, Tieck's main thesis, his definition of sublimity and his distinction between beauty, horror and sublimity are, on the whole, original. Yet his concepts are still far from deserving the appellation "Romantic," for he operates exclusively with ideas and thoughts and is just as Rationalistic as in his other early critical works. His attitude is still worlds removed from that of the lines in his essay *Die Tone*, written in 1798 for the *Phantasien über die Kunst* under the inspiration of Wackenroder:

Liebe denkt in süßen Tönen,  
Denn Gedanken stehn zu fern.  
Nur in Tönen mag sie gern  
Alles was sie will verschonen.<sup>39</sup>

But the development from the beautiful to the sublime, which he suggests, is a trait of Romanticism, according to Stefansky, *Das Wesen der deutschen Romantik*, p. 125.

4. In his remarks on landscape, and particularly his fascination for the view from the cliffs of Dover as described in *King Lear*, we have the typical reaction of Tieck, whose ideal *Naturbild* was always that of Central Germany, but who was thrilled and awed by thought of the sea.

5. Most interesting are the comparatively favorable remarks on allegory. In the letter to Wackenroder of June 12, 1792, referred to above, he expressed himself as hostile to it. Use of the device scarcely occurs in his works until some four years later, when he made the acquaintance of Jakob Bohme. For a while thereafter, especially while he was writing *Genoveva* (1799) and *Octavian* (1800-02), allegory became almost an obsession. At any rate, the passage in *Über das Erhabene* on this subject suggests the erroneousness of the current notion<sup>40</sup> that Bohme first aroused his taste for allegories.

6. The verse-translation of the two Shakespearean passages—from *Henry V* and *King Lear*—are, so far as we know, Tieck's earliest efforts in this field. Schlegel's rendering of *Henry V* appeared in 1801, Voss's *King Lear* was done in 1806, and Baudissin's came out in 1832.

7. Finally, it is instructive to note that Tieck quite ignores French criticism and literature.

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<sup>39</sup> von der Leyen, *op. cit.*, I, 297.

<sup>40</sup> See E. Edernheimer, *J. Bohme und die Romantiker*, Heidelberg, 1904; W. Feilchenfeld, *Der Einfluss J. Böhm's auf Novalis*, Berlin, 1922; and F. Strich, *Die Mythologie der deutschen Literatur von Klopstock bis Wagner*, 2 vols., Halle, 1910.



THE SIGNIFICANCE OF *LAMIA*

IN an article *Poetry of Sensation or of Thought?*<sup>1</sup> I attempted to show how *Endymion* and *Hyperion: A Fragment* are related to the æsthetic problem that Keats first analyzed in *Sleep and Poetry*. At that time I suggested that the Odes and *Lamia*, following as they do the abandoning of *Hyperion: A Fragment*, are the outpourings of a mind released at last from the self-imposed duty of writing a poetry of humanitarian philosophy and allowed to indulge its creative genius for the poetry of sensation. It was my contention (and still is) that Keats had been trying to force himself, like his own Apollo, to accept "Knowledge enormous" as Beauty—knowledge "of the agony and strife of human hearts"; whereas at least one half of his being was affirming passionately that Feeling, particularly that which passes through the refinery of the creative imagination, is Beauty. It was his acceptance of this side of his nature that produced most of the poems written in the spring of 1819. But during the summer of 1819 Keats plunged once more into the old conflict. It will be the purpose of this paper to show how *Lamia* and *The Fall of Hyperion* are related to it.

The poem *Lamia* must be admitted to have some bearing on the old problem of the relative merits of feeling and knowledge not only because the plot deals with the destruction of a snake-woman, representing sensuous enjoyment, by the cold stare of Apollonius, the philosopher, and the subsequent death of the lamia's lover; but also because Keats, in the famous lines (II, 221-238) beginning, "What wreath for Lamia? What for Lycius?" and containing the question, "Do not all charms fly At the mere touch of cold philosophy?" makes a definite statement against knowledge and in favor of sensuousness. These details in the poem have thrown the critics into a state of admitted bewilderment. Sir Sidney Colvin<sup>2</sup> is puzzled by the "moral" of the poem and cannot determine "the effect intended to be made on our imaginative sympathies." The lines in question, he says:

have not only the fault of breaking the story at a critical point and anticipating its issue, but challenge the mind to untimely questionings and reflections. . . . If she [Lamia] were indeed a thing of bale under a mask of beauty, was not the friend and tutor bound to unmask her, even though the pupil lacked strength to survive the loss of his illusion? Is there not in all this a slackening of imaginative and intellectual grasp?

<sup>1</sup> *PMLA*, XLV, 1129-38.

<sup>2</sup> *John Keats*, 3rd edition (1920), pp. 407-409.

Mr. Hugh I'A. Fausset says:<sup>3</sup>

*Lamia* . . . is seriously compromised in its climax by the artificial conflict of philosophy and love. . . . For although we can accept the withering away of *Lamia*, . . . Lycius should only have been the more vitally alive for being freed from the poison of his delusion. That he should die of such poison is intelligible, but not [that he should die] of its cure.

Amy Lowell,<sup>4</sup> while sympathizing with Lycius, finds that there is no solution to the moral problem in the poem, for the last lines leave her wondering:

is the death of Lycius due to the fact that he has discovered *Lamia*'s true status, or simply the result of her being torn from him? Keats has no answer to give, the puzzle is as much his as the readers'.

Mr. E. De Selincourt,<sup>5</sup> while not in one sense bewildered, is surely in another sense confused when he attempts to explain the meaning of the poem by insisting that it

represents the agony of the struggle in the soul of a man who clings to the false at the same time he desires the true, who aspires after the ideal even whilst he is unable to relax his hold on those very shadows, not realities, which he knows well enough to despise.

There is no evidence in the poem that, after he meets *Lamia*, Lycius "desires the true" or "aspires after the ideal" or "despises" the shadow. Quite the contrary.

Professor Garrod<sup>6</sup> dismisses the problem as nonexistent by stating that Keats wastes no sympathy on *Lamia* at all, apparently forgetting the fact that if the poet gives *Lamia* a wreath of willow and adder's tongue, he also compares her to a rainbow, to the wings of angels, to the haunted air—all, together with "tender-person'd *Lamia*," things of beauty destroyed by philosophy.

This *mélange* of uncertainty, misinterpretation, and negation is, I think, wholly unjustifiable, for there exists a definite indication of the exact literal meaning of the poem in Woodhouse's letter to Taylor, written September 20, 1819, describing a meeting with Keats, at which time the poet read *Lamia* to Woodhouse.<sup>7</sup> Woodhouse's words to Taylor as he describes the ending of the poem are, "The lover is told that she was a 'Lamia' & goes mad for the loss of her, & dies." Since from the context of the letter it is clear that Woodhouse and Keats had discussed the poem at some length, it is fair to assume that Woodhouse's *précis*

<sup>3</sup> *Keats: A Study in Development*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>4</sup> *John Keats*, II, 308-309.

<sup>5</sup> *The Poems of John Keats*, 5th edition (1926), pp. xli-xlii.

<sup>6</sup> *Keats*, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> For full text of this letter, see Lowell, *John Keats*, II, 320.

represents Keats' own interpretation of the ending. If this is true, it follows that Keats, however regrettable some of his critics may find it, did actually say that the love for Lamia, a snake-woman, was so precious to Lycius that he could not live without her. It should be pointed out here, as Mr. J. M. Murry has already shown,<sup>8</sup> that in adapting the narrative from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Keats deliberately manufactured the death of Lycius, thus giving further weight to the contention.

But there is more to the poem than this literal interpretation. What do the lamia and Apollonius stand for? The answer to this question is to be found in the light thrown upon *Lamia* by certain poems antedating it and by certain letters and poems that in chronology surround it. Mr. Murry has already studied the letters in this connection;<sup>9</sup> but he arrives at the questionable conclusion that Lamia is Fanny Brawne and Apollonius is Charles Brown. He is led to his interpretation by the theory that at this time (summer of 1819) Keats was jealous of Brown, offering as evidence of this jealousy a selected passage from a letter written by Keats to Brown, 23 September, 1819, purporting to read:

If you live at Hampstead next winter—I like Fanny Brawne and I cannot help it. On that account I had better not live there.<sup>10</sup>

But it is obvious from the letter as a whole that the sentence quoted does not in any way mean that Keats is jealous of Brown and that he will for that reason refuse to live at Hampstead. The letter throughout stresses Keats' determination to become more independent, to cease relying on his friends, and to live alone.

I had got in a habit of mind of looking towards you as a help in all difficulties. This very habit would be the parent of idleness and difficulties. You will see it as a duty I owe myself to break the neck of it. I do nothing for my subsistence—make no exertion. At the end of another year you shall applaud me, not for verses, but for conduct. If you live at Hampstead next winter—I like\*\*\*\*\* and I cannot help it. On that account I had better not live there. While I have some immediate cash, I had better settle myself quietly and fag on as others do.

<sup>8</sup> *Keats and Shakespeare*, p. 157.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, 157-166.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.—The letter is given in full, with asterisks in place of Fanny Brawne's name, in M. B. Forman's *The Letters of John Keats*, II, 430-432. But there are several problems in this passage. Forman gives as his source for this letter the 1848 ed. of R. M. Milnes' (Lord Houghton's) *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats*. Yet curiously enough that book, in giving this letter, does not include the words, "If you live at Hampstead next winter—I like Fanny Brawne and I cannot help it. On that account I had better not live there?"—the very words that Mr. Murry makes so much of. The words do, however, appear in Lord Houghton's papers, now Lord Crewe's "*John Keats' Transcripts and Letters*," where this letter is in Charles Brown's transcript. But dots occur instead of the words "Fanny Brawne." I am greatly indebted to Charles Williams, Esq., of the Oxford University Press, London, for helping me straighten out this detail.

Is it not perfectly clear that Keats means here to cut himself off from Brown not because he is jealous, but because he must become independent of Brown's services and Fanny's attraction?

Now if there is no evidence that Keats was jealous of Brown at this time, Mr. Murry's argument that Apollonius is Brown falls to pieces. But it remains clear that Apollonius stands for something in conflict with Lamia, some strong power of which she lives in terror. It is the theory of this paper that their hostility is another version of the struggle that Keats had already portrayed in *Sleep and Poetry*, *Endymion*, and *Hyperion: A Fragment*. In these poems he presented the poet torn between two desires—one to attain the ideal of humanitarian philosophy, "to sooth the cares and lift the thoughts of man," and the other to allow himself to write the poetry of sensuous delight. *Sleep and Poetry* offers no solution to the problem other than a confession of his preference for the latter course; *Endymion* attempts a compromise by stating that the two are the same (a position that Keats found impossible to maintain); and *Hyperion: A Fragment* tries to express an unwilling conviction that Apollo, the new God of Poetry, is rightly a symbol of Knowledge and Humanitarianism. But the poem breaks off because the author cannot believe what he is trying to force himself to say.<sup>11</sup> In *Lamia* the philosopher and the woman once more represent the conflict. There is no verbal proof that the Apollo of *Hyperion: A Fragment* and the Apollonius of *Lamia* are one and the same. In appearance they are poles apart: Apollo young, "morning-bright"; Apollonius, old, "with curl'd gray beard, sharp eyes, and smooth bald crown." But in spirit they are the same inasmuch as both represent a humanitarian ideal. The young god says of himself (III, 113-118):

Knowledge enormous makes a God of me.  
Names, deeds, gray legends, dire events, rebellions,  
Majesties, sovran voices, agonies,  
Creations and destroyings, all at once  
Pour into the wide hollows of my brain,  
And deify me.

Old Apollonius is one who would embody the same kind of knowledge. He is described as "sage," a "trusty guide," a "good instructor." "Robed in philosophic gown," he may be expected to be one to ponder on the problems of mankind and teach Lycius to do likewise. But under Lamia's spell, Lycius deserts Apollonius and lives alone with his love, calling his tutor a "ghost of folly." It is this desertion of the world of mankind for his own personal delight that is the sin from which Apol-

<sup>11</sup> This whole matter is discussed at length in the article referred to in note 1, *supra*.

Ionius tries to free Lycius by destroying Lamia, only in so doing he also destroys his pupil. He is the serious, purposive life as opposed to the life of pleasure. He is the opposing force to sensuous indulgence, just as in *Sleep and Poetry* the "nobler life" of "the agony and strife of human hearts" is the opposing force to the joy in "almond blossoms and sweet cinnamon," and just as in *Hyperion: A Fragment* the new Apollo, deified by knowledge, is the opposing force to the old gods of pleasure.

These poems all represent a struggle between sensuousness and some sort of more humanitarian interest. In both *Sleep and Poetry* and *Hyperion: A Fragment* it is obvious that that interest involves an awareness of the sufferings of mankind and an attempt to ease them; in *Lamia* the fact that Lycius falls into conflict with Apollonius by absenting himself from human problems would seem to indicate that Keats thought of Apollonius as a humanitarian, too. He seems to stand for a philosophical regimen such as the poet in *Sleep and Poetry* argued himself into holding essential to the richest poetic fulfillment, but which even then in his heart he admitted to be unsympathetic to his more spontaneous poetic creed.

And what is Lamia? Colvin says she is "a thing of bale under a mask of beauty"; Fausset calls her love in conflict with philosophy; Miss Lowell says she is a dream in conflict with reality; and De Selincourt calls her the false in conflict with the true. All these interpretations are up to a certain point correct, for there can be no doubt that in *Lamia* there is something hateful to Apollonius. But it should be emphatically pointed out that the corruptive element in her is not recognized until Apollonius discloses it. However baleful she may be, her poison is something that only Apollonius is aware of, and may for that reason not be to Keats as evil as the above critics have stated. Moreover, when at the end, Lamia "with a fearful scream" vanishes from sight, Lycius also dies, finding, as Woodhouse said, that he could not live without her. We may put it this way: Lamia is something that the philosophic mind hates as corruptive, but which to Lycius is a sweet delight. She is the antagonist to Apollonius—the principle of feeling as opposed to thought, of sensuousness as opposed to knowledge. She is the other ideal of poetry that in *Sleep and Poetry* Keats found so attractive, but which, before he learned to know himself, he sometimes, in a noble mood, thought he ought eventually to grow away from. He was never able, however, to grow completely away from it. Its attraction was too strong, too much an inner part of his nature to allow him to repudiate sensuousness for what he kept telling himself was the more lofty ideal. The poems *Sleep and Poetry*, *Endymion*, and *Hyperion: A Fragment* all demonstrate that inability. *Lamia*, it is now suggested, con-

tinues the theme. But it not merely portrays the preference of Lycius for Lamia, the poetry of sensation, rather than for Apollonius, the poetry of thought; it actually presents Apollonius as a destructive rather than a constructive force, disclosing evil where only delight had been and killing pleasure by "brow-beating her fair form." The poem is an admission of the greater strength of Apollonius, but it is at the same time a bitter lament that such should be the case. Keats recognizes the superiority of a purposive existence; but the irony of the poem lies in the fact that that very purposefulness destroys the only thing which for Lycius makes life worth living and therefore destroys him, too.

Whatever light may be thrown on the meaning of *Lamia* by reading it with the chronologically earlier *Sleep and Poetry* and *Hyperion: A Fragment* in mind, is further increased if we turn to the writings that are immediately in point of time connected with it. In order to follow the argument, it will be necessary to remember that a month and a half intervenes between the time Keats finished Part I of *Lamia* and the time he turned to Part II, during which interval his mind, as I shall hope to prove, was deeply concerned with the problem discussed above. It will be helpful to put down in order the events of his life during the period under examination.

Keats went to the Isle of Wight, at the end of June, 1819.<sup>12</sup>

On July 12 he writes Reynolds that the first half of *Lamia* is completed.<sup>13</sup> He is also writing *Otho the Great*, a pot-boiler suggested by Brown.

In August he goes to Winchester.<sup>14</sup>

August 14 he writes Bailey that *Lamia* is still half-finished, that he has been writing *The Fall of Hyperion*, and has completed four acts of *Otho*.<sup>15</sup>

*Otho* is finished August 24.<sup>16</sup>

*Lamia* is finished September 5.<sup>17</sup>

He goes to London September 12.<sup>18</sup>

He returns to Winchester September 15.<sup>19</sup>

*Ode to Autumn* is composed September 19.<sup>20</sup>

The statement is made on September 21 that *Hyperion* is abandoned.<sup>21</sup>

During this period there are seven letters to Fanny Brawne.<sup>22</sup> They show a curious—and I think significant—change of attitude toward her, a change that throws important light on *Lamia*. The first two were

<sup>12</sup> M. B. Forman, *Letters of John Keats* (Oxford, 1931), II, 380.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 388.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 399.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 399.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 404.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 414.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 416.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 421.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 418.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 419.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 381-384 (July 1); II, 386-387 (July 8); II, 389-391 (July 15); II, 392-394 (July 25); II, 397-399 (Aug. 5); II, 400-403 (Aug. 16); and II, 416-417 (Sept. 13).

written before July 12; that is, during the composition of the first half of *Lamia*. These two letters show deep affection; the first asks Fanny to admit the cruelty of her enthrallment, but the question is obviously not meant to be taken seriously, for he insists that she write a letter "rich as a draught of poppies to intoxicate me—write the softest words and kiss them that I may at least touch my lips where yours have been."<sup>23</sup> The second confesses:<sup>24</sup>

I never knew before what such a love as you have made me feel was, I did not believe in it, my fancy was afraid of it, lest it should burn me up But if you will love me, though there may be some fire, 'twill not be more than we can bear when moistened and bedewed with Pleasures.

But within a few days, the tone of the letters changes. He writes to her pathetically on July 25, after he has finished Part I of *Lamia*, of his sense of inferiority, of his enslavement to her:<sup>25</sup>

My dear love, I cannot believe there was ever or ever could be any thing to admire in me especially as far as sight goes—I cannot be admired, I am not a thing to be admired. You are, I love you; all I can bring you is a swooning admiration of your Beauty. I hold that place among Men which snubnos'd brunettes with meeting eyebrows do among women—they are trash to me—unless I should find one among them with a fire in her heart like the one that burns in mine. You absorb me in spite of myself—you alone, for I look not forward with any pleasure to what is call'd being settled in the world; I tremble at domestic cares—yet for you I would meet them, though if it would leave you the happier, I would rather die than do so I have two luxuries to brood over in my walks, your Loveliness and the hour of my death. O that I could have possession of them both in the same minute.

Here is confusion—and here is fear. Why? Because in this same letter of July 25, just before he writes the above words, he says: "Forgive me if I wander a little this evening, for I have been all day employ'd in a very abstract Poem and I am deep in love with you." His love and his poem have upset him. The abstract poem is certainly not *Lamia*, for he had written on July 12 to Reynolds that the first part of *Lamia* was done<sup>26</sup> and wrote Bailey on August 14 that *Lamia* was [still] half-finished.<sup>27</sup> He therefore did not touch *Lamia* between July 12 and August 24 when he finished *Otho*.<sup>28</sup> But aside from his work on *Otho* we know that other work was in hand while *Lamia* was lying idle, because in the August 14 letter to Bailey he definitely mentions work on *Hyperion*. It may safely be concluded then that the "abstract poem" mentioned on July 25 is *Hyperion*, which means the second *Hyperion*,

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 382.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 388.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 386.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 399.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 393.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 404.

the one entitled *The Fall of Hyperion. A Vision*, a reworking of the earlier narrative.

What is the significance of Keats' statement that he is confused because he has been working on an abstract poem (*The Fall of Hyperion*) and in love with Fanny? Why does his love for Fanny grow embittered at this point? The answer is to be found in understanding what effect the revision of *Hyperion* would have upon Keats. It would obviously call to mind the struggle that had so torn him the preceding April. It would revive the old dilemma—the poetry of sensation or the poetry of thought? It is clear from the *Fall of Hyperion* that Keats still believes he ought to think of the poet as a philosopher and of himself as one not yet elevated to that high rank:

. . . sure a poet is a sage,  
A humanist, a physician to all men  
That I am none I feel, as vultures feel  
They are no birds when eagles are abroad (I, 189–192).

And Moneta characterizes Keats:

Art thou not of the dreamer tribe?  
The poet and the dreamer are distinct,  
Diverse, sheer opposite, antipodes.  
The one pours out a balm upon the world,  
The other vexes it (I, 198–202).

If Keats felt thus about himself, we should expect him to try once more to repudiate the dreamer's life and its softness in favor of the more exalted ideal. And that is exactly what is found in the above letter of July 25 and in the letters that follow. These are in complete agreement with what, at the same time, he is writing in *The Fall of Hyperion*. On August 14 (by now he is in Winchester) he writes Bailey:<sup>29</sup>

I am convinced more and more every day that (excepting the human friend Philosopher) a fine writer is the most genuine Being in the World. Shakespeare and the paradise Lost [sic] every day become greater wonders to me. I look upon fine Phrases like a Lover.

Here the "human friend Philosopher" is the highest achievement, a humanitarian ideal, followed closely by the poet, who surely represents the poetic aspiration of *The Fall of Hyperion*, for one must not be deceived by the reference to "fine Phrases" into thinking that Keats means merely words. Shakespeare and Milton, as the sonnet on *King Lear* and the lines written *On a Lock of Milton's Hair* both prove, embody for Keats Moneta's definition of poetry.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 400.



Two days later, August 16, he writes the famous "flint-worded letter" to Fanny:<sup>30</sup>

Believe in the first Letters I wrote you: I assure you I felt as I wrote—I could not write so now. The thousand images I have had pass through my brain—my uneasy spirits—my unguess'd fate—all spread as a veil between me and you—Remember I have no idle leisure to brood over you—'tis well perhaps I have not. I could not have endured the throng of Jealousies that used to haunt me before I had plunged so deeply into imaginary interests. I would feign, as my sails are set, sail on without an interruption for a Brace of Months longer—I am in complete cue—in the fever, and shall in these four months do an immense deal—This page as my eye skims over it I see is excessively unloverlike and ungallant—I cannot help it—I am no officer in yawning quarters; no Parson-romeo. My mind is heap'd to the full; stuff'd like a cricket ball—if I strive to fill it more it would burst. I know the generality of women would hate me for this; that I should have so unsoften'd so hard a mind as to forget them; forget the brightest realities for the dull imaginations of my own Brain. But I conjure you to give it a fair thinking; and ask yourself whether 'tis not better to explain my feelings to you, than write artificial Passion—Besides you would see through it. It would be vain to strive to deceive you. 'Tis harsh, harsh, I know—My heart seems made of iron. I could not write a proper answer to an invitation to Idalia. . . . Forgive me this flint-worded Letter, and believe and see that I cannot think of you without some sort of Energy—though mal à propos—Even as I leave off, it seems to me that a few more moments thought of you would uncrystallize and dissolve me. I must not give way to it—but turn to my writing again—if I fail I shall die hard. O my love, your lips are growing sweet again to my fancy—I must forget them. Ever your affectionate Keats.

Here is quite a different Keats from the lover in the first letters written on the Isle of Wight. He is driving himself on to Poetry; he is "in the fever"; he has not time for love. But at the same time he is afraid that love will claim him—"a few more moments thought of you would uncrystallize and dissolve me." The poetic ideal of *The Fall of Hyperion*, on which he is now at work, is before him and he fights valiantly against love to gain the goal.

On August 24 he writes Taylor that he scorns popularity as a writer, the implication being that he will be somewhat more austere than a popular versifier. "I equally dislike," he writes, "the favour of the public with the love of a woman—they are both cloying treacle to the wings of my independence."<sup>31</sup> Brave words! Fanny and the reading public are left behind. The following day (August 25) he repeats himself, this time to Reynolds; but here, as in the fear of Fanny's hold upon him expressed above, he is forced to confess that he cannot remain true to his ideal.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 400-403.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 404.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 407.

I think if I had a free and healthy and lasting organization of heart and lungs as strong as an ox's so as to be able to bear unhurt the shock of extreme thought and sensation without weariness, I could pass my life nearly alone though it should last eighty years. But I feel my body too weak to support me to the height, I am obliged to check myself and strive to be nothing . . . If you should have any reason to regret this state of excitement in me, I will turn the tide of your feelings in the right channel, by mentioning that it is the only state for the best sort of Poetry—that is all I care for, all I live for.

These letters written between the end of Part I of *Lamia* and the beginning of Part II, and covering the same period as the composition of *The Fall of Hyperion*, present Keats trying to leave behind him the human pleasures of the world of friends and love for the sake of an ideal of art, an ideal which is itself best expressed in *The Fall of Hyperion* as a vital, purposive poetry that "labors for mortal good" (I, 159). But even here, where the intention to achieve the ideal is so strong, there appears simultaneously with the forward movement, the tendency to swing back. He must not think of Fanny or he will be "dissolved"; he admits that he is probably not strong enough to hold himself to his purpose. There is in all this fear of retrogression an interesting admission that he is fighting against heavy odds—just as *Sleep and Poetry* admitted those odds, just as the compromise in *Endymion* accepted them, and just as the abandoning of the first *Hyperion* implied them. So heavy were they, indeed, that they were not long, as we shall now see, in turning him back.

On September 5 he writes to Taylor, his publisher, that since finishing *Otho*, he has finished *Lamia*.<sup>33</sup> This means that Part II of *Lamia* was written between August 24, when he says *Otho* is "just finished" and September 5, a period of twelve days. It is my contention that *The Fall of Hyperion* was abandoned during the time he wrote Part II of *Lamia*. The last direct mention we had of *Hyperion* was on August 14, when he said he was writing on it. And we have seen that the letters of August 16 and 24 indicate his absorption with the theme.<sup>34</sup> But between August 24 when he turned back to *Lamia* and September 5 when *Lamia* is finished, there is no mention of *Hyperion*. On September 5 he does not, in speaking of his work, mention it to Taylor, a fact which may mean that by then he was not willing that his publisher should know about it. Moreover, in this letter he says he is now revising *St. Agnes* and studying Italian, pursuits that would seem to have been substituted for further attention to *Hyperion*. A few days after September

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 414.

<sup>34</sup> The fact that *Otho* was also in hand at this time is unimportant, for Keats always looked upon this as hack work.

5 he gets news of his brother George's financial difficulties and goes to London, writing to Fanny from there on Monday, September 13.<sup>35</sup> He returns to Winchester on Wednesday, September 15,<sup>36</sup> and on Sunday, September 19, he composes the *Ode to Autumn*.<sup>37</sup> In the same letter where he mentions the composition of *Autumn* he remarks that he has given up *Hyperion*.

What has happened? He finishes *Lamia*. He abandons *Hyperion*. He composes *Autumn*. Which is to say that in completing Part II of *Lamia*, where he exposes the destructive power of Apollonius, he repudiates the very ideal that *The Fall of Hyperion* is trying to express, casts off the poem, and turns again to the sensuous. He says himself:<sup>38</sup>

I have given up *Hyperion*—there were too many Miltonic inversions in it—Miltonic verse cannot be written but in an artful or rather artist's humour. I wish to give myself up to other sensations.

This means simply that he no longer feels in the mood for philosophical poetry such as that described by Moneta. "Miltonic verse" is philosophical verse, for which he is out of tune. He is no longer feeling in the "artist's humour," meaning the poet described by Moneta; he desires other sensations, such as those Apollonius destroyed.

The tragic ending of *Lamia* is Keats' final word on the struggle that has figured so prominently in his poems and letters. It is his ultimate judgment on that intellectual and philosophical and humanitarian goal that at times he thought poetry should reach. Before this, each time he tries to state his faith in this purpose, as in the two *Hyperions*, he finds he does not actually believe in it for himself, even though he must admit the important rôle it plays in his career. Now in *Lamia* he makes the bitter admission that once Apollonius, the intellectual ideal, gains a foothold in his life, there is no escape from him nor from the destruction that he brings with him. The poet knows that for him cold philosophy unweaves the rainbow.

The only way to escape this disintegration is to repudiate the philosophic ideal altogether. This he found extremely difficult to do, for like Apollonius it kept pushing its way into his life uninvited. But there are moments when, like his own Lysius before Apollonius interfered, he can live with his true poetry unmindful of and unmolested by philosophic import. One of these moments came in May, 1819, when after abandoning *Hyperion: A Fragment*, he composed the great Odes of the spring of 1819.<sup>39</sup> Another came after the completion of *Lamia* and

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 416.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 421.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 418.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 419.

<sup>39</sup> I need not repeat here the belief that even the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* is a glorification of sensuous beauty.

the abandoning of *The Fall of Hyperion*, when he composed the exquisite song of "mellow fruitfulness," the *Ode to Autumn*. The *Ode to Autumn* is Keats' return to the sensuous delight of the dreamer. There is here no attempt to be a "physician to all men" in the meaning of *The Fall of Hyperion*. The High Prophetess of that poem said to John Keats:

None can usurp this height . . .  
But those to whom the miseries of the world  
Are misery, and will not let them rest.  
All else who find a haven in the world  
Where they may thoughtless sleep away their days,  
If by chance unto this fane they come,  
Rot on the pavement where thou rotted'st half (I, 147-153).

But she was wrong as far as Keats was concerned and he at last knew she was wrong. It may be there are those who think such a poem as the *Ode to Autumn* is justification for agreement with Moneta's dictum that Keats was thoughtlessly sleeping away his days and on the pavement rotting half. There are others who will think that, in spite of Moneta, Keats has here usurped a height attained by few poets in any language, and that here the dreamer in his dream, although unmindful of the "labour for mortal good," nevertheless "pours out a balm upon the world."

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## XXXVII

### A NOTE ON SOURCE INFLUENCES IN SHELLEY'S CLOUD AND SKYLARK

MRS. Shelley in her preface to her husband's collected poems remarked:

There are others, such as the "Ode to the Sky Lark," and "The Cloud," which, in the opinion of many critics, bear a purer poetical stamp than any other of his productions. They were written as his mind prompted, listening to the carolling of the bird, aloft in the azure sky of Italy; or marking the cloud as it sped across the heavens, while he floated in his boat on the Thames.

The implication here is obviously that the two glorious lyrics were wholly inspired by nature and are quite free from any bookish influence. This implication, in view no doubt of their nearly divine perfection, has been permitted to go unchallenged. Experience has demonstrated, however, that the greatest English literary masterpieces are rarely altogether spontaneously generated. That Shelley's two bright gems, for all their flawlessness, reflect something of a borrowed light shining from familiar sources<sup>1</sup> is thought to be apparent in the following comparisons.

In writing "The Cloud," Shelly seems, whether at the time adrift in his little boat or immured in the more barren seclusion of his study,<sup>2</sup> to have been vividly conscious of the qualities of Robert Herrick's little *tour de force*, "The Hag," which in consideration of its brevity, it is perhaps permissible to quote:

The Hag is astride,	No Beast, for his food,
This night for to ride;	Dares now range the wood;
The Devill and shee together:	But husht in his laire he lies lurking:
Through thick, and through thin,	While mischeifs, by these,
Now out, and then in,	On Land and on Seas,
Though ne'r so foule be the weather.	At noone of Night are a working.

A Thorn or a Burr	The storme will arise,
She takes for a Spurre:	And trouble the skies;
With a lash of a Bramble she rides now,	This night, and more for the wonder,
Through Brakes and through Bryars,	The ghost from the Tomb
O're Ditches, and Mires,	Affrighted shall come,
She followes the Spirit that guides now.	Cal'd out by the clap of the Thunder. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That Shelley had not read Herrick would, even in the total absence of evidence, be hardly thinkable; and Marvell's poem was regularly prefixed to editions of *Paradise Lost* after its first appearance there.

It will be observed at once that both poets, despite obvious differences, treat the same general subject in the same general manner: an excursion through the air on the part of a definitely conceived voyager gifted with magic or supernatural powers, to whom comes a kaleidoscopic variety of experience for which the voyager is itself in some mysterious way responsible.

The meter of the two poems, it will also be observed, strikes the same norm—a norm rare, to say the least of it, in English poetry.<sup>4</sup> For if Shelley's first and alternate tetrameter lines, with their internal rime, be taken as the equivalent of one of Herrick's dimeter couplets, then Herrick's six-line stanza becomes the metrical equivalent of each

<sup>2</sup> The poem was assigned by Mrs. Shelley to the year 1820, but on the basis of Mrs. Shelley's statement in her preface (quoted above), and of style, William M. Rossetti in his edition of the poems (London, 1870, II, 569) expressed the opinion that it belonged to a date not later than 1818.

<sup>3</sup> After the edition of Herrick's poems by F. W. Moorman (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1915).

<sup>4</sup> I am aware of but few other uses of this meter in English. Shelley's *Arethusa*, probably written in the same year as *The Cloud* (1820), has the same meter and the arrangement of lines in *The Hag*, not that in *The Cloud*; and Herrick wrote another poem with the title *The Hagg* in the same meter and obviously under the same inspiration as that quoted. The inspiration for both these products of the greatest of the Sons of Ben doubtless emanated from the following portion of a "Hags' Charm" at the beginning of Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* (first pointed out to me by Professor John Livingston Lowes):

The owl is abroad, the bat, and the toad,    The dogs they do bay, and the timbrels play,  
And so is the cat-a-mountain,                    The spindle is now a turning;  
The ant and the mole sit both in a hole,        The moon it is red, and the stars are fled,  
And the frog peeps out o' the fountain;        But all the sky is a burning . . .

Here the line arrangement, obviously, is that of *The Cloud*, and Jonson's verses may also have had their influence upon Shelley, at least to the extent of determining his verse grouping. There are here, indeed, certain verbal parallels to *The Cloud* not traceable in Herrick. Jonson's "burning" sky can be matched by Shelley's "burning plumes" of the sunrise and "burning zone" about the throne of the sun. Both poets treat moon and stars in a perhaps natural enough juxtaposition, but also with some suggestion of timid subordination of the latter to the former. It is perhaps not without significance that "mountain—fountain," or "mountains—fountains," was a favorite rime of Shelley's, used twice in the plural forms in *Arethusa*, and that mountains are four times referred to in *The Cloud*.

One clause of Herrick's *The Hagg* may, furthermore, have suggested the behavior of Shelley's moon and stars:

While th' Moone in her sphere  
Peepes trembling for feare . . .

It may well be that Shelley recollected, consciously or unconsciously, all three of the early poems in this meter and shaped from this latter clause (which doubtless originated in Jonson's frog that "peeps out o' the fountain," and perhaps also his timid stars) his own melodious and suggestive line, "The stars peep behind her and peer." The meter may well have haunted his memory in terms of particularly happy phrases, especially where these entered into the rimes.

quatrain of Shelley's poem. When read aloud, the poems are alike in that peculiar lilting, swaying, floating measure that is so highly appropriate to their aerial journey, their metrical difference consisting merely in Shelley's arrangement of his verses (including his stanzaic grouping) and his greater freedom in departure from a normal arrangement of iambs and anapests, to which Herrick adheres quite faithfully. The metrical norm and the rime scheme of the two poems are, then, the same; and hence come their peculiar suspended, swinging movement and rich, haunting cadences, to be matched in few other English poems. This effect is greatly enhanced by the use in both poems of frequent feminine rimes and firm, full masculine ones. A rather unusual rime, "these—Seas,"<sup>5</sup> occurs in both poems; and Herrick's "wonder—Thunder" is echoed by Shelley's use twice of "under—thunder."

Other echoings of thought and phrase occur.<sup>6</sup> Herrick's Hag "followes the Spirit that guides now," presumably that of the devil who rides with her; Shelley's Cloud carries "Lightning my pilot" and moves wherever "This pilot is guiding me," the pilot himself being lured and his movements determined by "The Spirit he loves." Each voyager, that is to say, has its movements controlled ("guided") by an accompanying "Spirit" outside itself to which it is subject, and whose representative,<sup>7</sup> at any rate, rides with it. Besides the references to "seas" and to "thunder" already pointed out as entering into the rimes of both poems (where they are particularly conspicuous and particularly certain to haunt the memory, or to occur from having already haunted the memory), both poems close with the eventuality of a storm by means of which the eerie voyager is to disturb the serenity of nature. In Herrick the storm, in Shelley the Cloud, is to "arise" for this purpose; and at this point in both poems occurs, in the rimes, with almost the finality of a signature, the striking phrase "ghost from the tomb."

On the whole, since Shelley sets himself somewhat the same general task as Herrick, since in the performing it he adopts Herrick's unusual and especially appropriate metrical and rime schemes, and since he echoes both specific thoughts and specific phrases of Herrick's—the one in a guiding and an accompanying "Spirit," the presence of

<sup>5</sup> Shelley also uses "sea" in his rimes, and "Sky," to be put beside Herrick's "skies." Herrick's rime, it will be noted, is "arise—skies," and Shelley (see below) makes rather significant use of the word "arise," though he does not work it into his rimes.

<sup>6</sup> N.B. Note 4 above.

<sup>7</sup> Whether Herrick's "Devill" that rides with his Hag is, like Shelley's "pilot," a mere representative of the "Spirit that guides," or whether it actually is that spirit is not altogether clear, and would have appeared just as ambiguous to Shelley as it does to the present-day reader.

"thunder" and "seas," and a valedictory storm with its "ghost from the tomb," and the other notably in expressions that entered conspicuously into Herrick's rimes—it seems altogether probable that Herrick's poem had not only pleased him in the past, but was haunting his memory whenever and wherever he composed "The Cloud."

Somewhat less certain, perhaps, is another by no means improbable recollection of Shelley's in the process of composing that other superb lyric, his lines "To a Skylark." In his well-known melodious verses "On Paradise Lost," Andrew Marvell thus apostrophized Milton:

That Majesty which through thy Work doth Reign  
Draws the Devout, deterring the Profane.  
And things divine thou treatst of in such state  
As them preserves, and Thee inviolate.  
At once delight and horror on us seize,  
Thou singst with so much gravity and ease;  
And above humane flight dost soar aloft,  
With Plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.  
The *Bird* nam'd from that *Paradise* you sing  
So never Flaps, but alwaies keeps on Wing.

Where couldst thou Words of such a compass find?  
Whence furnish such a vast expense of Mind?  
Just Heav'n Thee, like *Tiresias*, to requite,  
Rewards with *Prophesie* thy loss of Sight.

Well mightst thou scorn thy Readers to allure  
With tinkling Rhime, of thy own Sense secure . . .<sup>8</sup>

Again, as in the case of "The Cloud" and "The Hag," the general purpose of this passage and of Shelley's poem—if not this time of both poems as a whole—is the same. Though there are quite obvious differences between the poet Milton and the bird of Shelley's praise, both are treated in the passage and the poem now under consideration as consummate masters of poetic expression, whom each author envies their great gifts. Shelley, no less than Marvell, is apostrophizing his ideal poet, symbolized or typified in the bird. Thus passage and poem have at least a natural *rapprochement*.

But is it difficult, looking more closely, to find in Marvell's verses the complete outline of Shelley's poem? Milton and the Skylark both sing of "things divine," keeping themselves and their subjects alike "inviolable" and thrilling with "delight" the "Devout" listener. It is even significant that they both *sing*; Milton, apparently upon the authority

<sup>8</sup> After the edition of Marvell's *Poems and Letters* by H. M. Margoliouth (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927).



of his invocation to the Muse to inspire his "song" and his expressed determination "with no middle flight . . . to soar,"<sup>9</sup> having become for purposes of Marvell's verse himself a bird—and a bird remarkably suggestive of Shelley's! Marvell seems pretty certainly to have had in mind in his simile the popular superstitions regarding the bird of paradise,<sup>10</sup> but surely the essential preëminence of Shelley's skylark is that it "above humane flight dost soar aloft" and that it "never Flags, but alwaies keeps on Wing"—"And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest." And finally each poet breaks into rhetorical questions concerning the source of his ideal's inspiration—questions that he at least partially answers by a reiteration of the ideal being's full isolation from mundanity. The Skylark never felt "Shadow of annoyance"; Milton is isolated by blindness:<sup>11</sup> both are rewarded with powers of prophecy and revelation. What essential thought of Shelley's poem—aside from its golden imagery, diction, and music—is not traceable in Marvell's lines?

Shelley's stanzas of course close with an Alexandrine, so that such a line as his question, "Or how could thy notes flow in such a crystal stream?," which might otherwise be reasonably equated with Marvell's line, "Where couldst thou Words of such a compass find?," is not in Marvell's pentameter. Yet because of the rapidity everywhere demanded by the ecstatic rush of Shelley's poem, his hexameters are not far from pentameter in effect.<sup>12</sup> They are not the slow, summarizing Alexandrine of Spenser and his followers; their time equivalent is nearer that of such a normal pentameter line as Marvell's.

Verbal echoes are not perhaps so full or so numerous as one might wish, nor by themselves altogether convincing. Marvell refers to the "things divine" of which Milton treats; Shelley's lark pants forth "a flood of rapture so divine." Both Milton and the lark render "delight."<sup>13</sup> The form "singest," which might have been drawn from Marvell's "singst," enters conspicuously into Shelley's rimes,<sup>14</sup> and is there associated with the word "soar,"<sup>15</sup> once in the form "dost soar," which occurs in Marvell with almost the same significant juxtaposition that

<sup>9</sup> *P.L.*, I, 14.

<sup>10</sup> See the subject in the *Encyc. Brit.* (eleventh ed.) or Margoliouth's note (*op. cit.*).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. with Marvell's lines *P.L.*, III, 41-55. <sup>12</sup> Indeed, this particular line might conceivably be scanned by itself as pentameter with its first two feet anapests.

<sup>13</sup> Marvell's "delight and horrou on us seize" may possibly have some affinity to Shelley's "Our sincerest laughter/With some pain is fraught;/Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

<sup>14</sup> Shelley's rime "springest-wingest-singest" may owe something to Marvell's more common "sing-Wing."

<sup>15</sup> Drawn by Marvell from Milton (see above), with whom it was a favorite word.

Shelley gave it in the line quoted above. Marvell justifies Milton's "scorn" of rime; and Shelley, first implying the wish that we might "scorn/Hate, and pride, and fear," thereafter denominates his lark a "scorner of the ground."<sup>16</sup> Possibly, since we are probably investigating here a feat of memory and not a conscious, intentional use of source, it is not fantastic to suggest that the sounds of Marvell's phrase "tinkling Rhime" may lie at the bottom of Shelley's happy euphony of "twinkling grass."

More convincing than verbal parallels, however, is the general similarity of thought. Each poet is addressing in the guise of a bird that soars unrestrainedly toward heaven an ideal singer endowed with the precious gifts of perfect expression and of prophecy—a seer, a *vates*, who has found and can gloriously convey the deeper meaning of life. Each poet's admiration eventually bursts forth in rhetorical questions concerning the source of such inspiration—questions that have in each instance a simple, plaintive earnestness rare in the use of apostrophe in English, the apostrophe in English poetry usually ringing with something of bombastic inflation. Each poet was sincerely face to face with his ideal, and even though their ideals were not identical, Shelley may well have recalled Marvell's supreme admiration in phrasing his own.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> In his annotation of *Paradise Lost* (see *The Complete Works of John Keats*, ed. by H. Buxton Forman [Glasgow, 1901], III, 264–265) Keats singled out for comment the phrase descriptive of how the birds after creation "With clang despis'd the ground" (VII, 422). This phrase may also have been specially noted by Shelley.

<sup>17</sup> That Shelley was deep in *Paradise Lost*, and therefore in all probability in contact with Marvell's poem, both before and after he wrote his lyric in the spring of 1820 is attested by his reading from the epic to Mrs. Shelley on the evening of August 4, 1819 (Edward Dowden, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* [London, 1887], II, 272), and by his instruction of Prince Alexander Mavrocordato in it at Pisa during the winter of 1820–1821 (*ibid.*, p. 362).

## A "LOST" POEM BY ARTHUR HALLAM

THE centenary of the death of Arthur Hallam, noted in England by a leading article in *The Times Literary Supplement* (September 14, 1933) and in America by an exhibition of Hallam's works in the Yale University Library (January, 1934), served as a reminder not so much of what we know of the youth who was so important an influence on Tennyson as of what we do not know fully, a partial ignorance which results from the difficulty with which the study of Hallam is attended. The "lost" poem here reprinted after more than a century is lost only in the sense in which nearly half the printed poems of Hallam are unknown because they are missing from the editions commonly available. When Hallam died in 1833 in his twenty-third year, he left behind him one small and now very scarce volume, privately printed in 1830, and other poems and essays, some of which were collected by his father, Henry Hallam the historian, and privately issued as the *Remains* of 1834. Most of this material, also edited by Henry Hallam, was privately printed in 1853, and this volume is the basis of such subsequent collections of Arthur Hallam's work as have appeared.<sup>1</sup>

The "Stanzas" here given first appeared in *The Englishman's Magazine* for August, 1831 (p. 615) immediately preceding Hallam's celebrated anonymous review, "On Some of the Characteristics of Modern Poetry, and on the Lyrical Poems of Alfred Tennyson." Although Henry Hallam reprinted a part of the review in the *Remains* of 1834, he ignored the "Stanzas," and they have been unobserved ever since.<sup>2</sup>

In the same issue of *The Englishman's Magazine* appeared Tennyson's sonnet, "Check every outflash," and by way of preface the reader may be reminded of the connection of Hallam and Tennyson with the short-lived periodical. It was first published in April, 1831 and continued with little success for four issues. It then came into the possession of Edward Moxon, who asked Hallam, probably early in July, to persuade Tennyson to contribute to the first, or August, number under the new management. Moxon held out as inducement that Tennyson's contribution would appear along with work by Wordsworth, Southey, and

<sup>1</sup> For a list of the printed sources of Hallam's writings, see "Arthur Hallam's Centenary: A Bibliographical Note," by T. H. Vail Motter, *The Yale University Library Gazette*, VIII (1934), 104-109. The *LTLS* leader was by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch.

<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough Arthur Hallam's Cambridge friend, W. H. Brookfield who ought to have known better, also ignored the "Stanzas" when he wrote in a letter of August 17, 1834, that the *Remains* "comprise all that has been separately printed before." (Cf. *Mrs. Brookfield and Her Circle* [New York, 1905], pp. 15-16.)

Charles Lamb. Hallam accordingly urged Tennyson, writing him from Hastings on July 15, 1831, to send "The Sisters," or "Rosalind," or the "Southern Mariana."

Tennyson was characteristically dilatory and Hallam felt himself forced to take the initiative. He therefore wrote again to his friend at Somersby on July 26:

I have been expecting for some days an answer to my letter about Moxon. . . . You perhaps will be angry when I tell you that I sent your sonnet about the "Sombre Valley" to Moxon, who is charmed with it, and has printed it off. I confess this is a breach of trust on my part, but I hope for your forgiveness. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Thus occurred the publication of Tennyson's sonnet to his fiancée, Emily Sellwood side by side with Hallam's poem to Emily Tennyson who, though not yet his fiancée, was nevertheless his intended bride. But it may be observed, as for Moxon's promises, that instead of the fellow-contributors hoped for, one finds in the pages of the seven numbers of *The Englishman's Magazine* poems by Thomas Hood, Leigh Hunt, Charles Lamb, the Hon. Mrs. Norton, John Clare—and Hallam. Tennyson was doubtless content to be found in the company of Arthur Hallam, for was he not to write in after years of his friend,

I vex my heart with fancies dim:  
He still outstript me in the race;  
It was but unity of place  
That made me dream I rank'd with him.

#### STANZAS

By A. H. Hallam

I see her now, an elfin shape,  
That makes the air seem full of light,  
And brings in thoughts of pleasant might  
About fair serpent forms, that leap  
Among the flowers in warm Brazil,  
And how at every move we feel  
There is new beauty, and a birth  
Of something glorious to the earth.

Her face is almost given to smiles,  
Almost given up to happy laughter,  
But look ye near, and mark the whites  
An under-glance out-stealing after;  
The sweetest glance I ever saw;

<sup>3</sup> *Alfred Lord Tennyson; A Memoir*, by his son (London, 1897), I, 80-81.

Yet terrible for the inward law  
 Which it reveals, the maiden power,  
 The thoughts that breathe a pure heart-air,  
 Nor ever shall in any hour  
 Forth to the garish day-light fare.

Her voice, whose flowing tones I deem  
 A language for her sympathies,  
 A symbol for her mysteries,  
 Which words could never be or seem,  
 That voice is sounding now in gladness,  
 And if a rarer accent say  
 An earnest and a gentle sadness  
 Freshens the spirit of life alway,  
 That deepens still the simple charm,  
 And blesses all who hear from harm.

I may not hear; no influence  
 Is breathed from her to bless my sense;  
 I sit and think of her alone.  
 Yet, by the sacred stars I swear,  
 I would not one so very fair  
 And gentle, on this eve, should own  
 A single pining thought of me.  
 Oh be she joyous—and the full  
 Orb of her soul, so perfect free,  
 All glory in the world shall dull!  
 So be it; I will think of her  
 As going forth a conquerer,  
 And of her voice, her smile, her motion,  
 As something for a bard's devotion.  
 No sigh, no treacherous tear shall say  
 I grieve that I am far away,  
 And others see her glad to-day!

When Hallam's poem is read with Tennyson's sonnet it will appear that they strikingly illustrate the likenesses and dissimilarities of the work of their authors at the time of their publication. Motivated alike romantically by a lyrical impulse toward the beloved, Tennyson's poem soon loses itself in liquid, tinkling sound, Hallam's in mystical-metaphysical revery which transmutes the vision of Emily Tennyson into a spirit of poetry or of beauty which binds its worshipper by a kind of moral suasion. For parallel themes in Tennyson one is reminded of "The Poet," "The Poet's Mind," and "The Mystic," of the volume of 1830; but while Hallam's lines do not show the solemn didacticism

or the priggishness of the first two, they fall far short of the occasional glimpses of magnificence in the third. The mood of the "Stanzas," while less melancholy and morbid than Tennyson's "gloomèd fancy" of the same period (the characteristic is of course always somewhere present in Tennyson) nevertheless reflects the deep moral earnestness with which not only Hallam, but all the chief Cambridge Apostles were (shall I say?) afflicted.<sup>4</sup>

As Hallam's poem suggests, his volatile spirit habitually alternated between gaiety and sobriety. The happy mood in which the poem was composed, and the sombre mood which followed its publication and, perhaps, its cool reception by Emily Tennyson, are fully illustrated in the extracts which follow from three letters from Hallam to his beloved. The letters are part of a collection in the possession of the Wellesley College Library, and are here published for the first time by permission of the President of Wellesley College. It will be recalled that Hallam was at Hastings early in July, 1831, at the time that he was attempting to secure a contribution from Tennyson for the *Englishman's Magazine*. He had just received a letter from Emily describing a visit she had made to Dalby, near Somersby. Knowing no one in the neighborhood of Hastings, Hallam filled his loneliness with a vision of Emily whereby the "Stanzas" were born. Under date of July 12 he writes her:<sup>5</sup>

My dearest Emily,

Your letter, like all other things that are your's, is delicious. Why was I not with you in the gardens of Dalby! Henceforward however they are a part of me; I have no notion how they really appear, but you have told me something of their inhabitants, and that is sufficient for imagination to work with. From the single image of you, standing there among the flowers, and listening to the "clear carol" and the "solemn cawing," the whole scene has shaped itself out, with a wonderful propriety and grace, just as Alfred's Mariana grew up, by assimilative force, out of the plaintive hint left two centuries ago by Shakespeare for the few who might have ears to hear, and a heart to meditate. I am glad, very glad that the tone of your letter is more cheerful than usual. And yet I cannot forbear to scold you for saying "if I cannot write to cheer, it is better not to write at all." This you tell me I "must allow." Indeed, and indeed, Emily, I will allow no such thing. Is it to your gaiety, think you, and your festive smiles, and your playful humour that I have pledged my whole being? Oh no—these

<sup>4</sup> At some future time I hope to expand this statement. I believe that some of Tennyson's biographers unduly stress Hallam's individual contribution to the strain in Tennyson which laid him open to the sobriquet, "schoolmistress Alfred," and that Hallam merely reflected perhaps more acutely than the others a spirit common to the Cambridge group.

<sup>5</sup> So far as I know, none of Emily's letters to Arthur survive. Like Tennyson's letters to him they were doubtless destroyed by Henry Hallam.

are not my Emily; very dear are they to me, because they are parts of her, but there was something dearer yet, something more intimately herself, the musical sorrow, like the spirit of the nightingale's song, the dreamy desire of Beauty, only perfected through suffering; the—but why try I to explain the inexplicable—I love *yourself*; "Emily, the whole of Emily, and nothing but Emily!" I have no higher object on earth than to comfort you; do not depress me to an inferior aim; make not a holiday thing of me, fit to share your amusement, but unworthy of your grief! . . .<sup>6</sup> But if I run on thus in prose & rhyme, I shall have you fancy I wish you unhappy, that I may have the luxury of sympathising with you, and supporting you. I remember indeed, when a child I used to entrap flies into water for the pleasure of taking them out again—a process, seldom so satisfactorily completed, but two or three of them perished by the way. Nevertheless, Emily, you need not fear; only just try me: get splendidly well, and cheerful, and you shall see how happy it will make me. Only remember how I love you at all times, in all moods, whatever pleases, whatever pains you; remember that I too have trodden the deep places of existence and in those "valleys of the shadow of death" have learned some lessons that may do good to the soul of my beloved; remember that the bliss, for which we hope as Christians, takes its perennial complexion from sorrows upon earth, and they who have shared the one in love will surely be one for ever. . . .

From the next letter in the Wellesley collection, dated August 5, it appears that Emily had meanwhile written, as she often did, in very low spirits, and Arthur replied, as he had frequently to do to a large circle of friends who turned to him in trouble, as a comforter:

. . . But if you must needs remain at Somersby [he writes], for my sake, dearest, as well as for your own, and that of the many beings whose hearts have learned to vibrate with yours . . . for all our sakes be not overcome by despondency; let not your feelings, fine and pure in their nature, injure and enfeeble themselves by too much indulgence; give them freedom by restraint, animation by partial extinction: converse more, read more, think more upon subjects unconnected with yourself, or tending to raise you into communion with noble and healthful thought. I am not saying this as a cold and commonplace observer, who finds it easy and thinks it fine to affect a sobriety that costs him nothing. I speak from long and severe experience of those melancholy sentiments you express. I have felt "the burthen of the mystery, the weight of all this unintelligible world"; and while the similar tone of our souls in this respect affords me a precious certainty of intimate union, I cannot think without dread that you are exposed to the dangers through which I have passed, not unharmed alas! nor unhumiliated. . . .

This letter was sent, and time passed, and the *Englishman's Magazine* appeared, and letters praising Hallam's review of Tennyson poured in. But no letter came from Emily. This very frequently happened; and if

<sup>6</sup> Here follow the five stanzas beginning, "When two complaining spirits mingle," printed in the *Remains* of 1834 (and all subsequent editions) as "A Lover's Reproof."

the letter which follows seems in spots a little disturbed, there seems to have been ample excuse. It is dated from Hastings on August 28, just before Arthur was to leave town.

I have been living all this week in hope, my dearest Emily, that I might have a letter from you this morning. That hope is now fled to disport itself in the summerwinds [*sic*] of this beautiful weather, and has left me to console myself as I best may. There is but one way of consolation; since I cannot set out on my journey, strengthened and inspirited by kind words from you, I will at least secure to myself a certain prospect of finding such words at some point of that journey, to reward me for past anxieties, and to supply my thoughts with their natural food for a week or two further. . . .<sup>7</sup> I really think I have earned by frequent writing on my own part a right to be preserved from anxiety by frequent hearing from Somersby—for do not imagine, beloved Emily, I can ever be unconcerned, when I do not hear, even though I should have no reasonable ground of apprehension. But you *may* be ill; you *may* be unhappy; accidents may have happened; some arrow of God's Providence may have pierced the shielding cloud, which I trust is raised about you by the prayers of those who love you. Will you laugh at me, if I advance another plea—that of vanity? Suppose for a moment two very improbable suppositions, that my sister had written a book, and that you had written remarks on it. Should I, do you think, have let you wait until you had received expressions from all your friends of pleasure and interest in your performance, before I put in my own word of approbation? In spite of all I can tell you to the contrary I see you have too low an opinion of your power over me. Pray believe the difference is enormous between an object which your eyes have smiled on, and one yet unfavoured. . . .<sup>8</sup> These lines are from one of those three Canzons of Petrarch which the enthusiastic Italians, to mark their preference of them to the rest, have designated as the Three Graces. It will be a very pretty Italian lesson for you to try to make them out, to assist you in which I will add a very unworthy translation.

“Never could I imagine, or relate  
The changes that within my heart are wrought  
By those delicious eyes: all other joys  
This life can yield are far less dear to me,  
All other beauties are behind this one.  
Tranquil repose, without the least annoy,  
Like that, which is eternal in the heavens,  
Issues alone from their enamoured smile.  
Oh that I might behold more sure and close  
How Love their motion rules delightfully,  
One single day, in which th’eternal wheel  
Should pause, and I, careless of others then  
And of myself, might gaze and gaze and gaze,  
Nor often wink the eyes that looked on thine!”

<sup>7</sup> Here follow mailing directions.

<sup>8</sup> Here follow some lines of Italian.



Whatever Petrarch meant, I do not apply this to make you vain. I do not love your eyes merely because they are in themselves beautiful, but because they are transparent to an inner Beauty, from which my spirit has drawn life, because they are the "throne of light," on which that soul is elevated with whom mine desires to be mingled so long as each has being. I did not intend to get into these heroics, or mystics rather, when I began my letter: suppose I let myself down gently by a little talk about the moon! . . .

Three minor details in Hallam's poem remain to be noticed. The "elfin shape" of the first line, momentarily identified with Emily Tennyson before becoming transmuted into a spirit, finds a curious echo many years later in a description of Emily, then Mrs. Richard Jesse, when Mrs. W. H. Brookfield wrote, "Emily was dressed oddly and had hair in long ringlets down her back, which looked singular and elf-like."<sup>9</sup>

The word *elfin* had previously been used by Hallam in a Spenserian sense in a poem, "Stanzas to One Early Loved, Now in India," which he had printed (pp. 77-85) in his private volume of 1830.<sup>10</sup> The lines from the fifteenth and sixteenth stanzas of the poem written in 1829, are:

. . . Beauty in this earth  
Holds elfin sway, and nought but lover's toil  
Wins her enduring smile to clear our mortal coil.

To Her I dedicate for storm, or shine,  
The inward of my life. Great queen of fairy,  
Thou nobler Gloriana, I am thine: . . .

In two points occur close similarities in subject-matter, though characteristic differences in treatment, when Hallam's lines are compared with lines from two of Tennyson's sonnets of 1830. Hallam's "fair serpent forms, that leap Among the flowers in warm Brazil," etc., recall Tennyson's romantic use of tropical place-names in "Mine be the strength of spirit":

Even as the warm gulf-stream of Florida  
Floats far away into the Northern seas  
The lavish growth of southern Mexico.

<sup>9</sup> From a letter to her husband, October 7 [1842]. Charles and Frances Brookfield, *Mrs. Brookfield and Her Circle* (New York, 1905), p. 118.

<sup>10</sup> The poem was not reprinted. The one early loved was a friend met in Italy in the winter of 1827-28. Hallam writes of her to Emily Tennyson in a letter dated October 1, 1831, printed privately by Clement Shorter in London in 1916 under the title, *The Love Story of "In Memoriam"*: *Letters from Arthur Hallam to Emily Tennyson*. There are two letters in this collection.

And finally, there is Tennyson's serpent in "Could I outwear my present state of woe":

Could I outwear my present state of woe  
With one brief winter, and indue i' the spring  
Hues of fresh youth, and mightily outgrow  
The wan dark coil of faded suffering—  
Forth in the pride of beauty issuing  
A sheeny snake, the light of vernal bowers,  
Moving his crest to all sweet plots of flowers  
And watered valleys where the young birds sing; . . .<sup>11</sup>

The comparison is not intended as a piece of source-hunting, or to suggest the dependence of Hallam upon Tennyson's ideas. It will merely strengthen, on the other hand, our sense of the close community of spirit and thought which bound the two in deathless friendship.

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<sup>11</sup> In the Spring of 1828 Tennyson moved from Rose Crescent to King's Parade, No. 57 Corpus Buildings, and bought a pet snake. He is described as "watching its sinuosities upon the carpet" through clouds of tobacco. (Cf. Harold Nicolson, *Tennyson* [London, 1925], p. 63.)

### XXXIX

#### MARGARET FULLER AND RALPH WALDO EMERSON

YESTERDAY Margaret Fuller returned home after making us a visit of three weeks," Emerson noted in his Journal on August 12, 1836. To this brief statement of fact he added these few words of characterization: "A very accomplished and very intelligent person."<sup>1</sup> She had sought for two years to make Emerson's acquaintance. On October 6, 1834, she had written that the Rev. Frederick Henry Hedge spoke with due admiration of the Rev. W. Emerson, that only clergyman of all possible clergymen, who eludes my acquaintance. *Mais n'importe*. I keep his image bright before my mind.<sup>2</sup>

Sometime later she had sent a translation of Goethe's *Tasso* to Hedge with the suggestion that he transmit it to Emerson for his perusal and criticism.<sup>3</sup> At another time she complained that Emerson had preached in her home church when she was out of town.<sup>4</sup> Late in 1835, probably through the good offices of Harriet Martineau, they were introduced.<sup>5</sup> But it was not until she had maneuvered tactfully by an exchange of letters with Mrs. Emerson<sup>6</sup> and had gained the help of mutual friends that she attained the honor of intimacy with the mind she most respected in America.

Miss Fuller was twenty-six years of age when she entered the Emerson home. In all essentials, as Emerson stated, she was at this time completely formed intellectually.

Each of the main problems of human life had been closely scanned and interrogated by her, and some of them had been much earlier solved.<sup>7</sup>

Her experience and her self-training fitted her to meet Emerson as an intellectual equal.

She came not, therefore, to sit as a student at the feet of Emerson. Wide knowledge she had already attained, and her eager reading never ceased; always she attempted the new, the abstruse, and the difficult.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (eds.), *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston and New York, 1908-1914), iv, 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Works of S. M. F. Ossoli, 5 vols., i, 17, preserved in the Harvard College Library. —Permission to quote from these MS. volumes has been given graciously by Mrs. Gertrude Fuller Nichols.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston, 1884), p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Henry Channing, and James Freeman Clarke, *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston, 1852), i, 201.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 201.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 291.

Frequently she meditated on the shortcomings which prevented her attainment of absolute genius. "Who," she once asked archly of Emerson, "would be a goody that could be a genius?"<sup>8</sup>

She came to Emerson for a solution of her personal problems, particularly how she, a woman fettered by the conventionalities, might make her life rich, full, and meaningful. From Harriet Martineau she had sought assistance, but their plans for an educational tour through Europe had been frustrated by her father's death. Her queries remained unanswered. Unwilling to remain in a prison either of her own or society's making, she sought another who might direct her future footsteps into proper paths. A romantic notion, perhaps, it arose from a fundamental psychological need. As early as 1833 she had written to James Freeman Clark:

How often have I thought, if I could see Goethe, and tell him my state of mind, he would support and guide me! He would be able to understand.<sup>9</sup>

Two years later she wrote again:

I sigh for an intellectual guide. Nothing but the sense of what God has done for me, in bringing me nearer to Himself, saves me from despair. . . . I had hoped some friend would do—what none has ever yet done—comprehend me wholly, mentally and morally, and enable me better to comprehend myself. I have had some hope that Miss Martineau might be this friend, but cannot yet tell. She has what I want—vigorous reasoning powers, invention, clear views of her objects—and she has been trained to the best means of execution. Add to this, that there are no strong intellectual sympathies between us, such as would blind her to my defects.<sup>10</sup>

Having failed to acquire self-comprehension from Miss Martineau, Margaret turned the more eagerly toward Emerson in the hope that she might attain the orientation this fearless theological rebel demonstrated. His calm enunciation of principles, his steady view of life, his insistence upon individual self-sufficiency, his personal integrity, and, above all, his luminous seminal thought—these qualities which she had found in his sermons led her to believe that he alone was her fit counsellor. It was for this reason that she had sharpened every weapon in her armory to assail the doors of his house and mind for admittance.

In one of her frank letters she explained why she had sought him out: "It is partly because yours is an image in my oratory . . . and I must pray."<sup>11</sup> Emerson was a saint, or a priest in a confessional, to whom she might go to gain release for emotional pressure. She had learned from

<sup>8</sup> *Journals*, iv, 333 (October 20, 1837).

<sup>9</sup> *Memoirs*, i, 112.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 153.

<sup>11</sup> Higginson, p. 90.

Bacon that "no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession." But the person to whom she could unburden herself could be no mere friend. She had a dozen preachers and lawyers among her close acquaintances, men whose daily task demanded the giving of such counsel as she wanted. She required a spiritual adviser with the authority of an archbishop of Canterbury, of a Pope. Emerson alone in New England fulfilled her high requirements.

It was with a sense of triumph that Margaret Fuller entered the Emerson home in July, 1836, as the guest of Mrs. Emerson. She had connived successfully to come near her saint; now, she felt, the mental illumination that she so greatly craved would be hers. But she reckoned not the nature of her host.

She and Mr. Emerson met like Pyramus and Thisbe, a blank wall between.<sup>12</sup>

At thirty-three Emerson was almost completely formed: he too had scanned all life and had settled its main problems. He had sent his first book, *Nature*, to the printer a few days before her arrival. The main structure of his philosophy had been built; the years might add new parts, but the original design would not be altered. With firmness and kindness he enunciated his principles and avowed his purposes. He recognized his shortcomings, too. One of these was his coldness, his "porcupine impossibility of contact," his unwillingness to open the doors to the inner recesses of his heart and mind.

Of this first visit Emerson has left a record:

I still remember [he wrote in 1851] the first half-hour of Margaret's conversation. She was then twenty-six years old. She had a face and frame that would indicate fulness and tenacity of life. She was rather under the middle height, her complexion was fair, with strong fair hair. She was then, as always, carefully and becomingly dressed, and of lady-like self-possession. For the rest, her appearance had nothing prepossessing. Her extreme plainness—a trick of incessantly opening and shutting her eyelids—the nasal tone of her voice—all repelled; and I said to myself, we shall never get far.<sup>13</sup>

Margaret usually evoked unpleasant feelings in her new acquaintances, but this repugnance was soon lost.

Margaret's conversation scintillated like the heavens on a summer evening. Stars of thought twinkled, and an occasional, unexpected

<sup>12</sup> Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, *Margaret and Her Friends* (Boston, 1895), p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 202.

streak of lightning zigzagged through the air. All knowledge had been her province, and she hesitated not to discuss matters either very abstruse or very personal. She had a trick of electrifying a discussion. By plays of wit and fancy she could accelerate the rhythm of talk or turn to humorous use a serious proposal. She mimicked the idiosyncrasies of their mutual friends. Emerson objected to the way she made the twigs crackle under the pot: she made him laugh more than he liked. For, says Emerson,

Margaret, who had stuffed me out as a philosopher, in her own fancy, was too intent on establishing a good footing between us to omit any art of winning. She studied my tastes, piqued and amused me, challenged frankness by frankness, and did not conceal the good opinion she brought with her, nor her wish to please.<sup>14</sup>

Apollonious the scholar looked into the eyes of Lamia and at once called her a serpent-woman. Emerson thought he had done the same; he had found her out; her little game would not succeed. She was, he must have thought, no better than the other visitors who sought acquaintance with him. Every person of moment then, as now, was fair game for the souvenir hunter or the campaigner seeking support for a new reform. But Margaret fitted none of these categories fully, although she was—according to her biographers—snake-like, was anxious to know the great, and was a reformer. She had, as has been said, a personal problem to which only Emerson could give a solution. He might graciously dismiss her, but, until he gave the “open sesame” by which she might know herself, she would cling to him.

The topics of conversation during these days of the first visit can be imagined. Emerson’s gardening, the chores of the house, the neighboring woods and their inhabitants offered easy topics to these lovers of nature. A discussion of the many reforms and reformers gave Margaret an opportunity to speak of her desire for the improvement of the status of women in society. To this generalization he doubtless objected in equally general terms:

It is folly to imagine that there can be anything very bad in the position of woman compared with that of man.<sup>15</sup>

Goethe was spoken of early, for here were two of the limited number of Goethe readers in America. Emerson recalled that Margaret had sent him a translation of *Tasso* and thanked her. They discussed and argued, for Emerson refused to grant Goethe the highest literary honors. Goethe lacked dependence upon soul; he was devoted “to truth

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 202–203.

<sup>15</sup> *Journals*, IV, 405.

for the sake of culture" and not "to pure truth."<sup>16</sup> She retorted vainly that Goethe was the great liberating personality of the nineteenth century, the only writer who freed his readers from the tyranny of the narrow ideas of the time. They spoke also of that great host of oversea writers who were now first attracting attention in America. There was Carlyle, who had beckoned both to a study of German literature. Emerson told of his visit to the lonely Scotch cottage and filled avid ears with personalia about Thomas and Jane Carlyle. He smilingly recounted his unsatisfactory meeting with Wordsworth, now first fully appreciated in America. Last, but not least in importance, might have been the topic of religion, an ever recurrent theme of discourse in the educated homes of New England. "The unhappy plight in which the Unitarian church then found itself"<sup>17</sup> became in this year the initial problem of the Transcendental Club.

These were hours and days filled with vivacious talk, but probably, to Margaret, not soul-satisfying talk. Emerson was, on his side, too anxious to be gracious; he doubtless talked more than he liked and little to Margaret's purpose. On her side, Margaret tried to please too much by ingratiating and witty remarks. The first visit was not an entire failure, but it was not the great success Margaret had expected.

The one tangible result of the visit was Emerson's introduction of Margaret to Amos Bronson Alcott, who was then conducting a school on new principles in Boston. On Emerson's recommendation she was engaged to teach Latin and French and to report stenographically the conversations between Alcott and the pupils. The winter, therefore, found Margaret in Boston where she might be near her new friends.

Upon her return home Margaret wrote a letter of appreciation to the Emersons and solicited a regular correspondence. What could not be won vis-à-vis might be attainable by letter. She adopted immediately a friendly and familiar tone. In September, shortly after she had entered upon her work in Alcott's school, she proposed that Emerson drive her to Groton for a Sunday visit. That she was uncertain of Emerson's kindly disposition towards her can be gleaned from the half-mocking postscript to her letter:

You must not make a joke of my anxiety about next Sunday, but must take it seriously as I am feeling. It is a great gain to be able to address yourself directly, instead of intriguing as I did last year.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Emerson's *Works* (Centenary edition), iv, 260-270.

<sup>17</sup> Lindsay Swift, *Brook Farm* (New York, 1900), pp. 7-8.

<sup>18</sup> MS. letter, dated Boston, September 21, 1836, preserved in the Boston Public Library.

During the winter of 1836-1837 Emerson lectured in Boston, and Margaret took every opportunity to see and hear him. A note in her December Journal indicates with what eagerness she compared all other men with Emerson. She had passed the evening with Dr. Channing.

He was more eloquent on the subject of faith and hope, than I have ever heard him in the pulpit. I could not but contrast his tone with that of Mr. E. on the same subjects of conversation I had with him a few weeks ago. Oh man of expediency: how poor and faded are thy once fair words, beside those of a man of principle!<sup>19</sup>

Miss Fuller's frail health was severely taxed by her work with Alcott. When an opportunity came in the spring to transfer to the Greene Street School at Providence, she withdrew, April, 1837, from Boston to Groton for a period of rest. To Emerson she wrote, in a letter accompanying one of many packages of books that passed between them, I look to Concord as my Lethe and Eunoë. After this purgatory of distracting petty tasks, I am sure you will purify and strengthen me to enter the Paradise of thought once more.<sup>20</sup>

This letter doubtless evoked or confirmed a second invitation to visit at Concord late that month, for on May 4 Emerson recorded in his Journal that Margaret had left for home.<sup>21</sup> To a friend she wrote during the visit: "The excitement of conversation prevents my sleeping."<sup>22</sup> Their rich and full talk again centered about German, for Emerson noted somewhat cynically:

Among the many things that make her visit valuable and memorable, this is not the least, that she gave me five or six lessons in German pronunciation, never by my offer and rather against my will each time, so that now, spite of myself, I shall always have to thank her for a great convenience—which she foresaw.<sup>23</sup>

Having failed to win the hoped-for illumination through ordinary friendly interchange of ideas, she applied herself to secure her ends by teaching a bit of needed knowledge. It was with a shrewd calculation of human nature that she thus sought to penetrate the reserves of her "priest." On Sunday she drove with Emerson to Watertown,<sup>24</sup> where he doubtless went to preach. She omitted no art of pleasing, and lost no opportunity. But at the end of her visit she was as far from her goal as she had been before she had met Emerson. For, a few days after her

<sup>19</sup> MS. Works of S. M. F. Ossoli, I, 403-405; the date of the entry is December 5, 1836.

<sup>20</sup> Higginson, pp. 63-69, letter of April 11, 1837.

<sup>21</sup> *Journals*, IV, 225.

<sup>22</sup> Arthur B. Fuller (ed.), *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1874), p. 351.

<sup>23</sup> *Journals*, IV, 225 (May 4, 1837).

<sup>24</sup> *Woman*, p. 351.



return home, she again addressed to him a breezy letter; on this he made the notation, "What shocking familiarity."<sup>25</sup>

The persistency with which Margaret continued her efforts to enlist the sympathy and understanding of Emerson can best be understood in the light of a letter sent about this time to James Freeman Clarke.

You question me [she began] as to the nature of the benefits conferred upon me by Mr. E's preaching. I answer, that his influence has been more beneficial to me than that of any American, and that from him I first learned what is meant by an inward life. . . . That the "mind is its own place," was a dead phrase to me, till he cast light upon my mind. Several of his sermons stand apart in memory, like landmarks in my spiritual history. It would take a volume to tell what this one influence did for me.<sup>26</sup>

Margaret's fertile mind nourished the seeds of Emersonian thought; the prejudices of home and environment, the thoughts gleaned from books, and her own ideas were rudely jostled by Emerson's sermons and lectures. Her worries about practical affairs, her desire to be of concrete service to her fellow citizens, were brought into sharp conflict with Emerson's optimistic and seemingly successful philosophy of individualism: "Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string", trust God, nor be afraid. The conflict was that which results from the meeting of ideal and real, theoretical and practical thinkers. Margaret looked upon society as the source of evil; Emerson looked upon the individual as the creator or destroyer of his own happiness. Which attitude was the correct one, she wondered. All about her were the many practical reformers, the socialists, the watercureists, the graham-bread-eaters, the abolitionists; they seemed to be doing a good work. And here was the wisest American of the era taking the position that such reforms were foolish. His challenge to religion, too, sent her back to her own mind. Not books, not received opinion, not custom, but the truth to one's highest self he demanded. In that very demand he announced by implication the impossibility of one person's controlling another. But Margaret did not understand that this statement applied to her; as a self-appointed disciple she wanted the master to lay down for her concrete principles of thought and action.

During the year 1837—the exact date cannot be learned—Miss Fuller was admitted to the Transcendental Club, a group of New Englanders that met at the convenience of Dr. F. H. Hedge to discuss matters of religion, reform, and philosophy. Called together first on September 8,

<sup>25</sup> MS. letter, dated Groton, May 30, 1837, preserved in the Boston Public Library. Emerson regularly endorsed every letter he received.

<sup>26</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 194-195.

1836, this group had neither a constitution nor a definite name. Like-minded folk were invited to attend, and no restrictions were placed upon the free flow of conversation. "Revelation, Inspiration, Providence, Law, Truth, and other generalities were treated openly and candidly."<sup>27</sup> Its membership included Emerson, Alcott, the Ripleys, Parker, Hedge, and others. Later members included Thoreau, Miss Sophia Peabody who married Hawthorne, Hawthorne, and Miss Fuller. This group sought through talk a solution for the world's ills. Unconscious of the part they were playing in furthering New England culture, they wasted no time in recording their transactions. From their discussions, however, arose in 1840 the twin children of transcendentalism: *The Dial*, a magazine for the recording and propagation of their ideas, and Brook Farm, an experiment in Utopian and communistic living. In these meetings Miss Fuller took her place on an equality with the other members, and she demonstrated that the mind of at least one woman in nineteenth-century America did not yield in firmness of opinion or in richness of knowledge to the Harvard graduates about her.

In June, 1837, Margaret took up her teaching duties at Providence. Not yet fully recovered in health, she thought longingly of her stay at Concord.

Concord, dear Concord, haven of repose, where headache, vertigo, other sins that flesh is heir to, cannot long continue.<sup>28</sup>

Who but Emerson, she thought, should give the address upon the occasion of the dedication of the new school? It was her suggestion, doubtless, that led to his engagement. On June 10 Emerson spoke to the students and patrons on "Culture." Margaret, eager disciple that she was, looked about and discovered that the "good word" had fallen on barren ground; she wrote, therefore, to Alcott that, since she had been "much cheered and instructed," she hoped to be the means of fertilizing the thought there sown.<sup>29</sup> She would be the Emersonian vicar at Providence, teaching to the devotees of Animal Magnetism the master's message.

Transplanted, Margaret was not transformed. She still asked: Who and what am I? She appealed again to Emerson to explain how she might best go about the tantalizing job of orienting herself. Like a rubber ball cast to earth, she rebounded after rebuffs or denials. In a letter so carefully phrased that he copied it into his Journal and used part of it later in "Self-Reliance," he wrote:

Power and aim seldom meet in one soul. The wit of our time is sick for an object. Genius is homesick. I cannot but think that our age is somewhat distinguished

<sup>27</sup> *Brook Farm*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Higginson, p. 80.

<sup>29</sup> MS letter, dated June 27, 1837, preserved in the Boston Public Library.

hereby, for you cannot talk with any intelligent company without finding expressions of regret and impatience that attack the whole structure of our worship, education, and social manners. We all undoubtedly expect that time will bring amelioration, but whilst the grass grows the noble seed starves, we die of numb palsy.

But ethics stand when wit falls. Fall back on simplest sentiment, be heroic, deal justly, walk humbly, and you do something and do invest the capital of your being in a bank that cannot break, and that will surely yield ample rents.<sup>30</sup>

To Margaret, who could characterize herself as the possessor of "a great share of Typhon to the Osiris, wild rush and leap, blind force for the sake of force,"<sup>31</sup> this letter with its generalities must have seemed poor advice indeed. How could she who arose in the morning in jubilant spirits and went to bed with a nervous prostration, the spasms of which totally incapacitated her—how could this passionate intellect be calmed with oracular words like "walk humbly" and "fall back on simplest sentiment"? It could not be done that way.

For nearly a month she sulked or smiled at the advice given her, and then frankly wrote to Emerson that she had not written with customary promptness because she had not desired to write. She thrust directly at him with her explanation:

I have been in an irreligious state of mind, a little misanthropic, and skeptical about the existence of any real communication between friends. I bear constantly in heart that text of yours—"Oh *my friends*, there are no friends," but to me it is a paralyzing conviction. Surely we are very unlike Gods in "their seats of eternal tranquillity" that we need illusions so much to keep us in action.<sup>32</sup>

Then, as if to dull her weapon, and with the intention of trying again after a year's failure, she added that she desired to see her "dear *no friends*, Mr. and Mrs. Emerson," and would be glad, since they had invited her, to make another visit to their home.<sup>33</sup>

With the exception of occasional visits to Boston, Margaret spent the entire time between September, 1837, and December, 1838, in her Providence school. New friends she made, of course; she wrote to Jane Tuckerman of a "gentleman not young, but noble in form and mind, and more rich in intellect than any person I have known since Mr. Emerson."<sup>34</sup> Her thoughts, it is evident, turned frequently to Emerson; all men were to be judged by comparison with him. Letters passed

<sup>30</sup> *Journals*, iv, 256-257.

<sup>31</sup> *Memoirs*, i, 237.

<sup>32</sup> MS. letter, dated Providence, August 14, 1837, preserved in the Boston Public Library.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> MS. Works of S. M. F. Ossoli, i, 89; the letter is dated September 21, 1838.

frequently between them. Their reading, their friends, their duties, their new gleanings in nature were discussed. Emerson during this period had sent two new challenges to American thinkers, "The American Scholar" and "The Divinity School Address." He was busy lecturing, and these two new declarations of independence were part of a full year's work. The furore the latter aroused was less important to Margaret than the problem which still worried her. She wrote with urgency: "I must see you, and still more hear you." She demanded that he lecture in Boston when she could be present, or that he send her his lectures on "Holiness" and "Heroism." It was in this letter that she wrote: "Yours is an image in my oratory . . . and I must pray."<sup>35</sup>

During the last days of December, 1838, Margaret left her school for ever and went to Groton to rest. She again plunged into her studies. A collection of copies and prints of great works of art having been given to the Boston Athenæum, she immersed herself in the study of the history and interpretation of the fine arts, a subject she had become interested in much earlier through her reading of Goethe. To be nearer her friends, she took a place in Jamaica Plains, near Boston. From this suburban point of vantage she could sally out daily to meet her friends or to read in the library. The immense activity of her earlier years continued. She planned great literary works. She read widely, wrote much, and visited frequently. No form of expression—book, art, sermon, or lecture—escaped her attention. Nor did she let her friends escape the impact of her enthusiasm.

I pleased myself [Emerson noted] in seeing the pictures brought in her portfolio by Margaret Fuller.<sup>36</sup>

It was a season of great interest in art, and Margaret and Emerson spent many occasional hours in the study of the works of the great Italian artists. Naturally Margaret led in the discussions.

I remember [Emerson wrote] that in the first times I chanced to see pictures with her, I listened reverently to her opinions.<sup>37</sup>

Later he realized that she offered interpretations which the pictures did not justify.

Her taste in works of art, though honest, was not on universal, but on idiosyncratic grounds. . . . Her fancy and imagination were easily stimulated to

<sup>35</sup> Higginson, pp. 89-91.

<sup>36</sup> *Journals*, iv, 465 (June 8, 1838). Emerson at this time was attempting to determine his own critical standards in the judgment of works of art. Margaret's excessively romantic interpretations taught him the need for "perfect equilibrium of mind."

<sup>37</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 267-268.

genial activity, and she erroneously thanked the artist for the pleasing emotions and thoughts that rose in her mind.<sup>38</sup>

Her opinions, Emerson confessed, were worth hearing for their original and interesting quality, if not for their accuracy.<sup>39</sup>

The year 1839 seems to have been a happy one in Margaret's life. Her Goethe studies bore fruit in a volume of translation, *Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe*. She wrote many essays and sketches which did service later in *The Dial* and the *Tribune*. She had made definite progress toward that high goal in authorship she had set for herself. She began in November her *Conversations* with such success that they were repeated annually for five years. Not unimportant was the solid foundation of her friendship with Emerson. He could note in his *Journal* late at night the visit of Alcott and Margaret.

Very friendly influences these, each and both. Cold as I am, they are almost dear. [But he distrusted his jubilation and added] What is good to make me happy is not however good to make me write. Life too near paralyzes art.<sup>40</sup>

Three weeks later he lamented his "porcupine impossibility of contact with men."<sup>41</sup> He was as close to Margaret as he could be to any person. Although the *rapport* was not so complete as Margaret could wish, Emerson's earlier feeling of distance and restraint had largely passed. Margaret was less bumptious, for she withheld a letter and a poem she had written because she was afraid they "might destroy relations."<sup>42</sup> There were communal tasks to be performed, and on Margaret alone could Emerson depend for assistance. It was to her that he turned in these last days of 1839 when the long-projected magazine was to be launched.

*The Dial* was not the offspring of a moment's thought. Such a periodical had been conceived—as many earlier American magazines like the *Monthly Anthology* and the *Port Folio* had been planned—as a coöperative organ for the dissemination of the ideas of a like-minded group. As early as 1833 the Reverend Frederick Henry Hedge had sought by correspondence to organize a magazine. Margaret had then offered to contribute, provided that Hedge would give her a subject.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 268.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 268.

<sup>40</sup> *Journals*, v, 292 (October 21, 1839).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 325.

<sup>42</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 230. Cf. MS. letter to Caroline Sturgis, dated November 25, 1839, preserved in the Boston Public Library, in which Margaret sent a poem and some leaves from her *Journal*: "I hesitated about sending you any papers now because you are busy writing, but then I reflected that you would not wish your mind strained up to your subject all day, but might like some grove of private life into which you might step aside to refresh yourself from the broad highway of philosophy."

Two years later she again offered to aid. In 1836 at the bi-centennial celebration of Harvard College, Hedge drew Emerson, George Ripley, and George Putnam into a conference to discuss the narrowing tendencies of the Unitarian church. Out of this discussion grew the Transcendental Club. Early in 1839 Brownson's *Boston Quarterly Review* so aroused the members that they felt they too might put to use much vacant talent and publish to the world the ideas which circulated in their association. John A. Heraud's British *New Monthly Magazine* became the immediate model. At a club meeting, September 18, Margaret "gave her views of the proposed *Dial*."<sup>43</sup> On October 20 Alcott and Margaret drove to Concord to confer all day with Emerson on the feasibility of the project. On January 1, 1840, she wrote to her friends to announce the new quarterly journal. Emerson, she was careful to say, would contribute to each issue. She begged for materials of so excellent a character that the first number might justify its publication. It is a commentary on man's ambitions that Hedge, who for seven years had nursed the idea of a magazine, was one of the tardiest contributors. The date for publication was to be April, 1840, but the poor response delayed the first number until July.<sup>44</sup>

During these six months Margaret corresponded with every possible contributor, accepted or rejected copy, revised or offered suggestions, even to Emerson, and in general carried out with fortitude the almost thankless task of organizing the editorial department of the paper. To Emerson, who acted as consulting editor, Margaret went frequently with her troubles and plans.

They examined every detail with some care until the first issue was ready to go to press. Then Margaret went away and trusted—as amateurs do to their sorrow—to the accuracy of the printer. Numerous small errors in type font, arrangement, and word drew a quick apology from Margaret to Emerson.<sup>45</sup> Her meekness in this respect was compensated by her frankness in editing the master's copy. "I think," she wrote Emerson in regard to proofs for the second issue, "when you look again you will think you have not said what you meant to say."<sup>46</sup> She supported her statement with a list of specific corrections. In some ways Margaret, although she attempted to interpret and popularize his ideas, was Emerson's harshest critic. She knew his personal weaknesses and his lack of continuity in writing. No worshipper ever sought more earnestly to give life to the clay feet of his God than did Margaret. She attempted

<sup>43</sup> Higginson, p. 147.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 130 ff.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

to teach this sage [that] all he wants to make him the full-fledged angel [is] to make him forego these tedious, tedious attempts to learn the universe by thought alone.<sup>47</sup>

As literary editor of Horace Greeley's *Tribune* she took delight in praising "the sage of Concord"<sup>48</sup> while yet appraising his work disinterestedly.<sup>49</sup> No American critic has distributed more justly both praise and blame to Emerson's writings.

To *The Dial* Margaret and Emerson contributed, during her editorship, a large portion of the material. The sixth number contained, of a total of one hundred thirty-six pages, eighty-five from Margaret's pen. Much of this material was old or hastily written. Emerson, for his part, complained of the extreme fatigue he suffered from filling gaps at the last moment.<sup>50</sup>

It is not our purpose here to appraise *The Dial* or Margaret's part in it except so far as it shows how she and Emerson were drawn together into more simple and direct relations. The frequent letters between them and their hurried visits indicate that they attained an informality that stopped short of confidences. Emerson carried family messages for her, and he was trusted to look in upon Richard Fuller at Harvard on every visit to Cambridge. She petulantly chided her family for failing to make use of Emerson in the office of postman.<sup>51</sup>

When the burden of conducting the magazine was handed over to Emerson in March, 1842, he realized to the full Margaret's devotion to the paper. He came to realize, too, the utter justness and impartiality with which she had conducted it; and by letter she let him know his own shortcomings as an editor by referring to her experiences.<sup>52</sup> As

<sup>47</sup> James Elliot Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1887), I, 276. Cf. MS. letter dated Groton, January 7, 1839, preserved in the Boston Public Library, in which she rebuked Emerson in humorous terms for adjourning a lecture because he had lost a night's rest as a result of a slight indisposition: "Imagine my indignation: lost a night's rest! as if an intellectual person ever had a night's rest." See, also, in the same place an undated letter in which she comments upon a criticism offered upon his *Essays*. "There is something obviously wrong in this attempt to measure one another, or one another's act."—Cf. also *Memoirs*, I, 240–241, in a letter to Emerson, dated December, 1842, anent her unwillingness to send Dante's *Vita Nuova* in the original Italian to him: "It has never seemed to me you entered enough into the genius of the Italian to apprehend the mind, which has seemed so great to me, and a star unlike, if not higher than all others in our sky."

<sup>48</sup> Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *Art Literature, and the Drama* (Boston, 1874), p. 304.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 195–196.

<sup>50</sup> Higginson, p. 165.

<sup>51</sup> MS. Works of S. M. F. Ossoli, II, 257, 551, 643, 657, and 663–665. For example, "During the two months that Mr. E. will lecture here I can always send by him" (pp. 663–665).

<sup>52</sup> Higginson, pp. 166–167.

guide, counsellor, and friend she sought to serve the best interests of Emerson, as well as of *The Dial* and herself. Emerson's loyalty to *The Dial*, if we judge by his letters to Carlyle, "seemed inseparably connected with his loyalty to her."<sup>53</sup>

These busy days did not bring to an end her questions about herself. Early in 1840 she sent him a little parable and added:

Why do I write thus to one who must ever regard the deepest tones of my nature as those of childish fancy or worldly discontent?<sup>54</sup>

She continued to press her questions and in October drew from him a long letter in which he attempted to explain their relation:

Concord, October 24th, 1840

I have your frank and noble and affecting letter—and yet I think I could wish it unwritten. I ought never to have suffered you to lead me into any conversation or writing on our relation—a topic from which with all persons my Genius ever sternly warns me away. I was content and happy to meet on a human footing a woman of sense and sentiment, with whom one could exchange reasonable words, and go away assured that wherever she went was light and force and honor. That is to me a solid good: it gives value to thought and the day; it redeems society from that foggy and misty aspect it wears so often, seen from our retirement; it is the foundation of everlasting friendship.

. . . But tell me that I am cold or unkind, and, in my most flowing state I become a cake of ice; I can feel the crystals shoot and the drops solidify. It may do for others, but it is not for me to bring the relation to speech. Instantly I find myself a solitary, unrelated person, destitute not only of all social faculty but of all private substance. I see precisely the double of my state in my little Waldo, when, in the midst of his dialogue with his hobby-horse, in the full tide of his eloquence, I should ask him if he loves me—he is mute and stupid. . . . I take it for granted that everybody will show me kindness and wit, and am happy in the observation of all the abundant particulars of the show to feel the slightest obligation resting on me to do anything or say anything for the company. I talk to my hobby, and will join you in harnessing and driving him; but ask me what I think of you and me, and I am put to confusion. . . . There is a difference in our constitution. We use a different rhetoric. It seems as if we had been born and bred in different nations. You say you understand me wholly. You cannot communicate yourself to me. I hear the words sometimes, but remain a stranger to your state of mind. Yet we are all the time a little nearer. I honor you for a brave and beneficent woman, and mark with gladness your steadfast good-will to me. I see not how we can bear each other anything else than good-will, though we had sworn to the contrary. And now, what will you? The stars in Orion do not quarrel this night, but shine in peace in the old society.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>54</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 291. The letter is dated February 23, 1840.



Are we not much better than they? Let us live as we always have done, only ever better, I hope, and richer. Speak to me of everything but myself, and I will endeavor to make an intelligible reply. . . .

Yours affectionately

R. W. Emerson<sup>55</sup>

A year later Emerson was again disturbed. On one of her frequent visits Margaret went into the library to secure a book. Instead of reading she wrote the following letter:

October 1841

Dear Waldo,

I know you do not regard our foolish critiques, except in the true way to see whether you have yet got the best form of expression. What do we know of when you should stop writing or how you should live? In these pages I seem to hear the music rising I so long have wished to hear and am made sensible to the truth of the passage in one of your letters, "Life, like the nimble Tartar &c."

I like to be in your library when you are out of it. It seems a sacred place. I came here to find a book, that I might feel more life and be worthy to sleep, but there is so much here I do not need a book. When I come to yourself, I cannot receive you, and you cannot give yourself: it does not profit. But when I cannot find you the beauty and permanence of your life come to me.

"The (Poesie) has ascended from the depths of a nature, and only by a similar depth, shall she be apprehended!"—I want to say while I am feeling it, what I have often (not always) great pleasure in feeling—how long it must be before I am able to meet you.—I see you—and fancied it nearer than it was, you were right in knowing the contrary.

How much, much more I would fain say and cannot. I am too powerfully drawn while with you, and cannot advance a step, but when away I have learned something. Not yet to be patient and faithful and holy, however, but only have taken off the shoes, to tread the holy ground. I shall often depart through the ranges of manifold being, but as often return to where I am tonight.

Margaret F.

Oct. 1841

Letter written at  
Concord from  
room to room.<sup>56</sup>

Emerson noted in his Journal on October 12 with a tinge of despair: I would that I could, I know afar off I cannot, give the lights and shades, the hopes and outlooks that come to me in these strange, cold-warm, attractive-

<sup>55</sup> Cabot, I, 367-369.

<sup>56</sup> The letter is preserved in the Boston Public Library. The endorsement, as usual, is in Emerson's hand.

repelling conversations with Margaret, whom I always admire, most revere when I nearest see, and sometimes love—yet whom I freeze, and who freezes me to silence, when we seem to come nearest.<sup>57</sup>

Ten days later he recorded the opinion that she was “a being of unsettled rank in the universe.”<sup>58</sup> She seemed to have become a kind of sphinx, a living riddle. When he was surest of a solution, he was furthest away from the truth. She disturbed his equanimity as no one else had done, except possibly Aunt Mary Moody Emerson. Was he thinking of Margaret when he wrote: “Better be a nettle in the side of your friend than his echo”?<sup>59</sup>

Meantime there had been, as there would be hereafter, many good letters between them. Emerson, indeed, wrote that he “wishes letters every day from Margaret Fuller.”<sup>60</sup> He tells her of his experiences as a gardener, his hoeing of corn and potatoes,<sup>61</sup> of his impending trip to Waterville, Maine, to deliver a lecture (“For which of my sins?” he asked jocosely),<sup>62</sup> of his pleasure in again being at the ocean,<sup>63</sup> and of his joy in her praise.<sup>64</sup> More interesting to her must have been his suggestion that they coöperate in founding a school (really a college on the plan recently adopted by Rollins College) in which instruction would be given by lecturers only. Ripley, Hedge, Parker, and Alcott could assist them.<sup>65</sup> When one recalls that Emerson wished for a professorship of rhetoric, it can be understood with what eagerness he awaited Margaret’s reply. He too could confide in her, for, as she wrote him, she knew how to keep confidences.<sup>66</sup>

Late in 1840 the Reverend George Ripley withdrew from his pastorate and organized the Brook Farm Community in an attempt “to bring cultivated, thoughtful people together, and make a society that deserved the name.”<sup>67</sup> Margaret and Emerson, as well as the other members of the Transcendental Club, were invited to join. Neither joined although each wished the colony well, and each visited it and spoke to the assembled members. Some of the meetings of Margaret and Emerson took place there, as Hawthorne recorded in his notebooks.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Journals*, vi, 87.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 97.

<sup>59</sup> Emerson’s *Works* (Centenary edition), II, 208, in “Friendship.”

<sup>60</sup> Cabot, II, 67.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 65.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 67.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 82–83.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 95–97.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 27–28.

<sup>66</sup> MS. letter, dated Feb.? July? 5, 1840, preserved in the Boston Public Library. This letter is of interest because it reveals the fact that another young lady sought out Emerson for counsel in a private matter somewhat similar in nature to Margaret’s problem.—Cf. *Memoirs*, I, 214: “She never confounded relations, but kept a hundred fine threads in her hand, without crossing or entangling any.”

<sup>67</sup> *Brook Farm*, p. 9.

<sup>68</sup> Hawthorne’s *Works* (Riverside edition), IX, 252, 308.

Margaret's mental growth, as Emerson perceived, was visible.<sup>69</sup> The Conversations required a popular treatment of scholarly information and a ready command of her material. Her reserves needed to be stronger than her marshalled, prepared papers. She was at her best when a learned opponent called her forth. The vinous quality of her talk led her friends to urge her to publish in carefully organized form these brilliant *ex tempore* expressions. Her first task, after having been relieved from the onerous duties of *The Dial*, was to prepare these books. First came the translation of the correspondence of Fraulein Gunderode and Bettine von Arnim, another branch of the Goethe tree she was growing. This book was published in 1842. She set to work on her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, the basis of which had appeared in *The Dial* as "The Great Lawsuit." In 1843 she made her pilgrimage to the West, the record of which is to be found in her third book, *Summer on the Lakes*. In 1844 *Woman* came from the presses. With four books to her credit, she was at thirty-four one of America's leading writers.

Margaret's new ardency in propagating feminist notions did not please Emerson. After a meeting with her, he wrote in his Journal:

The conversation turned upon the state and duties of Woman. As always, it was historically considered, and had a certain falseness so. For me, to-day, Woman is not a degraded person with duties forgotten, but a docile daughter of God with her face heavenward endeavoring to hear the divine word and to convey it to me.<sup>70</sup>

Earlier he had written:

Woman should not be expected to write, or fight, or build, or compose scores: she does all by inspiring man to do all.<sup>71</sup>

As generalizations, Margaret doubtless remarked, these statements were very attractive, but the individual woman could not be content to suffer, as she herself had suffered, to see her own property managed by a man simply because she was a woman; to suffer regret because she could not attend college; and to suffer the odium of gossip because she had acquired an education equal to a man's. There were practicable solutions possible, and these solutions she would demand. Against her ideas Emerson naturally opposed all his belief in the uselessness of method. They differed, but they did not quarrel. Her thinking had

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, ix, 334: Mr. Emerson "spoke of Margaret Fuller, who, he says, has risen perceptibly into a higher state since their last meeting." Cf. also *Memoirs*, i, 215, where Emerson wrote: "The day was never long enough to exhaust her opulent memory; and I, who knew her intimately for ten years . . . never saw her without surprise at her new powers."

<sup>70</sup> *Journals*, vi, 369 (March, 1843).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 134 (November, 1841).

carried her beyond Emerson. Hers was a creative mind; she could no longer tarry within Emersonian limits.

After the room-to-room correspondence Margaret seems not to have harassed Emerson for further explanations. Her visit to Concord in August, 1842, several months after the death of little Waldo, is happily to be reconstructed from one of the few extant portions of her diaries. It is evident that they met as friendly contemporaries and not as master and follower. She had come to write, and Emerson promptly put her to work. On the day following her arrival she walked with Emerson to Walden Pond. Their new "relations" can be understood from her notation:

I feel more at home with him constantly, but we do not act powerfully on one another. He is much a better companion than formerly, for once he would talk obstinately through the walk, but now we can be silent and see things together.<sup>72</sup>

On an evening they walked to the river.

We had an excellent talk: we agreed that my God was love, his truth.<sup>73</sup>

On another day she wrote:

Waldo and I have good meetings, though we stop at all our old places. But my expectations are moderate now; it is his beautiful presence that I prize, far more than our intercourse.<sup>74</sup>

"My expectations are moderate now!" In that phrase Margaret explained to herself the new basis of their association. It was no longer to be a pursuit after a phantom. The old demand was no longer to be made; she was content with the realization that friendship with Emerson had to exist on his principles and not on hers. In the chatty letters that passed between them while she was at home, in New York City, and in Europe there was a continuous flow of friendly personal items. They had demonstrated to each other—Emerson reluctantly and with embarrassment—that they cared for, indeed loved, each other in their own way. With that knowledge Margaret had to be satisfied, and she thus versified her thought:

TO R. W. EMERSON. JULY 1844

Slight is the token, yet it should bring  
Thoughts of trust unbroken, hopes of Eternal Spring  
Of Love no word be spoken, it is too cold to sing.  
    May the coming day,  
    To my now clearer way,

<sup>72</sup> MS. Works of S. M. F. Ossoli, III, 165.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 169.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 175-177.

Bring a ministry  
 More worthy thee;  
 Bring to thee  
 Truer thoughts of me.  
 Gifts to the Giver  
 Rain-drops to the parent river:  
 From absence they borrow  
 The tearful, pearly joy of sorrow <sup>76</sup>

Of Margaret's year and a half as a critic on the *Tribune* we need remark no more than that only Poe in these years equalled her as a critic. Her just appraisal of Emerson as a poet and prose writer has already been alluded to. Of her years in Europe, her marriage, and her service to the Italian revolutionary cause as a nurse we need only say that these incidents fulfilled the expectations one might have of the high-spirited and noble young woman. Her tragic death by shipwreck within a few rods of the American coast closed at the age of forty the career of America's most brilliant woman of the era. It is not to Emerson's memoir of Margaret that we need to turn for his characterization of their relations, fine as that account is. This one sad sentence, written when he first learned of her death, contains in its first clause the simplest statement of his loss: "I have lost in her my audience, and I hurry now to my work admonished that I have a few days left."<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, I, 459.

<sup>78</sup> Denton J. Snider, *A Biography of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (St. Louis, 1921), p. 333.

## GRUNDTVIG'S INDEX B OF ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH BALLADS

WHILE Francis James Child was preparing the manuscript for the publication of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Svend Grundtvig sent to him, in the form of enclosures with letters dated August 25, 1877 and January 29, 1880, a numbered list of English and Scottish ballads arranged in the order which Grundtvig, at Child's earlier request, meant to propose as a proper sequence for publication. This list is printed in full in my *Ballad Books and Ballad Men* under the designation of the "Grundtvig-Child Index." This index was prepared by Grundtvig mainly from two other manuscript indexes which he had drawn up many years before for convenient reference in his work with the Danish ballads. The first of the two, named *Index A* by Grundtvig himself, contained what he regarded at the time as a standard list of English and Scottish ballads. The second, named by him *Index B*, comprised ballads which he regarded for various reasons as questionable. *Index A* began in 1850; *Index B* appears to belong to approximately the same period.<sup>1</sup> Between twenty and thirty years afterward, when Grundtvig prepared for Child's guidance the *Grundtvig-Child Index*, he admitted into it many ballads from *Index B*. In the interval he had obviously changed his mind or resolved his doubts as to the merits of a group of ballads originally regarded by him as distinctly secondary in value. It is to be observed, however, that, in his classifications for Child in the *Grundtvig-Child Index*, Grundtvig admits no ballad from *Index B* into his First Class, in his opinion the most ancient poems; on the other hand, he places a large number of pieces from *Index B* in his Fourth Class, "consisting of imitations of the old ballad style." Whether, then, we take into account Grundtvig's earlier or his later judgment, *Index B* represents a secondary order of merit. Careful attention should be paid, meanwhile, to the variety of reasons which led Grundtvig, according to his own introductory note, to the formation of *Index B*. This index was to him in effect a sort of ballad purgatory, from which in the course of time he released such of the numbers as appeared to him worthy of liberation.

In the preparation of the *Grundtvig-Child Index*, Grundtvig incorporated from *Index B* all but seven of the sixty-one numbers. These fifty-four originally secondary ballads were thus recommended to Child as candidates for admittance into his definitive collection. Child finally

<sup>1</sup> See *Ballad Books and Ballad Men*, pp. 300-301.

accepted all but eight of the fifty-four. Besides, he admitted two numbers listed in *Index B* which Grundtvig had not seen fit to recommend, namely *Young Peggy* and *The West Country Damsel's Complaint*. Child never saw *Index B* except in so far as numbers from it were included in the *Grundtvig-Child Index*. In making his final roster of three hundred and five ballads, Child, although influenced considerably by Grundtvig's nominations, rested in the long run on an exhaustive study of the documentary backgrounds of the texts and on a critical tact acquired through long familiarity with popular literature. It is not to be wondered at that the two men occasionally differed; rather is it remarkable that they agreed so well. Of the two hundred and sixty-nine nominations in the *Grundtvig-Child Index*, Child rejected less than twenty. Only some fifty, therefore, of Child's total tally of three hundred and five, did not appear on Grundtvig's list of recommendations. Although Child eventually, through the acquisition of texts drawn from manuscripts and early printed books unknown to Grundtvig, came to be much better equipped for the determination of the traditional authenticity of the English and Scottish ballads than his Danish correspondent (who relied mainly on the ordinary printed collections) could possibly be, nevertheless Child always placed a high value on Grundtvig's expert opinion. A study of the full list of sources available to Grundtvig as compared with the older, largely manuscript sources for the same ballads as given in Child's definitive edition will help us to understand Grundtvig's fluctuations of judgment and to appreciate Child's final decisions, whether in the end he rejected a given ballad and its versions or accepted them. *Index B*, therefore, incorporated to so great an extent into the *Grundtvig-Child Index*, is a document of some importance in the history of the formation of the Child canon. It is printed here from a photostatic reproduction of the original manuscript text, as preserved in the Danish Folklore Collection of the Royal Library at Copenhagen (DFS 69A). Nothing has been omitted except some numerals attached, apparently in a hand other than Grundtvig's, to four of the serial numbers; these attached numerals turn out to be in each case Child's number for the corresponding ballad in the *E.S.P.B.* In a few cases I have corrected what seemed to me to be obvious errors in paging; in other instances I have suggested a correction in brackets. Some added explanatory matter appears in brackets.

The bracketed entries in the two columns at the right will show which numbers—not which versions—were incorporated into the *Grundtvig-Child Index*; and which numbers and versions were eventually admitted into *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Where the source assigned is the same for Child's earlier collection, employed by Grundtvig, and

for Child's final collection, the agreement is likewise noted in the column at the right. Unless otherwise indicated, the bracketed entries are mine.

The detailed history of the relation between Grundtvig's indexes and the Child canon may be studied by means of the Grundtvig-Child Correspondence and the *Grundtvig-Child Index* as printed in my *Ballad Books and Ballad Men*. With the exception of about a dozen numbers, Grundtvig's basic list, *Index A*, which Child apparently never saw, may be reconstructed through Grundtvig's bracketed references in the *Grundtvig-Child Index*. *Index A*, unpublished so far as I know, is preserved in the Danish Folklore Collection as Grundtvig left it (DFS 69A).

The following is a list of the more important collections actually used or referred to by Grundtvig, not readily identified from the text:

- Anon, *A Collection of Old Ballads*, 3 vols. London I, II, 1723, III, 1725.  
 Aytoun, W. E., *The Ballads of Scotland*, 2d ed., 2 vols. Edin. and L., 1859.  
 Bell, Robert, *Ancient Poems, Ballads, and Songs of the Peasantry of England*. London, 1857.  
 Buchan, Peter, *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland*, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1828 (Grundtvig's *Buchan*); *Gleanings of Scotch, English, and Irish Scarce Old Ballads*. Peterhead, 1825.  
 Child, F. J., *English and Scottish Ballads*, 2d ed. (London issue of 1861), 8 vols. (Grundtvig's *Child*).  
 Cromek, R. H. (Burns), *Select Scottish Songs*, 2 vols. London, 1810.  
 Dixon, J. H., *Scottish Traditional Versions of Ancient Ballads* (Percy Society, Vol. xvii). London, 1845.  
 Evans, Thomas, *Old Ballads*, new edition by R. H. Evans, 4 vols. London, 1810.  
 Gutch, J. M., *A Lytill Geste of Robin Hode*, 2 vols. London, 1847.  
 Herd, David, *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, 2d ed., 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1776.  
 Johnson, James, *The Scots Musical Museum*, 3d ed., 4 vols. Edin. and L., 1853.  
 Maidment, James, *A North Country Garland*. Edinburgh, 1824.  
 Percy, Thomas, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 6th ed., 4 vols. London, 1823 (Grundtvig's *Percy*); *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, 4 vols. London, 1867-68 (Grundtvig's *Percy MSS.*).  
 Pinkerton, John, *Select Scottish Ballads*, 2 vols. London, 1783.  
 Ritson, Joseph, *Ancient Songs*. London, 1792. 2d ed., 2 vols. London, 1829.  
 ———, *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry*. London, 1791.  
 ———, *Robin Hood*, new edition. London, 1820.  
 ———, *Scottish Songs*, 2 vols. London, 1794.  
 ———, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, 2d ed. by Thomas Park, 3 vols. London, 1813.  
 Scott, Walter, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 5th ed., 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1812.  
 Sharpe, C. K., *A Ballad Book*. Edinburgh, 1823.  
 Smith, R. A., *The Scottish Minstrel*, 6 vols. n.d.  
 Thomson, W., *Orpheus Caledonius*, 2 vols. London, 1733.



## INDEX B

From my *Index A* of English and Scottish Ballads the following have been excluded out of different reasons, partly because they were of too local a character, as the Border Ballads, partly as decidedly political pieces; some also, while they seemed to be of too recent a date or were of a doubtful antiquity.

[Marginal note:] *N.B.* Besides all the ballads contained in Ritson's *Robin Hood* (reprinted in Evans' Collection [1810], Vol. II), Gutch's *Robin Hood*, Child, Vol. v, Bell, p. 59 [*The Bold Pedlar and Robin Hood*]

1. *Dick o' the Cow* [G.-C. Index 212] [E S.P.B. 185]  
 (Motherwell, Introd., No. 41)  
 Scott, I, 209  
 Aytoun, I, 167  
 Child, VI, 67 [185 b]
2. *Jock o' the Side* [213] [187]  
 (Motherwell, Introd., Nos 42, 64)  
 A. *John a Side*. Percy MSS., II, 203 [187 A]  
 a. Scott, I, 226  
 Aytoun, I, 264  
 Child, VI, 80 [187 Ba]  
 b. (*Archie of Ca'field*)  
 Scott, I, 274  
 Child, VI, 88 [188 Bb]  
 c. (*Billie Archie*)  
 Motherwell, 335 [188 D]  
 Child, VI, 94 [188 D]  
 d. (*The three Brothers*)  
 Buchan, I, 111 [188 C]
3. *Hobbie Noble* [214] [189]  
 (Motherwell, Introd., No. 43)  
 Scott, I, 243  
 Aytoun, I, 271  
 Child, VI, 97 [189 a]
4. *Hughie Græme* [210] [191]  
 (Motherwell, Introd., No. 51)  
 a. Ritson's *Anc. Songs*, Cl. v, No. 1  
 (*Mine afskrr.* [My copies], II, 2)  
 Evans, I, No. 87  
 Child, VI, 247 [191 Ad]  
 Aytoun, II, 128  
 b. Johnson's *Museum*, [No.] 303  
 (*Mine melodier* [My melodies], 22  
 Child, VI, 51 [191 B]  
 c. Scott, III, 232 [191 C]  
 Child, VI, 55 [191 C]  
 d. Dixon, *Scott. Ball.*, No. 15 [191 E]

- |   | [G.-C. Index] | [E.S.P.B.] |
|---|---------------|------------|
| 5. <i>Lord Ewrie</i><br>(Motherwell, Introd., No. 58)<br>Scott, I, 131 Spurious<br>[Grundtvig brackets the whole of No. 5]  |               |            |
| 6. <i>The Lochmaben Harper</i><br>(Motherwell, Introd., No. 59)   | [207]         | [192]      |
| a. Scott, I, 136  |               | [192 Ac]   |
| Child, VI, 7  |               | [192 Ac]   |
| b. Johnson's <i>Museum</i> , VI, . . . [No. 579]  |               | [192 Ab]   |
| Child, VI, 3  |               | [192 Ab]   |
| Aytoun, I, 121  |               |            |
| c. Dixon, <i>Scott. Ball.</i> , No. 4 <sup>to</sup> [IV]  |               | [192 E]    |
| 7. <i>Jamie Telfer of the fair Dodhead</i><br>(Motherwell, Introd., No. 60)   | [216]         | [190]      |
| Scott, I, 144   |               | [190]      |
| Aytoun, I, 211  |               |            |
| Child, VI, 105  |               | [190]      |
| 8. <i>Kimmont Willie</i><br>(Motherwell, Introd., No. 61)   | [209]         | [186]      |
| Scott, I, 178   |               | [186]      |
| Aytoun, I, 95   |               |            |
| Child, VI, 58   |               | [186]      |
| 9. <i>Bartram's Dirge</i><br>(Motherwell, Introd., No. 63)<br>Scott, I, 269<br>Cf. Motherwell, Introd., p. I [50] Spurious<br>[Grundtvig brackets the whole of No. 9] |               |            |
| 10. <i>The Lads of Wamphray</i><br>(Motherwell, Introd., No. 68)  | [220]         | [184]      |
| Scott, I, 310   |               |            |
| Child, VI, 168  |               |            |
| 11. <i>The Battle of Philiphaugh</i> (1680)<br>(Motherwell, Introd., No. 69)  | [177]         | [202]      |
| Scott, II, 15   |               | [202]      |
| Aytoun, II, 279   |               |            |
| Child, VII, 131   |               | [202]      |
| 12. <i>The Battle of Peniland Hills</i><br>(Motherwell, Introd., No. 71)  | [226]         |            |
| Scott, II, 51   |               |            |
| Child, VII, 240   |               |            |
| 13. <i>The Battle of Loudon Hill</i><br>(Motherwell, Introd., No. 72)   | [227]         | [205]      |
| Scott, II, 58   |               | [205]      |
| Aytoun, II, 325   |               |            |
| Child, VII, 144   |               | [205]      |

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|--|-------------------|----------------|
| 14. <i>The Battle of Bothwell Bridge</i>               | [G.-C. Index 228] | [E.S.P.B. 206] |
| (Motherwell, Introd., No. 73)                          |                   |                |
| Scott, II, 48  |                   | [206]          |
| Aytoun, II, 328  |                   |                |
| Child, VII, 148  |                   | [206]          |
| 15. <i>Græme and Bewick</i>                            | [258]             | [211]          |
| (Motherwell, Introd., No. 79)                          |                   |                |
| Scott, II, 288   |                   |                |
| Aytoun, II, 212  |                   |                |
| Child, III, 77   |                   |                |
| 16. <i>The Trumpeter of Fyvie</i>                      | [261]             | [233]          |
| (Motherwell, Introd., No. 107)                         |                   |                |
| a. Jamieson, I, 126                                    |                   | [233 A]        |
| Child, II, 201   |                   | [233 A]        |
| b. Motherwell, 239                                     |                   | [233 Cb]       |
| Child, II, 190   |                   | [233 Cb]       |
| ( <i>Andrew Lammie</i> )                               |                   |                |
| c. Jamieson's Appendix, IV                             |                   | [233 B]        |
| Aytoun, II, 302  |                   |                |
| Motherwell, Musick, XXVIII                             |                   |                |
| 17. <i>The Death of Queen Jane</i>                     | [221]             | [170]          |
| (Motherwell, Introd., No. 110)                         |                   |                |
| a. Jamieson, I, 182                                    |                   | [170 Ca]       |
| b. Kinloch, 116 (with the air)                         |                   | [170 B]        |
| Child, VII, 74   |                   | [170 B]        |
| c. London Collection [Old Ballads] of 1723             |                   |                |
| (?—[One word which I cannot read] <sup>4</sup> )       |                   |                |
| d. Bell, p. 113  |                   | [170 D]        |
| Child, VII, 77   |                   | [170 D]        |
| 18. <i>The Bonny House of Airly</i>                    | [219]             | [199]          |
| (Motherwell, Introd., No. 118)                         |                   |                |
| a. Finlay, II, 22[25]                                  |                   | [199 Ab]       |
| Child, VI, 183   |                   | [199 Ab]       |
| b. Sharpe, p. 59                                       |                   | [199 Aa]       |
| Child, VI, 186   |                   | [199 Aa]       |
| c. Kinloch, 100 (with the air)                         |                   | [199 D]        |
| Aytoun, II, 270  |                   |                |
| 19. <i>Lord Derwentwater</i>                           | [179]             | [208]          |
| (Motherwell, Introd., No. 162)                         |                   |                |
| a. Motherwell, 349                                     |                   | [208 A]        |
| Child, VII, 164  |                   | [208 A]        |
| b. <i>Gentleman's Mag.</i> , 1825 [Part First], p. 489 |                   | [208 I]        |
| c. <i>Notes and Queries</i> [First Series], XII, 492   |                   | [208 B]        |
| Motherwell, Musick, IV                                 |                   |                |

\* The obscure word may be "hist.," querying the historicity of the ballad. Cf. the introduction to this number in the *Old Ballads*.

20. *The Laird of Muirhead* (a fragment) [G.-C. Index 168] [E.S.P.B.]  
H. Weber, *Floddon Field*, p. 294
21. *The Battle of Flodden Field* [171] [168]  
a. Ritson's *Anc. Songs*  
Weber, *Floddon Field*, p. 289  
Child, vii, 71  
b. Evans, iii, No. 12
22. *Chevy Chase* [130] [162]  
([Grundtvig's] *Engelske og skotske Folkeviser*, No. 13)  
a. Hearne [*Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia*]  
Percy, i, 116  
Herd, i, 54  
Child, vii, 29  
b. *Old Ballads*, 1723  
Percy, ii, 57 [59]  
Park's edition of Ritson's *Engl. Songs*, ii, 359  
Child, vii, 43  
Melody from *Engl. Songs*, my 'Studier,' No. 5
23. *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne* [137] [118]  
a. Percy, i, 197  
Child, v, 159  
b. Ritson's *Robin Hood*, p. 83
24. *Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough & Will. Cloudesly* [136] [116]  
(*Dansk ved Steen Blicher* [Danish version by Steen Blicher])  
A. Percy MSS., iii, 76 [116 f]  
Percy, i, 270  
Ritson's *Pieces of Anc. Poetry*  
Gutch's *Robin Hood*  
Child, v, 124  
B. Percy MSS., iii, 102 [116 App.]
25. *The Rising in the North* [223] [175]  
Percy, ii, 80  
Child, vii, 82  
Percy MSS., [ii, 210] [175]
26. *Northumberland Betrayed* [224] [176]  
Percy MSS., [ii, 217] [176]  
Percy, ii, 90  
Child, vii, 92
27. *Rookhope Ride* [215] [179]  
Scott, i, 256  
[Richardson], *Borderer's Table Book*, vii, 245  
Child, vi, 121
28. *Robin Hood and the Old Man* [150] [140]  
*Robin Hood and the Widow's Three Sons* [151, 152] [140]

- a. Jamieson, II, 49 [G.-C. Index] [E.S.P.B. 140 A]  
 Child, v, 257 [140 A]
- b. Ritson's *Robin Hood*, p. 210  
 Child, v, 261
- c. Ritson's *Robin Hood*, p. 000  
 Child, v, 267
29. *Robin Hood and the Monk* [132] [119]  
 ([Grundtvig's] *Eng. og sk. Folkev.*, 24)  
 Hartshorne's *Anc. Metr. Tales*, p. 179  
 Jamieson, II, 54  
 Child, v, 1
30. *Bonnie George Campbell* [244] [210]  
 (*Eng. og sk. F.*, 42)  
 Finlay's Preface [p. xxxiii] [210 B]  
 Motherwell, 44  
 Aytoun, II, 42  
 Child, III, 92
31. *Robin, Lend to me thine Bow*  
 Ritson's *Anc. Songs*, Cl. IV, No. 11  
 (My melodies, No. 8)  
 [As if by afterthought, with the idea of removing this piece  
 from the list, Grundtvig brackets the numeral 31 ]
32. *The marriage of Sir Gawaine* [25] [31]  
 Percy MSS., I, 103 [31]  
 Percy, IV, 249 (Cf. III, 272) [31]  
 Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, p. 298 [31]  
 Child, I, 28
33. *King Arthur's Death* [269]  
 Percy MSS., I, 501  
 Percy, III, 288  
 Child, I, 40
34. *The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington* [254] [105]  
 Percy, IV, 33  
 Park's edit. of [Ritson's] *Engl. Songs*, II, 272  
 Child, IV, 158
35. *Lady Isabella's Tragedy* [253]  
 Percy, IV, 55  
 Child, III, 366  
 Child, III, 360  
 Cf. *Index A*, 141 [*Lady Isabel*, E.S.P.B., No. 261]  
 Tysk: Cf. Erlach, IV, 596; Kretschmer, No. 49
36. *Young Peggy* [298]  
 Kinloch, 153 (*Suspicious*) [298]
37. *Lord Henry and Fair Eleanor*  
 Kinloch, 219 (*Suspicious*)

38. *Lady Mary Ann* [G.-C. Index] [E.S.P.B.]  
Motherwell, 86 (*Suspicious*)
39. *Carol for St. Stephen's Day* [ 52] [ 22]  
Ritson's *Anc. Songs*, Class II, No. xi  
(My collection, I, 1)  
Sandys' *Christmas Carols*, p. 4  
Child, I, 315  
[Marginal note] *D.g.F.* [Grundtvig's Danmarks gamle  
Folkeviser], 96 [*Jesusbarnet, Stefan og Herodes*]
40. *The Battle of Corichie* [246]  
Evans' *Old Ballads*, III, 132  
Finlay, I, 147  
Child, VII, 210
41. *The West Country Damsel's Complaint* [292]  
Collier's *Roxburghe Ballads*, p. 202  
Child, II, 384  
(Cf. my *Index A*, 133 [*Clerk Tamas*, No. 260])
42. *Bessie Bell and Mary Gray* [264] [201]  
a. Lyle, *Anc. Ball. and Songs*, p. 160 [201 b]  
Child, III, 126 [201 b]  
b. Cunningham, *Songs of Scotl*, III, 60  
c. Chambers, *Scott. Ball*, p. 146  
Aytoun, II, 372  
Cf. Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes*  
*Tea Table Miscellany*, I, 70
43. *The Hawthorn-Tree* [189]  
Ritson's *Anc. Songs*, Park's edit. [? 2d ed., 1829],  
II, 46[44]  
Evans' *Old Ballads* (1810), I, 342  
Child, I, 315[311]  
[Marginal note] Cf. *D. g F*, 66 [*Jomfruen i Linden*]
44. *Glenlogie* [118] [238]  
(Motherwell, Intro., No. 128)  
a. *Scottish Minstrel* [Smith's, IV, 78] [238 Ia]  
Child, IV, 80 [238 Ia]  
b. Sharpe [*Ballad Book*, p. 37] [238 B]  
Chambers [*Scottish Ballads*, p. 305]  
Aytoun, II, 99  
c. Buchan, I, 188 (*Jean o' Bethelnie's Love*) [238 Ea]
45. *John o' Hazelgreen* [251] [293]  
a. Kinloch, p. 206 [293 B]  
b. Buchan, II, 253 [293 Da]  
Child, IV, 83 [293 Da]  
c. Chambers [*Scottish Ballads*], p. 315 [293 Db]

46. *The fause Lover* [G.-C. Index 121] [E.S.P.B. 218]  
 Buchan, I, 268 [218 A]  
 Child, IV, 89 [218 A]
47. *King John and the Abbot* [240] [45]  
 Percy's *Reliques*, III, 146  
 Child, VIII, 3  
 Percy MSS., I, 508 [45 A]
48. *The Duke of Gordon's Daughters* [172] [237]  
 (Motherwell, *Introd.*, No. 54)  
 Ritson's *Scott. Songs*  
 Aytoun, II, 288  
 Child, IV, 102  
 Cf. *Index* [A] 183 [*Richie Story*, E.S.P.B., No. 232]
49. *The Battle of Harlaw* [169] [163]  
 Aytoun, I, 75  
 Child, VII, 317  
 Cf. Motherwell, *Introd.*, No. 2  
 Aytoun, I, p. 64 etc.  
 Child, VII, 180
50. *John Selon* [248] [198]  
 (Motherwell, *Introd.*, No. 140)  
 a. Buchan's *Gleanings* . . . [p. 161] [198 A]  
 b. Maidment's [*North Countrie*] *Gar-*  
*land*, p. 15 [198 A]  
 Child, VII, 230 [198 A]  
 c. Buchan, II, 136 [198 B]  
 Aytoun, I, 139
51. *The Death of Parcy Reed* [217] [193]  
*Borderer's Table Book*, VII, 364 [193 B]  
 Child, VI, 139 [193 B]
52. *Willie Macintosh and the Burning of Auchindown* [218] [183]  
 a. Finlay, II, 97 [183 B]  
 Child, VI, 159 [183 B]  
 b. [A. Laing], *The Thistle of Scotland*, p. 106 [183 Aa]  
 Child, VI, 161 [183 Aa]  
 c. Whitelaw [*The Book of Scottish Ballads*], p. 248 [183 Ab]
53. *Gilderoy* [G.-C. Index 247]  
*Wit and Mirth . . Pills to Purge Melancholy . .*  
*Old Ballads*, 1723 .  
*Orpheus Caledonius* . .  
 [The Scots] *Musical Museum* . .  
 Ritson's *Scott. Songs*, II, 24  
 Percy, II, 132  
 Herd . . .  
 Pinkerton . . .  
 Chambers [*Scottish Songs*, I, 80]

- Aytoun, II, 149  
 Child, VI, 196
54. *The Murder of the King of Scots* (Darnley) [G.-C. Index 222] [E.S.P.B. 174]  
 Percy, III, 25  
 Percy MSS., II, 260 [174]  
 Child, VII, 78
55. *Sir John Suckling's Campaign* [267]  
*Musarum Deliciae*  
 Percy, III, 159  
 Child, VII, 128
56. *Rob Roy* [250] [225]  
 Burns' *Sel. Scott Songs*, ed. by Cromek, II, 199 [225 G]  
 Child, VI, 257 [225 G]  
 Maidment's [*North Countrie*] *Garland*, p. 44  
 Child, VI, 258  
*Thistle of Scotland*, p. 93 [225 K]  
 Chambers . . . [*Scottish Ballads*, p. 155]  
 Child, VI, 202  
 Aytoun, II, 380
57. *Get up and Bar the Door* [185] [275]  
 Herd, II, 159 [275 Aa]  
 Johnson's [*Scots Musical*] *Museum* [275 C]  
 Ritson's *Scott Songs* . . .  
 Child, VIII, 125
58. *Sir Andrew Barton* [203] [167]  
 (Historical from the time of King Henry VIII)  
 Percy MSS., III, 399 [167 A]  
*Frygtelig forbedret hos* [Fearfully improved in]  
 Percy [III, 6]  
 (Child, VII, 55)  
 Ritson's *Anc. Songs*, II, 204  
*Old Ballads*, 1723, I, 159  
 Moore, *Pictor. Ball.*, p. 256  
 [Halliwell], *Early Naval Ball.* (Percy Society's  
 Publ., Vol. II), 4  
 Child, VII, 201
59. *King Edward the Fourth and the Tanner of Tamworth* [180] [273]  
 Child, VIII, 21 etc.
60. *Sir John Buller of Bewsey Hall*, murdered by his  
 brother-in-law, Lord Stanley, 1462 [170] [165]  
 Percy MSS., III, 205 [165]
61. *The Battle of Alford* [249]  
 Child, VII, 238

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## XLI

### R. M. RILKE UND CHRISTIAN MORGENSTERN

DER letzte Spross einer alten Familie wird nach schmerzlichen Erfahrungen in seiner Jugend sich seines Dichtertums bewusst. Seine frühe Lyrik wächst aus der präziösen Formkultur der Neuromantik hervor, sie gewinnt unter nordischem Einfluss Farbe und Kraft, um dann in der Berührung mit Russland und der deutschen Mystik ihre tieferen religiösen Quellen zu entdecken. Durch die persönliche Bekanntschaft mit einem hervorragenden Geist seiner Zeit wird aus dem mystischen Gottsucher und Gotterahner schliesslich ein Gottfinder, der in Werken von ganz seltener Zartheit und Tiefe und in virtuoser Beherrschung der Form uns zukunftsweisend die letzten Fragen der Menschheit erfühlen lässt.

Wir sprechen von R. M. Rilke—und zugleich von Christian Morgenstern; denn die Charakterisierung gilt ebenso für den einen wie den anderen Dichter, so merkwürdig ähnlich erscheinen auf den ersten Blick Wesen und Weg, Welt und Werk dieser beiden Lyriker. Nimmt man dazu die Gleichzeitigkeit ihres Wirkens, bis in einzelne Entwicklungsstufen hinein, so kann man sich dem Reiz einer Gegenüberstellung kaum entziehen. Morgenstern war vier Jahre älter als Rilke, aber ihre Erstlingswerke erschienen nur ein paar Monate von einander getrennt 1894 und 1895. Rilke wollte freilich später nichts mehr wissen von seinen Primanerversuchen, in denen noch kein eigener Ton erklingt. Diese etwas farblosen, treuherzigen, verträumten Liedchen stehen in grellem Gegensatz zu Morgensterns kühnem, humoristisch phantastischem Zyklus: *In Phantas Schloss*, der in seinem dithyrambischen Schwung die Erweckung durch Nietzsche nicht verleugnen kann, nannte sich doch der Verfasser selbst eine Lerche Zarathustras. Das schönste Echo, das dieser Jubelgesang aus der jungen Dichterwelt hervorlockte, kam von Rilke, der in einem Morgenstern übersandten Gedicht sein Miterleben und seinen Dank ausdrückte.<sup>1</sup> Im folgenden Jahr bat Rilke Morgenstern um Beiträge für seine Zeitschrift *Wegwarten*; tatsächlich erschienen in der dritten Nummer drei Morgensternsche Gedichte.<sup>2</sup> Von den späteren gegenseitigen Beziehungen der beiden haben wir kein Zeugnis, ausser einem schönen, liebevollen Brief Rilkes, der in der *Schönen Literatur* abgedruckt wurde;<sup>3</sup> von andern Briefen, die gewechselt wurden, ist offenbar nichts erhalten geblieben.

Die Jahre 1897, 1898, 1899 und 1902 bringen von jedem der zwei

<sup>1</sup> Michael Bauer, *Morgensterns Leben und Werk* (München, 1933), S. 81.

<sup>2</sup> "Eine einsame Rose," "Kriegerspruch," "Dank."

<sup>3</sup> 25. Jahrgang, No. 3.

Lyriker je einen Gedichtband.<sup>4</sup> Darin bilden sie sich zu Virtuosen der lyrischen Form im Sinn der Neuromantik aus,<sup>5</sup> wobei freilich Rilke allmählich Morgenstern noch übertrifft an raffinierter Formkunst und betorend süßer Musik der Verse. Wie nahe sich übrigens Morgensterns lyrische Form zuweilen mit der Rilkes berührt, hat schon Hans Naumann gezeigt.<sup>6</sup> Sogar die für Rilke so charakteristische Reimung unbedeutender Bindewörter, wie "und" und "nur" kommt bei Morgenstern vor.<sup>7</sup> Um die Mitte des ersten Jahrzehnts wird dann jeder der beiden Dichter, in seiner Art, weiten Kreisen bekannt durch ein Werkchen, das auch heute noch sein beliebtestes, obgleich durchaus nicht sein bedeutendstes dichterisches Erzeugnis geblieben ist. Gemeint sind Morgensterns *Galgenlieder* (1905) und Rilkes *Weise von Liebe und Tod* (1906). Die Wendung von der dekadenten Formkultur der Neuromantik zum religiös mystischen Lebensgefühl geht bei Rilke auf seine zwei Russlandreisen zurück und kommt dann im *Stundenbuch* zum Ausdruck, das 1904 abgeschlossen, aber erst 1906 veröffentlicht wurde. Eben damals kam auch Morgensterns religiös mystisches Erlebnis zum Durchbruch und fand seinen Niederschlag vor allem in seinem *Tagebuch eines Mystikers*.<sup>8</sup> Es könnte gezeigt werden, wie verwandt das Lebensgefühl dieses Tagebuchs und der gleichzeitig entstandenen *Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge* ist. In der Folgezeit freilich gehen die dichterischen Wege Rilkes und Morgensterns auseinander. Morgensterns Lyrik gewinnt an Lebensnähe durch seine Liebe zu Margarete Gosebruch und an Tiefe durch die Lebensbegegnung mit Rudolf Steiner.<sup>9</sup> Findet er, seiner denkerischen Veranlagung entsprechend, in seinem Streben nach Klärung seines Weltbildes einen Philosophen als Lebensführer, so erblickt Rilke, seiner mehr gefühlsmässig schöpferischen Veranlagung zufolge, in dem Bildhauer Rodin sein Ideal.

Es ist ein merkwürdiger Zufall, dass nach sieben Jahren, im Frühjahr 1913, sich beide Dichter in das mildere Klima der adriatischen Küste zurückzogen, um dort neben ihrer körperlichen Erholung der Einsamkeit und geistigen Sammlung zu leben. Morgenstern wohnte in einer Villa in Portoroso, Rilke im Schloss Duino, beide verbrachten Wochen innerer Beglückung und Vertiefung nach Jahren des Ringens. Morgen-

<sup>4</sup> 1897: Rilke, *Traumgekrönt*; Morgenstern, *Auf vielen Wegen*; 1898: Rilke, *Advent*; Morgenstern, *Ich und die Welt*; 1899: Rilke, *Mir zur Feier*; Morgenstern, *Ein Sommer*; 1902: Rilke, *Das Buch der Bilder*; Morgenstern, *Und aber rundet sich der Kranz*.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Victor Klemperer, "Christian Morgenstern und der Symbolismus," *Zeitschr. f. Deutschkunde*, 1928. S. 39. <sup>6</sup> *Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1927), S. 325.

<sup>7</sup> *Einkehr* (München, 1922), S. 24, *Ich und Du* (München, 1929), S. 68.

<sup>8</sup> *Stufen* (München, 1922), S. 222–262.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. die Gedichtbände: *Einkehr*, *Ich und Du*, *Mensch Wanderer*, *Wir fanden einen Pfad*.

sterns irdisches Wirken neigte sich dem Ende zu, er war damals schwer lungenkrank und starb ein Jahr darauf; bei Rilke folgten die zwölf Jahre des Schweigens und der Vorbereitung auf sein letztes Werk, *Die Duineser Elegien*, in denen er Morgensternschen Ideen naherückte. Die Gleichzeitigkeit ihres Wirkens erstreckt sich schliesslich noch über ihren Tod hinaus. Im dritten Jahrzehnt dieses Jahrhunderts hat nämlich die Wertschätzung beider Dichter eine bedeutende Steigerung erfahren, sodass sich die Auflagen ihrer Werke in diesem Zeitraum verdoppelten. Und zwar sind es gerade die von tiefgründig religiösem Gefühl getragenen Dichtungen, Rilkes *Stundenbuch* und seine *Geschichten vom lieben Gott*, Morgensterns *Stufen* und *Wir fanden einen Pfad*, nach denen die Menschen am meisten griffen und von denen sie am meisten ergriffen wurden.<sup>10</sup> In den letzten Jahren haben sich bekanntlich die Veröffentlichungen über Rilke und Morgenstern gehäuft.<sup>11</sup>

Wenn wir nun unsern Blick von dem gleichzeitigen Wirken der beiden Dichter weg auf die Bildungsmächte richten, mit denen sie sich im Lauf ihrer dichterischen Entwicklung auseinandersetzen, so erkennen wir, dass über die humanistische Schulbildung hinaus ihnen drei Bildungswelten gemeinsam waren: Skandinavien, Russland und die deutsche Mystik. Rilke reiste nach Skandinavien zu kurzem Besuch und zur Erholung, Morgenstern zu anderthalbjähriger ernster Arbeit. Rilke hatte kurz zuvor Jens Peter Jakobsens Dichtungen kennen gelernt und der Dane war ihm, wie Rilke selber gesteht, "der Liebste, Nächste und Gebendste" geworden, "der seitdem in allen seinen Werken wirksam" war. Rilkes Erlebnisfähigkeit feinsten Farbennüancen und zartester Veränderungen in der ausseren Natur wurde durch den danischen Dichter geweckt,<sup>12</sup> in Skandinavien gesteigert und während des Aufenthalts in der norddeutschen Malerkolonie Worpsswede zu höchster Vollendung gebracht.<sup>13</sup> Bei Morgenstern war es die nordische Landschaft selbst, ein unvergleichlicher Frühling und Sommer, die das Malerblut seines Vaters und Grossvaters in ihm aufleben liessen und seiner Lyrik ein sinnfroheres und farbiges Gepräge gaben.<sup>14</sup> Morgenstern reiste nach Norwegen, um sich in die Gedanken- und Gefühlswelt Ibsens einzuleben, dessen Versdramen und Gedichte er für den Fischerschen Verlag in deutscher Sprache nachschaffen sollte. Ibsens Werke kannte er von der Gymnasialzeit her und hatte immer schon ein zwiespältiges Gefühl

<sup>10</sup> *Stundenbuch*: 75. Tausend, *Geschichten*: 42. Tausend, *Stufen*: 56. Tausend, *Wir fanden einen Pfad*: 43. Tausend.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. Anm. 1.

<sup>12</sup> R. H. Heygrodt, *Die Lyrik R. M. Rilkes* (Freiburg, 1921), S. 38.

<sup>13</sup> Gert Buchheit, *R. M. Rilke* (Zürich, 1928), S. 73.

<sup>14</sup> M. Bauer, a.a.O., S. 130.

ihnen gegenüber. Es ist das verstandesmässig Gewaltsame, welches vorzeitig in das unbewusste Ausreifenlassen hineingreift, was Morgenstern an Ibsen abstösst.<sup>15</sup> Gerade das ist es auch, wogegen Rilke sich sträubt und was er an jener Stelle in *Malte* ausdrückt, wo er sich an Ibsen wendet, ohne seinen Namen zu nennen:<sup>16</sup> "Da gingst du an die beispiellose Gewalttat deines Werks, das immer ungeduldiger, immer verzweifelter unter dem Sichtbaren nach den Äquivalenten suchte für das innen Gesehene." Nach den Anspielungen auf Ibsensche Dramen zu schliessen, die sich in *Malte* finden, hat Rilke die Werke des norwegischen Dichters gut gekannt. Sie haben aber doch keinen so grossen Einfluss ausgeübt, wie auf Morgenstern, für den sie sieben Jahre lang eine Bildungsmacht waren.

Mächtiger als Skandinavien wirkte auf den jungen Rilke Russland. Weniger die Prophetengestalt Tolstois, um derentwillen er hinüberging, als die russische Landschaft und das russische Volk bewegten ihn. "Als ich zuerst nach Moskau kam, war mir alles bekannt und altvertraut," berichtet er.<sup>17</sup> "Zu Ostern war's. Da ruhrte es mich an, wie meine Ostern, mein Frühling, meine Glocken. Es war die Stadt meiner ältesten und tiefsten Erinnerungen, es war ein fortwährendes Wiedersehen und Winken: es war Heimat." Morgenstern fühlte sich nicht so urverwandt mit der russischen Volksseele, die er im Moskauer Künstlertheater bei einer Gastreise in Berlin kennen lernte. "Man spürte, da war etwas, was man selbst nicht hatte . . . ein Hauch slawischer Seele, slawischen Geistes. Und damit eines Seelischen, Geistigen, das der Zukunft naher steht als wir. . . Nicht Amerika—Russland ist das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten."<sup>18</sup> Das erinnert dann wieder an Rilkes Schilderung der Russen als "Menschen voll Ferne, Ungewissheit und Hoffnung, Werdende."<sup>17</sup>

Rilke hatte sein Russlanderlebnis als Vierundzwanzigjähriger, für Morgenstern wurde dieses Land erst in reiferen Jahren zum Erlebnis. So ist wohl zu erklären, dass Rilke im russischen Volk mehr die negativen Vorzüge sah: ihre Dunkelheit, ihre Einsamkeit, ihre Demut, während der gereifere Morgenstern mehr das Positive, Verbindende herausfühlte: die unausgesprochene, uneingestandene aber selbstverständliche Liebe zu einander, zu ihren Dichtern, die innere Religiosität als Unterton ihres ganzen nationalen Lebens.<sup>19</sup> Tolstoi als religiöse Persönlichkeit war für den jungen Rilke epochemachend, Morgenstern fühlte sich starker zu Dostojewski hingezogen. Nach Jahren innerer Zweifel und Ratlosigkeit,

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. Zitate bei Bauer, *ibid.*, S. 120.

<sup>16</sup> H. Berendt, *Mitteilungen der Bonner lit. Gesellschaft*, 1911, S. 86.

<sup>17</sup> Ellen Key, *Seelen und Werke* (Berlin, 1911), S. 159.

<sup>18</sup> M. Bauer, a.a.O., S. 245.

<sup>19</sup> M. Bauer, *ibid.*

gegen die er sich mit dem grotesken Humor der *Galgenlieder* zu wehren suchte, war Morgenstern 1906 an einen Wendepunkt gekommen, wo ihm die Erkenntnis von der schrankenlosen Einheit aller Menschen als Teile und Bewusstseinsstufen Gottes aufging. Das bringt ihn Dostojewski besonders nahe, über dessen Gestalten Morgenstern sagt: in ihnen "brennt die Flamme Gottes selbst, die Flamme des um sich selbst ringenden Gottes, dessen Leib das unendliche All der Gestirne und dessen Geist der Geist ihrer Lebendigen ist."<sup>20</sup>

Bei Rilke hat sich das Russlanderlebnis in seinen Werken deutlicher kristallisiert, es hat seinen Niederschlag im *Stundenbuch* gefunden und in den *Geschichten vom lieben Gott*, denn bei ihm bedeutete es Anstoss und Anlass zu seiner religiösen Wende; bei Morgenstern war der religiöse Durchbruch von anderer Seite erfolgt, und Russland brachte nur Bestätigung und Vertiefung. Der Anlass zur mystischen Einkehr kam bei ihm aus der Welt der deutschen Mystik. Damit sind wir bei der dritten gemeinsamen Bildungswelt der beiden Lyriker angekommen, die sich besonders an die Namen Meister Eckehart, Angelus Silesius und Novalis knüpft. Es handelt sich weniger um eine neue Offenbarung durch die deutschen Mystiker, als um eine innere Wesensverwandtschaft mit ihnen, die sich auf ähnliche Erlebnisse gründet und so in ähnlichen Ahnungen und Erkenntnissen gipfelt. Über Rilkes Verwandtschaft mit den alt-deutschen Mystikern, wie sie sich besonders im *Stundenbuch* wieder spiegelt, liegt eine Untersuchung von Franz Koch<sup>21</sup> vor. Über "Morgenstern im Rahmen der mittelalterlichen deutschen Mystik" spricht Herbert Giffel ausführlich.<sup>22</sup> Gasser zeigt in einem längeren Abschnitt<sup>23</sup> das Gemeinsame bei Rilke und Novalis, während Morgensterns Wesensverwandtschaft mit Novalis von mir in einem früheren Artikel dargestellt wurde.<sup>24</sup> Der letzte geschlossene Bildungskreis, der Rilkes Entwicklung mitgeformt hat, ist bekanntlich das moderne Frankreich mit Rodin und den Symbolisten. Morgenstern hat ihn nicht bewusst miterlebt. Dass er sich aber, trotz absichtlicher Ablehnung der französischen Symbolisten auch dieser Kulturströmung nicht entziehen konnte, hat Victor Klemperer zu zeigen versucht.<sup>25</sup>

Treten wir nun schliesslich in die Gefühls- und Gedankenwelt der beiden Dichter selbst ein, so können wir in dem engen Rahmen dieser Darstellung unsern Blick nur auf ein paar hervorragende gemeinsame Züge richten. Man hat Rilke einen "Virtuosen der Einsamkeit" ge-

<sup>20</sup> *Stufen*, S. 336.

<sup>21</sup> *Witiko*, 1929, S. 83.

<sup>22</sup> *Christian Morgenstern als Mystiker* (Bern, 1931), S. 75.

<sup>23</sup> *Grundzüge der Lebensanschauung R. M. Rilkes*, Sprache und Dichtung, Bd. 36.

<sup>24</sup> "Novalis und Christian Morgenstern," *The Germanic Review*, vi, 373-388.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. Anm. 5.

nannt.<sup>26</sup> Den angeborenen Hang zur Einsamkeit, die auferzwungene Einsamkeit der Kindheit, die selbstgeniesserische Einsamkeit des neuromantischen Ästheten, die inbrünstig ersehnte Einsamkeit des Mystikers und die tiefernste, mit aller Macht errungene Einsamkeit des reifen Dichters, der sich mit seiner Schöpferkraft der Menschheit verantwortlich fühlt, all das finden wir bei Rilke. Wohl kein anderer Dichter hat die unbegriffene Einsamkeit des Kindes, das ausgeschlossen von der Welt der Erwachsenen in einem Zauberkreis voll Geheimnis und Schauer lebt, ergreifender dargestellt, als Rilke in seinem *Malte*. Er hat ja auch seine eigenen Kinderjahre als Martyrium empfunden, obwohl wir jetzt wissen, dass er keine übermassig schwere Kindheit durchmachen musste.<sup>27</sup> Ganz anders erlebte Morgenstern seine Kindheit "in einsam frohen Spielen,"<sup>28</sup> in denen man schon seine spätere Liebe zur Einsamkeit vorausahnen kann. Wie anders muss Morgensterns Stimmungshintergrund gewesen sein, wenn er als Siebenunddreissigjähriger noch sagen konnte, dass er immer noch im und vom Sonnenschein seiner Kindheit lebe.<sup>29</sup> Aus diesem Gefühl heraus konnte er auch seine reizenden Kinderlieder dichten und seine grotesken Galgenlieder "dem Kind im Manne" widmen. Das hindert aber nicht, dass er daneben eine tiefernste Seite hat und der Wille zur Einsamkeit bei ihm stark ausgeprägt ist. Er kennt den Schmerz der gänzlichen seelischen Verlassenheit, in der er um ein verstehendes Herz fleht,<sup>30</sup> er weiss aber auch, dass der Weg zur Tiefe nur durch die Einsamkeit geht,<sup>31</sup> dass bürgerliche Zudringlichkeit ihm "den Ernst zum Leben und die Kraft zum Werk" lahmte.<sup>32</sup> Er wünscht sich eine Hütte und ein Stück Wald, um sich ganz in sein Ewiges versenken zu können.<sup>33</sup> Je tiefer er in die unsichtbare Welt eindringt, desto mehr wird er der sichtbaren entfremdet. So sieht er voraus: "Thr alle werdet mich verlassen, alle. Fremd werd ich euch werden, wie ein Frevler—mehr noch wie ein Tor, wie ein kranker Vogel, den man stumm bedauert, geduldig hinnimmt."<sup>34</sup>

In dem Masse aber, in dem die beiden Dichter in ihre Einsamkeit hineinwachsen, nehmen sie zugleich zu an verstehender Liebe zu ihrer Umwelt, der stummen und lebendigen Kreatur. Pongs hat darauf hingewiesen, wie Liebe und Einsamkeit die Grundspannungen in Rilkes Wesen waren, wie Rilkes Liebe sich wandelte von dem noch schwebenden Umkreisen Gottes im *Stundenbuch* zu der liebenden gänzlichen Hingabe an die Dinge, in denen er Gott am nächsten zu kommen hoffte, und schliesslich zu der reinen metaphysischen Liebe, die nicht mehr besitzen

<sup>26</sup> G. Buchheit, a.a.O., S. 18.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. Carl Sieber, *René Rilke* (Leipzig, 1932).

<sup>28</sup> M. Bauer, a.a.O., S. 10.

<sup>29</sup> *Stufen*, S. 10.

<sup>30</sup> *Mensch Wanderer* (München, 1928), S. 20.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 44.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 175.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 164.

<sup>34</sup> *Epigramme* (München, 1922), S. 112.

will, die keine Gegenliebe erwartet, die die geistige Freiheit des andern umso mehr achtet, je mehr sie ihn liebt, sodass die grossere Liebe noch einen Zuwachs an Einsamkeit bringt.<sup>35</sup> Eine ganz ähnliche Grundstimmung der überpersonlichen Menschenliebe finden wir auch bei Morgenstern. Schon in einem Spruch des Vierundzwanzigjährigen heisst es: "Und eine Gottesliebe flammt in mir empor zur ganzen Welt."<sup>36</sup> Ein Echo auf jene hohepriesterliche Liebe, mit der Rilke sich den Dingen hingibt, um sie Gott entgegenzuformen, klingt in Morgensterns Worten, wenn er sagt: "Es gibt noch eine grössere Liebe, als die nach dem Besitz des geliebten Gegenstands sich sehnende: die die geliebte Seele erlosen wollende. Und diese Liebe ist so göttlich schön, dass es nichts Schöneres auf Erden gibt."<sup>37</sup> Die Notwendigkeit der geistigen Freiheit in der Liebe hat Morgenstern selbst erfahren und so ausgedrückt: "Ich bin ein Mensch von rechter Vogelart und lass nicht gern die Hände um mich legen," "denn alle Liebe will besitzen und ich will nicht besessen sein."<sup>38</sup> Und wenn wir Morgensterns Gedicht "Jünglings Absage" lesen, müssen wir unwillkürlich an den Schluss des *Malte* denken, mit der Geschichte vom verlorenen Sohn, der, wie Rilke es deutet, sein Vaterhaus verliess, weil er zu viel geliebt wurde:

Oh, liebt mich nicht, ihr Guten und Gerechten,  
oh lasst mich nicht so herb und qualvoll leiden,  
von eurem Wege muss mein Weg sich scheiden . . .<sup>39</sup>

Die Liebe aber, die auf keine Gegenliebe rechnet, hat Morgenstern im Bilde Solvejgs dargestellt:

Du weisst ja nicht, was Liebe alles vermag!  
—Traun! Doch nur, die von Gegenliebe weiss,  
nicht Liebe, deren Gegenliebe—schläft.

O dass Ihr solches nie zusammentrafft!  
Doch wahre Liebe trägt selbst diesen Schlag  
und wartet, wartet selbst in Nacht und Eis.<sup>40</sup>

Der Glaube an das Göttliche im Menschen und seine Liebe zum Menschen sind schon von früh auf in Morgenstern verwurzelt. Nach seinem mystischen Erlebnis ums Jahr 1906 kann er in den Menschen nichts anderes mehr sehen, als Gott selbst in seinen tausendfältigen Bewusstseinsstufen. Von da aus fand er dann auch den inneren Zugang zum Johannesevangelium, an dem Punkt, wo es heisst: "Ich und der Vater sind eins." In den letzten Jahren rückte unter dem Einfluss der Anthroposophie die Christusgestalt immer mehr in den Mittelpunkt von

<sup>35</sup> Hermann Pongs, "R. M. Rilke," *Euphorion* (1931), S. 35.

<sup>36</sup> *Mensch Wanderer*, S. 31.

<sup>37</sup> *Stufen*, S. 133.

<sup>38</sup> Zitiert bei Giffel, a.a.O., S. 102.

<sup>39</sup> *Auf vielen Wegen* (München, 1921).

<sup>40</sup> *Mensch Wanderer*, S. 210.

Morgensterns religiöser und dichterischer Weltanschauung, sodass er in ihr die höchste Ausstrahlung der von früh an erstrebten priesterlichen Liebe zur Menschheit erlebt und so zum Ausdruck bringt:

Ich habe den MENSCHEN gesehen in seiner tiefsten Gestalt,  
ich kenne die Welt bis auf den Grundgehalt.

Ich weiss, dass Liebe, Liebe ihr tiefster Sinn,  
und dass ich da, um immer mehr zu lieben, bin.

Ich breite die Arme aus, wie ER getan,  
ich möchte die ganze Welt, wie ER, umfahn.<sup>41</sup>

Dieses Bekenntnis steht in scheinbar schroffem Gegensatz zu Rilke, der Christus in diesem Zusammenhang überhaupt nicht nennt, und doch ist Rilkes Lebenshaltung und besonders seine Stellung zum Tod eine charakteristisch christliche. Seine bejahende Stellung zum Tod als dem innersten Sinn unsres Lebens kommt wohl am eindringlichsten im letzten Teil des *Stundenbuchs* und am Anfang des *Malte* zum Ausdruck. Hier finden wir das Ethos vom *eigenen* Tod, dem grossen Tod, der organisch in uns wächst und reift als unsre wahre Lebensfrucht, im Gegensatz zum kleinen, unreifen Tod, dem undifferenzierten Massensterben. Die Rilkesche Verkündigung vom eignen Tod, der uns von innen her formt, klingt auch in den Worten Morgensterns an: "Mein Tod ist meine Wahrheit, dein Tod die Deinige. Wenn ich als Individuum sterbe, bejahe ich mich als Welt."<sup>42</sup> "Es gibt keinen grösseren Stilisator in der Natur als den Tod . . . Je mehr uns der Tod in Händen hat, desto grössere Kunstwerke werden wir."<sup>43</sup> Sogar die Rilkesche Vorstellung des Todes als der reifen Lebensfrucht, die nicht vorzeitig abgebrochen werden darf, erscheint in dem Morgensternschen Gedicht: "Versuchung," in dem er den Selbstmordgedanken von sich weist:

Mein Tagwerk ist noch nicht vollbracht.  
Wer an der Schale sich vergreift,  
Bevor sie ihren Kern gereift,—  
er schläft zu früh ein—und erwacht—  
zu spät.<sup>44</sup>

Mit dem Problem des Todes ist das der Verwandlung eng verknüpft. Es bildet einen der Kernpunkte von Rilkes Alterswerk. Hier wird der Mensch als spirituelles Wesen erfasst, das im Weltall den Auftrag hat, die Erde mit Geist zu durchdringen, das Stoffliche zu vergeistigen, das Sichtbare unsichtbar zu machen. So heisst es in der siebten Duineser Elegie:

<sup>41</sup> *Wir fanden einen Pfad* (München, 1922), S. 50.

<sup>42</sup> *Stufen*, S. 222.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 267.

<sup>44</sup> *Einkehr*, S. 22.



Erde, ist es nicht dies, was du willst: unsichtbar  
 in uns erstehn?—Ist es dein Traum nicht,  
 einmal unsichtbar zu sein?—Erde! Unsichtbar!  
 Was, wenn Verwandlung nicht, ist dein dringender Auftrag?  
 Erde, du liebe, ich will

Für den Dichter Rilke bedeutet dies aber, sich so in die Gestalten der Aussenwelt zu versenken, das man ihr innerstes Wesen erfühlen, es in seinem Geiste spiegeln und aussprechen kann. Das menschliche Wort wird dann das magische Organ der Verwandlung, es erhebt sich zur göttlichen Schöpferkraft des Logos. Auch Morgenstern ahnt schon früh den heiligen Auftrag des Menschen, die Dinge durch sein Geisteswort zu erlösen:

Es gibt ein ganzes Heer von Dingen,  
 die alle singen wollen, singen.  
 Was Wunder, wenn solch heiliger Sache  
 ich mich, als Mensch, zum Anwalt mache.<sup>45</sup>

Auch er ist überzeugt, dass das Ziel der Erde in der Vergeistigung des Erdenstoffes liegt:

Lächelt nicht, wenn Paulus spricht  
 von dem Schrei der Creatur  
 Selbst die harte Felsenflur  
 Wird einst wiederum zu—Licht.<sup>46</sup>

Licht ist für Morgenstern aber die höchste stoffliche Offenbarung des Geistigen, und so druckt er in der Lichtwerdung, der Sonnenwerdung das letzte Erdenziel aus.<sup>47</sup>

Eine tiefsinnige, organische Verbindung finden die beiden Rilke-schen Gedanken von der dem Tode entgegenreifenden Lebensfrucht und von der fortschreitenden Vergeistigung des Stofflichen durch den Menschen bei Morgenstern in der früh geahnten und ihm später zur Gewissheit erhobenen Erkenntnis der wiederholten Erdenleben.<sup>48</sup> Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt wird dann auch der ratselhafte "Missklang des Kinder-todes,"<sup>49</sup> den Rilke in der vierten Duineser Elegie berührt, gelöst. Wenn, wie Morgenstern es sieht, das kleine Kind als seelisch geistiges Wesen keine Neugeburt, sondern eine Wiedergeburt ist, braucht man von einem unschuldigen Opfer oder sinnlosen Tod nicht mehr zu sprechen, sondern kann eine von tiefstem Sinn durchwaltete Schicksalsentwicklung ahnen.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *Epigramme*, S. 99.

<sup>46</sup> *Mensch Wanderer*, S. 238.

<sup>47</sup> *Wir fanden einen Pfad*, S. 58.

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. *Stufen*, S. 246, 272, 273, 278, *Epigramme*, S. 119.

<sup>49</sup> H. Pongs, a.a.O., S. 62.

<sup>50</sup> *Stufen*, S. 281–82.

## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ÆSTHETICS OF LITERARY PORTRAITURE

**D**ESPITE the myriad studies of literature in print, a comprehensive æsthetics of literary portraiture remains still unavailable. In the following mere introduction to the subject I propose to state a principle whereby to explain the beauty of fictional personages; to devote attention chiefly to a discussion of the ontology of such personages, giving a thumbnail historical sketch of this ontology; and to conclude with a cursory glimpse into the functions of such portraiture.<sup>1</sup>

Literary artists and critics alike have convincingly testified to the use of living models<sup>2</sup> and to the measurement of beauty in character by the semblance of viability achieved.<sup>3</sup> They assume thereby that there is something of beauty in all such lives as are worthy to serve as models for literary portraits. And beyond this they have lent their commitments to the upbuilding of a widespread conviction that there are always some few people whose actual lives and careers may properly be characterized as beautiful. Thus Plato and many of his contemporaries found the life of Socrates a constant source of æsthetic pleasure.<sup>4</sup> That the lives of Cellini, Goethe, Lincoln, and many men of similar eminence have provided æsthetic experiences for their fellow-men is attested in scores of documents.

This granted, it is apparent that we must at the outset investigate the nature of such actual people. Even a cursory study of the lives above cited clearly shows that a person so characterized is not necessarily beautiful in external appearance, nor necessarily good. He is

<sup>1</sup> Other major divisions of the subject, such as the Ecology of Fictive Beings, Methods of Auctorial Portraiture, Varieties of Beauty in Literary Portraits, and Aesthetic Judgments of the Beauty of *Dramatis Personae*, will necessarily be excluded from present consideration.

<sup>2</sup> For representative evidence see Aristotle, *Poetics*, tr. S. H. Butcher (London: Macmillan & Co., 1907), p. 11, Boileau, *The Art of Poetry*, in *The Poetical Treatises of Horace, Vida, and Boileau*, by A. S. Cook (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1892), p. 192, Gustav Gruener, "The Genesis of the Characters in Lessing's 'Nathan der Weise'," *PMLA*, vii, 2 (1892), 77, and W. S. Maugham, "How I Write Short Stories," *S.R.L.* (July 28, 1934).

<sup>3</sup> For two notable items from a mass of evidence consult Henry James, *The Real Thing and Other Tales* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), and E. H. Wright, "Reality and Inconsistency in Shakespeare's Characters," in *Shakesperian Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916), p. 372.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gilbert Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1927), pp. 170-177.

rather a person who is genuinely what he is, who does naturally and spontaneously what he does, as if born to the rôle, so that this rôle and the major aspects of his viable being seem inseparably and exclusively one.<sup>5</sup> Thus he appears veritably to bring this rôle to life. The well-known maxims that "the style is the man," "character is destiny," and the like add their weight in behalf of this interpretation.<sup>6</sup> We are led to believe, therefore, that it is precisely the same total mergence of a rôle with an individual being which constitutes the beauty of character in literary portraits. Such portraits represent always the fusion of human destinies with fictive individuals in such a manner that the meaning or significance of these individuals seems to come alive and to become an attentionable part of perceived reality.

This fusion is, then, the basic principle upon which any explanation of that beauty must depend. This basic theory is formulated by W. T. Stace in the proposition that

beauty is the fusion of an intellectual content, consisting of empirical non-perceptual concepts, with a perceptual field, in such manner that the intellectual content and the perceptual field are indistinguishable from one another; and in such manner as to constitute the revelation of an aspect of reality.<sup>7</sup>

Stated in terms specifically relevant to our subject: the æsthetic pleasures of literary portraits derive fundamentally from the revelation of non-perceptual concepts concerning human destiny through the mediation of fictional individuals.

The nature of the fictional embodiments here referred to is a matter of common knowledge, but the non-perceptual concepts are entities less generally recognized. We are all familiar with various kinds of mental constructs. The most common are those mental abstractions which have tangible correlates in concrete objects, such as: negro, barn, running, envy, oblique. In contrast, many so-called "free" concepts have no phenomenal correlates, but represent instead those generalized conclusions that are drawn "from areas of human experience so large they cannot be grasped together in any single act of perception."<sup>8</sup> Examples of such non-perceptual concepts are: redemption is possible through persistent aspiration;<sup>9</sup> jealousy defeats its own ends; adverse environs

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the views expressed in this and the foregoing sentence see W. T. Stace, *The Meaning of Beauty* (London: Richards & Toulmin, 1929), pp. 238 and 239.

<sup>6</sup> Consult, on this matter, A. C. Bradley, *Shakesperian Tragedy* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1922), p. 13; A. B. Faust, "The Problematic Hero in German Fiction," *PMLA*, xvi, 1, n.s. ix, 1 (1901), 92-98, and William Troy, "Stephen Dedalus and James Joyce," *Nation* (Feb. 14, 1934), p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> W. T. Stace, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> W. T. Stace, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Robert Browning, "Paracelsus," *Browning's Complete Works* (Boston: Houghton

tend to thwart the development of potential character qualities. They are too wide in their implications ever to be seen in any immediately perceptible field of individual being.<sup>10</sup>

The break between such homeless abstractions and the realized significance of individual existence it is art's function to repair through its rhythmical disposal of selected data of individual experience, a process whereby it achieves a fusion of meanings with fictive beings.<sup>11</sup> By this process the literary artist telescopes the data of human experience so that the significance-bearing items are brought into juxtaposition and the resultant integration, a meaningful life, becomes an immediately perceived reality.

We are now prepared to investigate the ontology, or theory of being, of literary personages. Of primary importance is the fact that these personages have always only a fictional existence. It is only in a fictional world that the manipulation of the data of experience by which characters are created is possible. Further, the fictional nature of these beings precludes practical reactions to them and thus renders them amenable to æsthetic apprehension alone.<sup>12</sup> "A cup or beaker," says Max Eastman, "if it is to be artistic, must not only satisfy our eye and hand and lip, but must stop us from drinking."<sup>13</sup>

The major properties of being in *dramatis personæ* are, then, non-perceptual concepts concerning life and perceptual fictive individuals. The first of these brings to the fusion the intangible phases of being, while the second supplies the illusion of a veritable embodiment. The non-perceptual concepts can have being only in the sense that in art they become living truths, of intrinsic worth, verifiable in experience or plausibly capable of becoming so. The fictive individuals provide their own evidence of being through their semblance to organic life.

The correlates of these two elements are character and personality. Character corresponds to the meanings or concepts; personality, to the

Mifflin, 1895), pp. 12-48, and the reference to Goethe's *Conversations with Eckermann*, in W. H. Van Der Smitten, *Goethe's Faust* (New York: Dutton & Co., 1926), Preface, p. xv.

<sup>10</sup> Actual people who have beautiful characters and some few similar phenomena would be exceptions.

<sup>11</sup> Compare this with the analysis of Proust's method by William Troy in his *Proust in Retrospect*, Symposium II, 3 (July, 1931), 387-389, and with Justin O'Brien's similar analysis in *Some Recent Proustiana*, *ibid.*, pp. 392-395.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. D. H. Parker, *The Principles of Æsthetics* (Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1920), pp. 68-69.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in a review of Mr. Eastman's *Art and the Life of Action, with Other Essays* (New York: Knopf, 1934), by H. S. Canby, *S.R.L.* (Nov. 3, 1934), p. 255.

fully realized individualities. In the qualitative sense character in a literary personage is that phase of its being whereby its meaning, purpose, career, rôle, or destiny appears to be given direction and bounds by the pursuit of some intellectual ideal. The sense history of the term supports this view, as does also the nature of the literary form to which it has given its name.<sup>14</sup> Thus interpreted, the character of a person is that part of him—even to the whole being in some instances—which is “moulded in a pattern, firm, consistent, dependable.”<sup>15</sup> It is defined by Münsterberg as “the power to keep the selected motive dominant throughout life,”<sup>16</sup> and by Dr. Roback as “an enduring psycho-physical disposition to inhibit instinctive impulses in accordance with a regulative principle.”<sup>17</sup> This regulative principle is apparently identical with the intellectual ideal above mentioned,<sup>18</sup> and the inhibitions cited are those operative against any impulses whose indulgence might thwart the realization of the ideal. The formation of character of this sort comes by the maintenance of integrity in the midst of the social milieu, quite as Goethe says,

Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille:  
Ein Charakter im Strome der Welt <sup>19</sup>

Personality is quite distinct. It is the living whole of a being, uncanalized by any intellectual ideal. Its determination lies in the equitable activity of all the faculties, so its indulgence of instinctive impulses is imperative. Its lone restriction is to be itself, to keep such bounds only as are prescribed by the coherence of all its achievements and potentialities—a coherence roughly comparable to that of an art work and in marked contrast to the rigidity of pattern in a character.<sup>20</sup> Thus, while keeping to its course, as does a river within its banks, personality still remains ever open to growth and change, limited only by the bounds of whatever psycho-somatic individuality gives it embodiment.

With the above definitions in mind we should be able to avoid mis-

<sup>14</sup> For a varied selection of witnesses to this fact see Gwendolen Murphy, *A Cabinet of Characters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), Introduction, pp. v–viii; E. C. Baldwin, “The ‘Character’ in Restoration Comedy,” *PMLA*, xxx, 1, n.s. xxiii, 1 (1915), 64–78; D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (Columbia University Press: 1922), pp. 80–82; and A. A. Jack, *Essays on the Novel* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897), p. 224.

<sup>15</sup> Herbert Read, “Personality in Literature,” *Symposium*, II, 3 (July, 1931), 299.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted by Herbert Read, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>17</sup> Also quoted by Mr. Read, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>18</sup> Compare this principle with Browning’s *regulative ideas*, for a discussion of which see my study, *The Aesthetics of Robert Browning* (Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1924), p. 56.

<sup>19</sup> Another quotation by Mr. Read, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 295, 296 and 304–305.

taking as personality the mere surface sheen or texture of individual being. Obviously character and personality have each their own characteristic surface manifestations. For such peripheral radiations to constitute a personality would require that in themselves alone they exhibit a coherent individuality of such scope and complexity as to seem always incalculable and beyond the reach of the inevitable.<sup>21</sup> For them to constitute evidences of character would require of them the demarcation of a circumscribed rôle, of a destiny necessarily rooted in personality<sup>22</sup> but impersonalized to some degree by its intellectual ideal. The differentiation here set up is, of necessity, only relative, for both character and personality are present to some degree in all people and so inevitably, too, in all literary personages of any notable beauty. The dominance of one or the other gives the clue to the nature and kind of being in these personages and is a conditioning influence in the degree and quality of their beauty.

The kinds and relationships of being manifested by the *dramatis personæ* of literature are of infinite variety. Attempts to classify them have proven obstructive of æsthetic pleasure at times, and have occasionally had a reprehensible influence upon artistic practices;<sup>23</sup> but in the main they have been helpful to criticism and æsthetic judgment. Often, too, they have contributed to the enlargement and enrichment of the æsthetic faculties and thus shared indirectly in the building of an increased readiness and scope of appreciation.<sup>24</sup> We can here attempt only to range the previously differentiated classes and relationships in a relatively consistent system such as will make clear the common bases of division, the criteria of distinctions within the major categories, and the accepted terminology throughout. It is only a panoramic glimpse of the whole province which I shall endeavor to present.

The classes of literary figures are primarily differentiated by the various kinds of fictive being made manifest in them. Upon this basis of division there are distinguishable six kinds of *dramatis personæ*, marked respectively by their grade or order, unity, completeness, duration, state, and mode of manifestation of being. The three fundamental

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Calvin Thomas, "Literature and Personality," *PMLA*, XII, 3, n.s. v, 3 (1897), pp. 308-309.

<sup>22</sup> This description of character is from W. D. Howells, *Heroines of Fiction* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1901), p. 65.

<sup>23</sup> Note, for example, the influence of Aristotle upon the Renaissance dramatists, as pointed out in D. L. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>24</sup> The widespread contributions of Aristotle and Horace in the development of characterization are especially notable in this connection. Cf. D. L. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82.

categories of ontology—quality, unity, and existence—include these six classes.

1. According to their grade or order of being, fictional persons are of three kinds: superhuman, non-human, and human. Owing to man's persistent anthropomorphism, however, this classification appears somewhat spurious, for in the Gods we can find only such meanings as human psychic experience enables us to visualize.<sup>25</sup> The Olympian figures of the Greek drama, the heavenly protagonists in the works of Dante and Milton, Goethe's Mephistopheles, Anatole France's Satanic Majesty and rebel angels—all the literary personages of the superhuman order are in their essential natures human, and transcend the mortals for the most part only in the superhuman degree to which they possess the human quality.<sup>26</sup> But to further distinguish such personages and to enfranchise the deities from man's bodily limitations, we have almost invariably ascribed to them somatic forms which differ in conspicuous but slight particulars from the human body. Whatever beauty such figures have must lie, then, in the fusion of meanings of superhuman degree with perceptual fields adequate to embody these meanings and still sufficiently manlike to afford them recognizable individual life.

The same appears to be largely true also of the non-human figures in literary portraiture, except that here there is usually a desire to show inferiority rather than transcendence. Consequently the somatic forms given these figures are frequently pervaded by animal features. The concepts (or meanings), too, seem rather prevaillingly those of the brute nature vestigial in humanity. Where this is not true, or only partly true, as in Shakespeare's Caliban and Ariel, Ibsen's Boyg, Hauptmann's Rautendelein, and in the celebrated ghosts of literature, the non-human figures invariably take on superhuman features to some degree. In either case they are always mainly human in essential significance.

Both superhuman and non-human figures of beauty are extremely rare in literary portraiture. This is necessarily the case: for if the deities and earth-spirits be represented by the fusion of human forms and meanings, then the beauty of character appears to lie in the humanity made manifest; and if superhuman or non-human forms be employed con-

<sup>25</sup> On the portrayal of superhuman figures in literature see A. C. Bradley, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30 and 172-174; L. P. Smith, *On Reading Shakespeare* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933), pp. 98-99; William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, Collected Works (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902), I, 172 (a quotation from Schlegel's *Lectures on the Drama*); and Henry Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1836), I, 330.

<sup>26</sup> The human being, we are told, "Repeats God's process in man's due degree," Cf. Robert Browning, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

viction that significant individual existence has been realized is almost impossible.<sup>27</sup> Prometheus, Ariel, Caliban, and Rautendelein unmistakably come alive with beauty, but figures their like are so extraordinarily few as to confirm rather than refute the validity of our pronouncement. It is with fictive human personages, therefore, that our study is mainly concerned.<sup>28</sup>

2. On the basis of their unity of being, fictional persons are classifiable as consistent and inconsistent. Between these two extremes all possible gradations of unity and variety are possible. Few such persons remain always wholly "in character," and some "consistent inconsistency"<sup>29</sup> seems required even of the most radically non-classical figures. Those of relatively high consistency tend to become type characters; those of high inconsistency, to approach complete personalities.<sup>30</sup> The requirements of consistency and decorum, asserted and reasserted from Aristotle to Fielding, were unquestionably responsible for that foreshortening of the *dramatis personæ* into types which was almost without exception in the practice of the ancient writers and hardly less general in the portraiture of the neo-classicists.<sup>31</sup> The occasional Tom Jones who escaped the devitalizing influence of a narrow consistency is evidence of a liberalizing inconsistency which ever and again crept into the practice of the dogmatists themselves.<sup>32</sup> But even so, Fielding has his Blifil and his Squire Alworthy. Meanwhile those who, from the Renaissance on, remained unaware of or indifferent to the doctrinaire viewpoint were demonstrating beyond refutation that character creations capture the beauty of individual lives in proportion only as they manifest the inconsistency of these lives within the wide limits of integrated beings.<sup>33</sup>

A group of literary personages in which the portrayal of dual or multiple personality is attempted forces upon us a third class in the province under discussion. However, since it is generally agreed that unity of being is one of the *a priori* conditions of individual life, the ever-recurrent attempts, both in theory and artifact, to demonstrate its multiplicity must necessarily to some degree constitute a negation of all being. In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, the attempts

<sup>27</sup> Cf. William Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 172, and L. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-100.

<sup>28</sup> "Man, therefore, is the highest subject." Such is the dictum of Henry Fielding, *op. cit.*, I, 331.

<sup>29</sup> Aristotle's phrase. Cf. *Poetics*, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>30</sup> In addition to Aristotle, in the above reference, consult the views of Horace, Vida, and Boileau, in Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-23, 107-108, 144, 191-192; and Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. E. H. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 378, 380, and 383.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Henry Fielding, *op. cit.*, I, 334.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. E. H. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 378-383, and W. D. Howells, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 and 176.



mentioned have remained perennially alluring, even though the *dramatis personæ* of this class have almost invariably been wanting in beauty. The failure to achieve beauty in portraits of multiple personalities seems inescapable. The meanings in such figures, for one thing, seem still too uncertain to be effectively fused. But granted that these meanings might, under the ægis of contemporary psychology,<sup>34</sup> be sufficiently clarified to become fusible, the major difficulty still remains. The artist has still the task of exhibiting in a coherent individual two or more rôles of such conflicting natures that they palpably separate the individual into a like number of autonomous personalities. If to this end a single fictive person be employed, the duality or multiplicity remains unrealized; whereas, if more than one are used, there results a plurality of perceptual fields and the conditions of beauty in the portraiture seem inescapably violated.<sup>35</sup> Stevenson's Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde have, unmistakably, a realized duality; but unfortunately for the realization of beauty in character, this duality persists in the realm of somatic forms as well as in that of character meanings. There appear always to be two men, two perceptual fields. The same is true of the protagonists in Eugene O'Neill's *The Great God Brown*, though here there is not that sharp distinctness which strikes one in Stevenson's work.<sup>36</sup>

3. On the basis of their completeness of being, fictional persons are classifiable into three major kinds; namely, symbols, types, and complete individualities. The various minor classes distinguishable on the same basis, such as allegorical, stock, and lay figures, puppets and marionettes, are usually but modifications or divergent aspects of one or another of the major kinds. Although literary personages of importance elude complete inclusion in any one of these categories, yet scarcely any figure in all literature fails to show some scantiness or fullness of being such as to range it predominantly in one of the groups specified.

Symbolic personages, unlike mathematical symbols, are conditioned by a necessary resemblance to the things symbolized. When this likeness extends throughout their nature and acts they become allegorical. So far as they have beauty, such figures manifest the fusion of concepts or meanings not inherently their own, yet recognizably like their own,

<sup>34</sup> Clifford Kirkpatrick, "Concepts of the Newer Psychology," in *Man and His World*, ed. J. H. S. Bossard (New York: Harper & Bros., 1932), pp. 367-383.

<sup>35</sup> Consider in this connection also the transmuting figures in Strindberg's *A Dream Play*, tr. E. Bjorkman, in *Plays, First Series* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912) and in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928).

<sup>36</sup> For an analysis of the dual personality in Franz Werfel's *Spiegelmensch* see William Rose, *Men, Myths, and Movements in German Literature* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1931), pp. 221-222.

with perceptual individuals amenable to the admission of such extrinsic significance. Thus Faust becomes a symbol of all modern occidental humanity,<sup>37</sup> while Christian, of *Pilgrim's Progress*, is throughout an allegorical figure, representative of a salvational destiny in Christendom.

The type personage is one whose direction and bounds are prescribed by an intellectual ideal in the form of a human trait or quality. This ideal, in contrast to the meaning of a symbolic figure, is inherently the person's own. Only such figures may properly be said to have character.<sup>38</sup> The thing typified in them may be any conceptual rôle which human intellection has generalized and given recognized demarcations. Whether the rôle be distinguished by sensations, emotions, imaginings, thoughts, or acts matters not, provided only that its directions and bounds have been intellectually conceived and have recognizably set the limits of the character. Type figures are seldom beautiful, for the rigidity of meanings in them is imperatively so pronounced that complete fusion with fictive beings is always to some degree thwarted and the concepts remain more or less lifeless abstractions.<sup>39</sup> This is not to deny that such personages have intellectual values; however, it is highly doubtful if any other beauty such works might have could ever fully compensate for the want of it in their fictional characters.<sup>40</sup>

The highest degrees of beauty in character are to be found in literary personages of complete fullness of being. Such personages most come alive and have significance of corresponding scope and vitality.<sup>41</sup> They at once have and are personalities. In them panoramic truths concerning man's purpose and destiny find perfect fusion with fictional lives. Yet they remain always difficult to interpret fully, for they transcend all set definitions and ideals. Beyond all the commonly accepted meanings and the myriad individual interpretations men have found for Hamlet, there abides always something still left over to discover in the melancholy Prince.<sup>42</sup> Such is the case, too, with Faust, Peer Gynt, Don Quixote, and many another figure of like proportions. Personages of this sort grow as we take on increased ability to understand them. Their fullness consists always partly of suggested potentialities unrealized in

<sup>37</sup> Consult the various references to Faustian and Western Culture in Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, tr. C. F. Atkinson, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf & Co., 1926, 1928). For the page references see the index to vol. II.

<sup>38</sup> On this somewhat loose identification of type with character see E. C. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>39</sup> This is obviously less true of universal types, such as Odysseus, for instance, than of narrowly typical ones, such as people the works of Ben Jonson and the Restoration dramas.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. L. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101-104.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97, A. C. Bradley, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94, E. H. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

their fictive lifetimes.<sup>43</sup> It is because they thus come alive with inexhaustible meanings that we of the modern world find in them our highest æsthetic pleasures.

4. Within the province of *dramatis personæ* distinguished by their duration of being, there is no set number of distinct classes, but only a graded series between clearly defined extremes. The terminal types of this series are persons that have single moments of being and those that have full life-cycles. Wherever durational significance is given to the span of life allowed such persons, here the metaphysical entity, time, appears to condition human existence. In this there may be the implication that life is a matter of moments,<sup>44</sup> or, at the opposite extreme, moments may be so subordinated that the continuity and wholeness of life are postulated as of supreme importance.<sup>45</sup> In this matter the unity of time intrudes, too, and the æsthetic effect varies accordingly as the duration of being presented is one of contiguous or one of divided moments of existence.<sup>46</sup> Contrarily, and transcending time, even multiple life-cycles may be presented within the coherence of a single individual thereby to suggest the many strange meanings fore and aft from our little lifetimes, or those still stranger ones which seem enfranchised from time by means of foresight and remembrance.<sup>47</sup>

A matter of high importance to which we can here give but passing notice is the potent influence which the duration of being in fictional personages has upon the choice of genres. Other factors sometimes have paramount sway in the selection of literary forms, but the time span presented still always conditions the magnitude and so has always a significant part in determining the preferred genre.<sup>48</sup>

5. According to their state of being, the characters of literature are either static or dynamic. The dynamic ones may have either developmental or degenerative motility. The usual objective of static character presentation is to make manifest the meanings of existence in its matured and immutable aspects.<sup>49</sup> There is here no indication of how a person-

<sup>43</sup> Cf. E. H. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 384, and L. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 101, and 103.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. McBurney Mitchell, "Goethe's Theory of the Novelle," *PMLA*, xxx, 2, n.s. xxiii, 2 (1915), pp. 227-229.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Gustav Gruener, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-82; A. C. Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 71; and William Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. D. L. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 79, and A. S. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>47</sup> On these matters see the works of August Strindberg, Virginia Woolf, Eugene O'Neill, and Franz Werfel referred to on page 622 above. Marcel Proust's *À la Recherche du Temps Perdu* and James Joyce's *Ulysses* should also be consulted.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. McBurney Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-236.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Katherine Merrill: Characterization in the Beginning of Thackeray's *Pendennis*, *PMLA*, xv, 2, n.s. viii, 2 (1900), 246-247, and W. D. Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

age's character or personality came to be what it is, nor of how it might presumably become something different. In dynamic figures, on the contrary, the meanings fused with the fictive individuals involve pre-eminently just such questions.<sup>50</sup> Here the agencies whereby character and personality are formed, modified or destroyed become dominant considerations. In the nature and behavior of those agencies to which he ascribes the formation and change of character in his *dramatis personæ* the literary artist most reveals his own *Weltanschauung*, for in just these agencies we discover the artist's conception of the controlling forces of the universe.<sup>51</sup>

6. Finally, we have still to consider those classes of fictional persons that are distinguished in accordance with the mode of manifestation of being. The two clearly differentiated classes of this province, subjective and objective, are acceptably defined for our common understanding.<sup>52</sup> We need pause here, then, only to explain the operation of the principle of beauty in personages of these two types and to indicate certain significant problems which arise in that connection.

A fictional person whose being has chiefly a subjective mode of manifestation is obviously one in whom the concept or meaning has reference primarily to the inner life. Our recently enlarged understanding of the psychic processes, especially in the subconscious realm, has correspondingly increased the range of concepts fused with the fictive individuals of contemporary literature.<sup>53</sup> But to expect the *dramatis personæ* who bear evidence of this widened understanding to show at once also more realistic, abundant, and beautiful personalities would be to forget the basic difficulties involved in effectively presenting concepts concerning the subjective life. Where the manifest being of fictional persons is evidenced chiefly by subjective data there appears no perceptual field that comes alive as a fictive individual reality. Browning to the contrary notwithstanding,<sup>54</sup> there must be incorporated in the portraiture sufficient objective data, such as life regularly shows in association with the given subjective ones, if the persons presented are to have convincing fictive existence. Until that is done the concepts of the newer psychology,<sup>55</sup> or of any other intellectual explorations, find no adequate perceptual fields with which to fuse and so remain but

<sup>50</sup> Cf. L. P. Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 96-97, and A. C. Bradley, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-362.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. George H. Opdyke, *Art and Nature Appreciation* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), pp. 507-516; Henry Fielding, *op. cit.*, I, 334; William Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 192; William Troy, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-387; and Justin O'Brien, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-395.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Robert Browning, "Essay on Shelley," *op. cit.*, pp. 1008-1014.

<sup>53</sup> There is notable confirmation of this point in the works of Proust and Joyce referred to in Note 47.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Robert Browning, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 49, and 74.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Clifford Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-382.

mental abstractions hung upon puppets or shadows. Browning's Paracelsus, Strafford, and Sordello are but three among many literary personages whose want of life and beauty rests primarily upon too exclusive a use of subjective data in their portraiture.

Despite all the requisite concessions to inner perception and to other relevant factors, it remains incontrovertible that a considerable majority of mankind apprehend perceptual realities more fully and understandingly when these manifest themselves in sensuous form, or with the illusion of such form.<sup>56</sup> It follows that fictional persons whose being has chiefly an objective mode of manifestation seem best to achieve that illusion of meaningful life which is imperative for beauty in character.<sup>57</sup> The increased viability of the *dramatis personæ* in German literature after the vogue of expressionism died down is but one of many witnesses to the indispensability of the objective mode for a lifelike manifestation of being in literary portraiture.<sup>58</sup>

Throughout history the theory of being of literary personages has undergone changes of profound import. Owing to the limitations imposed we shall find it most profitable to survey these mutations with reference only to the three outstanding modes of literary portraiture: the classical, the romantic, and the vitalistic modes. Roughly speaking, the three may be said to have held sway in chronological sequence, in the order named; but all three have been to some degree current in all ages.<sup>59</sup>

The classicists have regularly subordinated their characters to plot action. Typification has been their traditional method of character presentation; hence their literary personages have always been type figures whose prime requirement was that they be consistent.<sup>60</sup> Among the ancient Greeks these figures were usually ideal character types whose meanings had relevance to significant human experience everywhere and always.<sup>61</sup> In the latter part of the ancient classical period some of this amplitude was already lost,<sup>62</sup> and this narrowing process

<sup>56</sup> Browning himself concedes much in this direction. Cf., for example, the *Essay on Shelley*, *op. cit.*, p. 1009.

<sup>57</sup> In addition to Browning's study of the objective and subjective in the "Essay on Shelley" see also A. A. Jack, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-229.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. William Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-241.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. E. H. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 380, and L. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-95 and 103-104.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 29, and 53-57, D. L. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 21, 79, and 80.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 57, and 107, and L. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92 and 100-101.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. W. W. Comfort The Character Types in the Old French, *Chansons de Geste*, *PMLA*, xxi, 2, n.s. xiv, 2 (1906), 279-434; also A. S. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 11, 13, 22, and 25.

continued until in Renaissance and Neo-classical times the type figures often represented only standardized professional rôles or mere conventional traits of character. Some of the *dramatis personæ* in the works of Ben Jonson and Molière show this typicality in its extreme form. Many of the character creations of Goldsmith and Sheridan have it to a high degree. Patriarch Goeze in Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* is so narrowly typical that he seems to some a mere caricature.<sup>63</sup> Likewise Henry Fielding's Blifil and Squire Alworthy, to whom we have previously referred, are to some degree dehumanized by their restriction to trait representation.<sup>64</sup>

The increasing narrowness of typification just described is by no means the exclusive, nor even the dominant, trend throughout the period above specified. Already in Jonson's time Shakespeare and other contemporaries were creating characters who outran typification and had relatively little consistency. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was ebb and flow in the degree to which this mode of presentation was employed, but the general tendency was toward less narrowness and singleness of traits in the literary portraits. This trend persisted so that by the late nineteenth century there again appeared numerous fictive personages who were types only in the sense that they represented humanity itself, in blocks of experience that are ever-recurrent and of abiding significance.<sup>65</sup> Narrow typification persisted, to be sure, but came to be less and less the dominant practice of the major artists.<sup>66</sup>

From first impressions one is tempted to say that the classical mode of treatment gave us characters; the romantic one, personalities. Deeper study and reflection reveals this statement to be but a misleading part-truth, for the personages of romantic literature are still far from fully rounded individuals. They are, instead, figures whose direction and bounds are prescribed chiefly by emotional and imaginative objectives rather than by intellectual ideals.<sup>67</sup> I must forego the development of this thesis, but may cite Goethe's *Werther* as the sort of portraiture upon which I should build a case.<sup>68</sup> Individuals limited to one or a few affective attributes are here the rule, and in them we see personality

<sup>63</sup> Gustav Gruener, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Henry Fielding, *op. cit.*, I, 334.

<sup>65</sup> Peer Gynt is but one of many notable examples.

<sup>66</sup> Figures done during the naturalistic interlude are exceptions. On narrow types in contemporary literature see Edith Wharton, "Tendencies in Modern Fiction," *S.R.L.*, x, 28 (Jan 27, 1934).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. L. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 (footnote) and 103-104.

<sup>68</sup> Says Ramon Fernandez, "man dehumanizes himself by excess of affectivity at least as much as by excess of rationality. . . ." Quoted by Herbert Read, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

still under restrictions, for here it must sacrifice the common ideals of mankind upon the altar of affective uniqueness.<sup>69</sup> Shakespeare's women are, as Hazlitt pointed out,<sup>70</sup> charming abstractions of the affections, but that they have three-dimensional personalities comparable to those of his major masculine figures no one would seriously maintain.

Figures done in the romantic mode are perennial, but tend to become the prevailing type only in periods when emotional and imaginative faculties are in the ascendant.<sup>71</sup> Vast lures to men's bodies or to their spirits, or to both, may inaugurate such periods. Sometimes they appear as reactions to eras dominated by intellectual aims and pursuits. One dare hardly generalize concerning the sequence. The *Odyssey* followed the *Iliad*; Shakespeare interspersed romantic creations among works of other tone colors; Goethe's *Werther* preceded his more classical productions. The Renaissance was partly a reaction to Scholasticism, but likewise the Romantic Era was partly a reaction to the Age of Enlightenment. And if a gallery of romantic figures in contemporary writing appear to be the product of a reaction to naturalism, one has only to remember the *dramatis personæ* drawn by the symbolists and the expressionists to correct any impulsive formulation of hard and fast conclusions. It seems safe to infer that personages done in this mode become prevalent during the terminal epochs of pervasive cultural changes; but we cannot be sure, for we know comparatively little as yet of the ecology of these elusive figures.

Although *vitalistic* may be in some respects a misleading term, it appears to be especially happy for the designation of the third mode of character presentation. If we dissociate from it the narrower of its various Bergsonian connotations,<sup>72</sup> its comprehensiveness, whereby to include all the elusive contingencies of life, makes it particularly apt; for by vitalistic portraiture we mean the presentation of fully rounded personalities, of personages bounded only by the coherence of their whole psycho-somatic beings. Hamlet, Faust, Peer Gynt, and *dramatis personæ* of like dimensions must have been conceived along these lines. There have been no periods when this mode of treatment was unmistakably dominant, but whenever the full abundance of life has been the unimpeded prime objective with which literary artists have infused their character creations, then the vitalistic mode has been operative

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Justin O'Brien, *op. cit.*, pp. 394-395, and W. D. Howells, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 162, and 190.

<sup>70</sup> William Hazlitt, "On the Character of Milton's Eve," *op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. P. E. Wheelwright's review of Faulkner's *Sanctuary*, *Symposium*, II, 2 (Apr., 1931), 276-281.

<sup>72</sup> For a brief summary of Bergson's views see Will Durant, *The Story of Philosophy* (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1926), pp. 497-507.

and fictional beings of the fulness and stature here described have made their appearance.<sup>73</sup>

Literary portraiture, which has so extensively occupied the creative and appreciative energies of mankind in all ages, must have functions of high import. There are, in generalized terms, two of these functions: to provide objects for æsthetic pleasures and to furnish subjects for æsthetic judgment.<sup>74</sup> A thorough analysis of the many other ends such portrait work may serve will discover, I believe, that all of them are subordinate to one or the other of these two.

Men take pleasure in the beauty of literary personages because they find that in these portraits their intellectual discoveries concerning human purposes, rôles, and destinies have become living truths, realized or undergoing realization in viable fictive individuals.<sup>75</sup> In that beauty they see these truths verified. In the representations of beings like themselves they find reparation of the break between truths about life and the living process itself; hence in these fictional beings they themselves have vicarious experience of the living of significant and therefore beautiful lives.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to providing objects for æsthetic pleasures the *dramatis personæ* of literary art also furnish us subjects for æsthetic judgments. The former are values of immediate apprehension; the latter, of mediate acquisition—the first-fruits of reflection.<sup>77</sup> Though practical reality is denied such judgments—or rather because of this—they are among the most valuable and highly prized of all human judgments, for in their appraisals of the beauty of truth come to life in fictional individuals they themselves share the interpretive beauties of the things they appraise. Because they are judgments of beauty they themselves become beautiful meanings. Thus they serve doubly to enlarge the understanding and to enhance the practice of living; yet without becoming themselves involved in the interests, prejudices, and vicissitudes of phenomenal experience. Only those capable of æsthetic judgments concerning fictive human destiny can justly dispose of the biases, distractions, clutter, and emptiness of actual existence and so find possible an intellectual faith in the beauty of life.

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<sup>73</sup> Cf. E. H. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–384; L. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, 101–103; and K. Merrill, *op. cit.*, pp. 251–252.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. W. T. Stace, *op. cit.*, pp. 205–226.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Robert Browning, "Paracelsus," *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>76</sup> For relevant comment on this point by Aristotle and Sir Philip Sidney see D. L. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 and 148.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. A. C. Bradley, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–174 and 282–284.



# REGULATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

28 DECEMBER 1930

## *Arrearages in Membership Dues:*

If members are in arrears for dues for the preceding calendar year their copies of *PMLA* will not be mailed to them until these dues have been paid. Members whose dues continue unpaid for two years shall be dropped from the printed List of Members.

## *Papers for the Program of the Annual Meeting:*

Members of the Association may offer papers to be read either at the General Sessions, at the Departmental Sections, or at meetings of the Discussion Groups. The titles of papers proposed for General Sessions or for the Departmental Sections should, in all cases, be accompanied by synopses (not to exceed 60 words) to be printed in the program.

Papers for the General Sessions should be submitted to the Secretary of the Association for consideration by the Program Committee; papers for the Departmental Sections may be sent to the Secretary or directly to the officers of the Sections as announced in the June *PMLA*. The titles of papers for the Discussion Groups should be submitted to officers of the Group concerned.

The latest date at which proposals for the program can be received is October 31, but notice well in advance of this date is highly desirable as programs are often made up before that date.

## *Manuscripts Submitted for Publication in PMLA:*

Members have the privilege of submitting papers for publication in *PMLA*, whether these have been previously presented at the Annual Meeting or not. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor of *PMLA*, to be referred to the Editorial Committee. No paper shall be accepted for publication which has not been approved by the Editorial Committee.

Contributors shall be allowed seventy-five cents per galley for author's corrections, but charges in excess of this allowance shall be paid by the contributor.

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# PMLA

PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA  
*Issued Quarterly*

VOLUME L

SEPTEMBER, 1935

NUMBER 3

## XLIII

### THE DATE OF THE FLOURISHING OF THE "WAKEFIELD MASTER"

THE date of the writing of the *Secunda Pastorum* and, *ipso facto*, of the flourishing of the "Wakefield Master," has been variously given from "the fourteenth century or even earlier"<sup>1</sup> to "the reign of Henry VI or Edward IV"<sup>2</sup> the more usual dates centering about Wat Tyler's Rebellion, 1381,<sup>3</sup> or the first decade of the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The basis of these widely differing datings has been found in the implications of various social allusions in the plays, and one of these allusions, that to horned head-dress, has been used very diversely. This fact, coupled with the fact that Professor Oscar Cargill has claimed that "there seem to be no allusions in the (Wakefield) cycle which may positively refer to any events after 1355,"<sup>5</sup> led me to undertake the present study. As a result I am here proposing a date definitely later than the ones commonly chosen and advocated.<sup>6</sup> Let us turn first to the evidence offered by the costume passages in the plays.

<sup>1</sup> Katharine Lee Bates, *The English Religious Drama*, p. 49

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Douce, in his statement prepared for the sale of the manuscript in 1814. See *Surtees Society*, III (1836), vii-viii.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Raine, the first editor, would date 1388. (*Surtees Soc.*, III, viii, note); Charles Mills Gayley would date from "the decade on either side of Wat Tyler's Rebellion," 1381, to the "period of Praemunire, 1392," (really 1393), (*Plays of Our Forefathers*, pp. 134-135); Ernest Hemingway also prefers this dating, (*English Nativity Plays*, p. xlii).

<sup>4</sup> So Alfred Pollard (*BETS, ES, LXXI, xxvi-xxvii*); Charles Davidson, speaking of the poet says, "I judge him a late contributor to a cycle long established," (*Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, p. 155); Alexander Hohlfeld puts the plays at "the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century," (*Altenglischen Kollektivmysterien*, p. 310); Frances Foster says the language "fits neatly . . . in the first decade of the fifteenth century," (*PMLA*, XLIII, 135).

<sup>5</sup> *PMLA*, XLI, 812, n. 2. Mrs. McIntosh follows Cargill loosely, placing the plays vaguely from "1349-1400," (*Hesperia*, XI, 160).

<sup>6</sup> The manuscript itself is variously dated as c. 1450, by Louis Wann (*PMLA*, XLIII,

Mrs. Millicent Carey McIntosh, in her study of our poet, the fullest study yet made, finds evidence of his workmanship in thirteen plays in the Towneley manuscript and of these five are in his favorite stanza throughout and thus, presumably, all his.<sup>7</sup> In these five there are two allusions which must claim our attention.<sup>8</sup> In Play III, the *Noah Cum Filiis*, occur the following words placed in the mouth of *Noah Uxor*. "Take the ther a langett/To tye vp thi hose!" (224-225) The word "langett" means originally, according to *N.E.D.*, "the tongue of a balance" and is first noted by that authority in this or any sense in 1413.<sup>9</sup> In the derived sense of a "thong with which to tie the hose" the word is not noted before its occurrence in our text. This evidence of date is slight, but it is enforced by the fact that another word seems to have been used for this adjunct of dress in the fourteenth century. In the *Eulogium*, quoted by Camden in the second edition of his *Remaines*, (London, 1614), and dated by Planché in the reign of Richard II,<sup>10</sup> we read: "their hose are of two colors or pide with more, which with latchets which they called *Harlots* they tied to their Paltocks without breeches."<sup>11</sup> The implication is to place the allusion in the fifteenth century.

The other allusion is in play XVI, the *Magnus Herodes*, where one of the mothers, on the occasion of the Massacre of the Innocents, strikes one of Herod's knights with the words: "haue at thy tabard,/harlot and holard." (357-358). It is to be presumed that our poet here refers to the heraldic tabard as the knights involved are Herod's personal knights sent out under the admonition to go "in armoure full bright" (l. 280). If this assumption be correct, the reference places the writing well into the fifteenth century. At least, our first knowledge of an armorial tabard dates from the brass of John Wantele of Amberley, Sussex, 1424.<sup>12</sup> I am

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141); vaguely about the middle of the fifteenth century by Pollard, (*EETS*, *ES*, LXXX, xxvii and xi, note), c. 1450 by *NED*; and "towards the end of the same (fifteenth) century" by Gayley, (*Rep. Eng. Comedies*, I, xxiii)

<sup>7</sup> "The Wakefield Group in the Townley Cycle," *Hesperia*, XI, 243-244. Cf. also Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Com.*, I, xxvii

<sup>8</sup> "Stafford blew" as the name of a cloth (Play III, 200), and "colknysfs," apparently "cabbage knives," (Play XII, l. 57), are given by the *NED* as occurring only in our plays

<sup>9</sup> "Pledours in worldly courtes hauen Tonges lyke to the langet of the balance" (*Pilg Sowle*, I, xiv (1859), 11)

<sup>10</sup> James R. Planché, *Dictionary* (London 1879), p. 217 Dorothy Hughes, *Illustrations of Chaucer's England*, p. 164, dates the *Eulogium* as "c. 1362"

<sup>11</sup> William Camden, *Remaines*, 2d edition, pp. 232-233. The section on "Apparel" appears first in this edition.

<sup>12</sup> On this all authorities are agreed Cf. Herbert Norris, *Costume and Fashion* (London 1927), p. 323; C. J. Foulkes, Curator of the Tower Armouries, *Medieval England*, p. 186, Mr. Russell, in the letter quoted, and others. Mr. Will Stephenson, in his exhaustive listings of the brasses of the West and East Ridings, gives no example with a tabard, though he

warned against making too easily this assumption, however, by Mr. Archibald G. B. Russell, Lancaster Herald, who, in a kind reply to a letter of enquiry, says: "It seems possible that a knight might have worn some garment of the nature of a plain tabard at a date appreciably earlier than that at which armorial tabards came into vogue."<sup>13</sup> In reply I can but say that the evidence seems to me against such possibility. Chaucer, writing at roughly the time when most scholars would have our poet flourish, that is, about 1387, does not place the tabard upon his Knight but upon his Plowman.<sup>14</sup> Upon his Knight he places a "gipoun"<sup>15</sup> a garment much like a tabard and one worn, like it, over the body armour.<sup>16</sup> Chaucer tells us of this "gipoun" only that it was "Al bismotered" but some thirty years later, c 1420-1422,<sup>17</sup> the poet John Lydgate, in his *Siege of Thebes*, wrote:

And Tydeus, abouen his *Haberion*  
A *Gypoun* hadde, hidous, sharpe and hoor,  
Wroght of the bristels of a wylde boor (pt. ii, 1544-46)

Here we have, clearly, a "plain" not an "armorial" garment, yet the word which comes to the poet is "jupon" not "tabard." Add to this the fact that no evidence of a plain tabard as a knight's garment has come down to us in effigy, portraiture or descriptive word, and I think we have ample justification for questioning such a garment. The choice of word made by Lydgate in 1420-22, however, makes it seem unnecessary really to settle the matter as his choice makes it seem unlikely that our poet, unless he were writing near this time or later would have chosen the word *tabard*.<sup>18</sup>

gives one case, that of Sir John Manlevelere of Allerton Manleverer, West Riding, c. 1400, with a jupon (*Yorkshire Archeological Journal*, xv, 1 ff., xii, 195 ff.; xv, 3) Herbert Druitt, *Costume on Brasses* (London 1906), p. 166, says the tabard as a knightly garment won its way slowly, only two cases during the Complete Plate Period, ending early Henry VI, being known to him. He says further that Haines cites the brass of Sir Ralph Shelton, 1424, Great Snoring, Norfolk, as wearing a tabard, but at present only the head survives (*ibid.*, p. 167).

<sup>13</sup> Letter dated from the College of Arms, London, 30 March, 1933.

<sup>14</sup> *Prologue*, 541.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>16</sup> A stone effigy of Henry IV on Battlefield Church, Shrewsbury, c. 1408, shows that monarch wearing a jupon, as does the brass of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1406, St. Mary's, Warwick, and that of Sir William Bagot, 1407, Baginton, Warwickshire (Druitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 157, n. 1, 162). The jupon, worn originally with mail, was more shaped to the body than the tabard, but the two were very alike, as any one will see who compares the jupon of the Black Prince in Westminster Abbey with the tabard worn by Henry VI. They are reproduced by Planché, *Dictionary*, 317 and 499. As late as 1415 the stone effigy of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Wingfield, Suffolk, shows the jupon (Druitt, p. 168, n. 2).

<sup>17</sup> Date accepted from the *Enc. Brit.*, 14th ed.

<sup>18</sup> Mr. Louis B. Wright, of the Huntington Library, suggests that the expression "haue

Of the plays in which our poet had only a part hand but one need detain us, the *Judicium* (Play xxx).<sup>19</sup> In this play he introduces a new character, Tutivillus, who describes himself as chief tax gatherer and court recorder for the Devil, and it is through him that our poet finds opportunity for much satire upon contemporary manners. It is in this strain that the poet gives to Tutivillus the following portrait of a contemporary countryside "vamp":

so Ioly  
Ilka las in a lande  
like a lady nerehande,  
So fresh and so plesande,  
makys men to foly.

If she be neuer so fowll a dowde,  
with hir kelles<sup>20</sup> and hir pyntes,  
The shrew hir self can shrowde,  
both hir chekys and hir chynnes;  
she can make it full prowde,  
with iapes and with gynnes,  
hir hede as hy as a clowde,  
bot no shame of hir synnes

Thai fele;  
When she is thus paynt,  
she makys it so quaynte,  
She lookys like a saynt,  
And wars then the deyle.

she is hornyd like a kowe,  
a new fon syn,<sup>21</sup>  
The culer<sup>22</sup> hyngys so side now,  
furrid with a cat skyn,  
All thise ar for you,  
thai ar commen of youre kyn.  
(255-271)

Lively as this picture is, there is little in it to cause comment before the last three lines. There we find plenty to detain us. For our country lass, in emulation of ladies of fashion, has assumed a form of "piked" head-dress of such a sort as to lead our poet to say of her that she is "hornyd

at thy tabard" may be a conventional one and thus have nothing to do with the actual garments worn by the knight. The whole habit of our poet is so visually concrete, however, that this possibility, though it must be granted, does not seem to me likely. Note that the *Prima Mulier* strikes at a knight's "hood" and his "nose," (ll 337, 339) and that the *Tertia Mulier* strikes at another's "groyn" (snout, nose. l. 382).

<sup>19</sup> Professor Cargill, in his latest pronouncement, would ascribe all the plays, apparently, to the Wakefield Master. His words are: "We inevitably return to Davidson's conclusion that the Towneley cycle is the work of one man" (*Drama and Liturgy*, pp. 118-119). I think no one except Mr. Cargill believes thus; certainly Davidson did not. I quote from his comments upon the *Conspiracio*, Play xx: "This play . . . is a pieced play, containing within the compass of a single play work of the earliest and of the latest period, as well as something of that author whose plays mark the beginnings of English comedy" (C. H. Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, p. 153).

<sup>20</sup> Cauls, reticulated bags for confining the hair.

<sup>21</sup> The words "a new" are now first recovered. I wish here to express my thanks and appreciation to Captain R. B. Haselden, Curator of Manuscripts at the Huntington Library, for reading this and the next line for me and for his unfailing helpfulness whenever I have approached him with a problem. The first line was legible only with the violet ray.

<sup>22</sup> Previously transcribed "cuker" though clearly "culer."

like a kowe." And as these are the words over which so much difference of opinion has arisen, they must receive careful consideration. Frederic J. Furnivall, in a note correcting a placing of the advent of the horned head-dress by Alfred Pollard in the reign of Richard II, said: "Horns were in fashion in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries,"<sup>23</sup> and Oscar Cargill, obviously basing his remark upon this assertion, said: "Raine dates the composition of the plays in 1388 because there is a passage in the *Judicium* describing a female as 'hornyd as a kowe'. But the piked head-dress referred to was in fashion in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries."<sup>24</sup> The difficulty with these assertions is, as Planché had already pointed out, that they obscure the important distinction between horns as "bosses" and horns as "piked."<sup>25</sup> By twisting the braided hair about the ears or in coils upon the head and by the use of cauls women from the end of the thirteenth century had been able so to place their wimples upon their heads as to make them protrude in knobs or bosses, and these protrusions were loosely called "horns." Obviously such obtrusions, however, would not make an observer think of a cow.<sup>26</sup> And even if they should, the restoration of the rest of the line by Captain Haselden, Curator of Manuscripts at the Huntington Library, makes such an interpretation impossible. For no poet, with the vivid sense of fact shown everywhere by our poet, would say of a head-dress at least seventy-five years old when he wrote, that it was a *new* found sin. Certainly the implication of Furnivall and assertion of Cargill must be given up.

The all-important question becomes, then, when did the horned head-dress become "piked" so as to suggest the horns of a cow? The answer to this question which was accepted by Mr. Pollard, Mr. Gayley, and others was derived from the statements of two distinguished scholars who wrote early in the seventeenth century. John Stowe, writing in 1604, said that in the days of Richard II "noble women used high attire piked like horns"<sup>27</sup> and William Camden, in the second edition of his *Remaines*, 1614, said that "Queen Anne, wife of King Richard the Second . . . brought in high head attire piked like horns."<sup>28</sup> Accepting these statements, Mr. Pollard, when told by Sir E. M. Thompson of examples of the horned head-dress in two manuscripts in the British Museum which

<sup>23</sup> *EETS, ES*, LXXI, xxvi, n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *PMLA*, XLII, 812, n. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Dictionary*, pp. 270-271.

<sup>26</sup> I have yet to find a mediæval representation of a cow with other than long horns and in the West Riding, where the Craven breed was probably dominant, such long horns would almost necessarily have been in the poet's mind.

<sup>27</sup> John Stowe, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of Englande* (London, 1604), p. 132. The passage appears first in this edition.

<sup>28</sup> William Camden, *Remaines*, (London, 1614), p. 234. Note that this is the second edition of Camden.

dated "as late as 1420" accepted that date as a final one before which our poet must have written.<sup>29</sup> What the authority used by Stowe was we do not know and whether Camden had any authority other than that of Stowe himself we do not know. But already, almost twenty years before Pollard wrote, Planché, in a paper presented before the British Archeological Association, had challenged the statements of these early scholars, saying that "nothing like the horned head-dress of the fifteenth century has been discovered in the paintings or sculptures of any preceding period in England or upon the continent," and in his dictionary he wrote that "The reign of Henry V (1413-22) is remarkable for the first appearance of what may be truly called a horned head-dress."<sup>30</sup> With this judgment all modern students of costume are in substantial agreement so far as I have been able to observe,<sup>31</sup> they all looking upon the year 1420, as approximately the year when the truly horned head-dress began, rather than the year of its swan song.

Faced with such conflicting testimony I appealed to the judgment of Mr. A. F. Kendrick, who, as Keeper in the Victoria and Albert Museum spent the years 1897-1924 in an intensive study of textiles and costume, feeling that he was perhaps best fitted to pass judgment between the old and the modern scholars. In his kind reply he said that, in his judgment, "the phrase 'hornyd like a kowe' can only have been invented in the time of Henry V or very soon after."<sup>32</sup> If the head-dress was worn in

<sup>29</sup> *EETS*, *ES*, LXXI, xxvi

<sup>30</sup> See *British Archeological Society Transactions*, v and *Dictionary*, p. 271. Horned head-dress resembling horns must not be confused with pins so placed as to call for the oft-quoted remark of the Knight de la Tour-Landry who, writing in France in 1472, said of a head-dress that "quill est hault loéé sur longues espingles d'argent plus dun douz sur le teste comme vn gibet." (MS. Royal 19, C. vii, 40r.) For the transcription of this passage and for other favors I wish to thank cordially Professor L. M. Blandin of Paris and London. Likewise we must not be misled by the fifteenth-century English transcription of de la Tour-Landry when it reads "and hadde highe hornes" for the original "et estoient grans cornes" (*EETS*, *OS*, xxx, 62.) The Englishman is converting the description into terms of his own time, for, as Professor Blandin wrote me, "grans" means "large, without doubt, as you can see by the context." That context reads "il dist que les femmes qui estoient ainsi cornues et branchues ressemblent les limas cornus et les licornes" (Fol. 33r.)

<sup>31</sup> The actual history of the horned head-dress has been obscured by the loose use of the term by scholars. Norris says it appeared in the reign of Henry IV but also that it did not appear for sixty years after the arrival of Queen Anne. Clearly he uses the term in different senses in the two passages (*op. cit.*, II, 439 and 253). Herbert Pratt, describing the brass of Lady Halle, c. 1420, speaks of her cauls as "curving upwards and outwards and terminating above the head in a pair of horns" (*Costume on Brass*, (London, 1906), p. 258), whereas Mrs. Ashdown says of the same brass "We may trace the horned head-dress from this inception." (*op. cit.*, p. 150). We could illustrate at length.

<sup>32</sup> I owe thanks to Mr. Leslie Bliss, Librarian at the Huntington Library, for putting me in touch with Mr. Kendrick. The latter's letter is dated from the Burlington Arts Club, 26 March, 1933.

the reign of Richard II, then, all evidence of such use must be considered as lost. Not only that, but the acceptance of the statements of Stowe and Camden compels us to assume that all records of such head-dress are lost for the first fifteen years of the new century. This can hardly be possible. I think, therefore, that we may assume with very little hesitation that Stowe made a mistake in which Camden followed him,<sup>83</sup> and that this famous form of head-dress did not appear until well into the reign of Henry V—that is, somewhere between the years 1415 and 1420.<sup>84</sup> The next line seems to carry confirmation of this proposed date. This line has always in the past been made to read: "The culer hangys so side now, furrid with a cat skin"<sup>85</sup> Naturally the word "culer" gave trouble as there offered for it no etymological explanation and the word was not otherwise known. Fairholt said of it merely, "Part of a woman's head-dress."<sup>86</sup> Planché, after referring to Fairholt, says; "I am inclined to think it was a kind of cloak."<sup>87</sup> Pollard, who saw in the word a miswriting of the word "coker," defines it as "a kind of half boot or gaiter,"<sup>88</sup> and Halliwell, guessing, apparently, from the implication of the context regardless of etymology, defines it shrewdly as "part of a woman's horned head-dress, generally fringed with fur."<sup>89</sup> All these and other guesses may now be forgotten in the light of the true reading now first given, "the culer hangys so side now," and this true reading shifts the attention at once from the ghost word "culer" to the word "side." For this word means "extended in any direction" and is thus ambiguous. Our lass's collar may have been very broad or very long and the difference chances to be material as we shall soon see. It could hardly have been very tall as such a collar could hardly be said to hang. It is intelligible, however, to speak of a broad collar as hanging and, as the tall collar of the time of Richard II gave way to a broad collar in the reign apparently, of Henry V<sup>90</sup> the temptation is strong to accept the word

<sup>83</sup> Apparently accepted by Agnes Strickland, in her *Lives of the Queens of England*, (London, 1911), p. 422. At least she interprets the embarrassment of the Queen's ladies in waiting when pitched from their charette in 1393 as due to the destruction of their horned hats. I feel confident that Maidstone's line "Femina feminea sua dum sic femina nudat," *De Concordia, Canden Soc.*, (1838), p. 40, refers to the ladies' legs.

<sup>84</sup> Horned head-dress of any sort must have been rather unusual in the West Riding as only one of the brasses in the Riding, that of Agnes wife of John Langton, St. Peters, Leeds, shows such attire and her hat is called "small" by Mr. Stephenson as he describes it (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xv, 23.)

<sup>85</sup> So *Surveyors Society* and *EETS*. Upon these all other transcriptions have been based.

<sup>86</sup> Frederic William Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 3d ed. (Revised by E. A. Dillon) (London, 1885), II, (Glossary), 141.

<sup>87</sup> *Dictionary*, p. 157.

<sup>88</sup> *EETS*, ES, LXVI, 399 (Glossary).

<sup>89</sup> James O. Halliwell, *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, sub "culer."

<sup>90</sup> Norris, *op cit*, p. 370, dates the collar "before the end of the reign of Henry IV";



"side" as meaning broad and thus to refer the words of our poet to conditions existing from about 1415 to 1420.

Obvious and easy as such conclusion is, however, the identification is by no means certain, for, numerous as examples of such collar accompanied by horned head-dress are—and manuscripts swarm with them—I have been unable to find any worn with the wimple or by other than women of social position. Our lass is a country woman and wears a wimple so adjusted with pins<sup>41</sup> as to make her, we are told, look "like a saynt." It is interesting to discover, then, that a long collar, one hanging down the back, seems to have been worn by the lower classes in the reign of Henry VI. Such a collar seemed to be worn by a figure reproduced by Mrs. Ashdown from Royal MS. 15 E, iv<sup>42</sup> but the reproduction was uncertain. Captain Haselden therefore wrote to the British Museum about the matter and Mr. Eric G. Millar, Deputy Keeper of Manuscripts there, replied saying that the collar actually extended "down the back about midway from the neck to the waist," and that "in a similar figure of a lady on fol. 20b the collar undoubtedly reaches down to the waist."<sup>43</sup> As this manuscript dates from 1470-1480 it offers no evidence of the collar at an earlier time. Fortunately there is literary evidence of such a collar, however, in the reign of Henry VI. It is found in the well-known Middle English version of the *Book de la Tour-Landry*, written in a "good formal hand of the reign of Henry VI," according to Thomas Wright, its editor for the Early English Text Society,<sup>44</sup> and dated by William Henry Schofield as "1422-61."<sup>45</sup> The passage to which I refer runs as follows: "Seruying women of lowe astate . . . thei furre her colers that hangin doune into the middil of the backe."<sup>46</sup> As the Old French original, written in 1372, reads "cest a dire

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Frederic Hottenroth, *La Costume* (Paris, n.d.), II, 74, and also *Trachten der Völker Alter und neuer Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1883), II, 137, suggests the date 1420. The collar is found upon two Yorkshire brasses, one upon that of Agnes, wife of Sir Thomas St Quintin, c. 1420, in Harpham Church and the other upon that of Beatrice, wife of Sir John Routh, c. 1410, at Routh. As Agnes Routh shows a high waist line the date 1410 is probably early. (See *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, XII, 211 and 223.)

<sup>41</sup> Pins played an exceedingly important part in the dress of ladies in the middle ages. Illustrative is the record of a purchase made of Johan de Breconnier, epinglier de Paris, by the Duchess of Orléans at the turn of the century, c. 1400. Her order was for several thousand long and short pins, and five hundred "de la façon d'Angleterre." (E. D. Longman and S. Loch, *Pins and Pincushions* (1911), p. 16)

<sup>42</sup> Ashdown, *op cit*, opposite p. 190.

<sup>43</sup> Letter dated from the Museum 15 April, 1933. I wish here to thank Mr. Millar for his courtesy.

<sup>44</sup> *EETS*, OS, XXXIII, xiv (MS. Harley 1746).

<sup>45</sup> William H. Schofield, *History of English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 464

<sup>46</sup> *EETS*, OS, XXXIII, 31.

quelles fourrent leurs dos & leurs talons autant penne comme drap,"<sup>47</sup> it is evident that the translator, following the custom so prevalent in the Middle Ages,<sup>48</sup> substituted details of dress of his own day, thus authenticating for us the long collar at a time when it might be new—note the poet said "so side *now*"—at the same time as some form of the horned hat. It should be observed, too, that the collar is worn by the same class as that to which our lass belongs, and further that, like hers, it was lined with fur.<sup>49</sup>

I have not myself been able to find any instance of a horned hat worn with the wimple, but Mr. Norris writes that such a combination was part of the head-dress of matrons of the middle class "during the greater part of the reign of Henry VI."<sup>50</sup> The form of hat to which he refers was one where the veil was draped over small cauls extending above the head to points, the veil itself being flat upon the top of the head and concealing by its white folds the high color common to the cauls. This hat Norris says arose in the reign of Henry V and it could certainly give rise to the expression "hornyd like a kowe." Of course our lass was not a matron, but the middle and lower classes still wore the wimple in the reign of Henry VI and our lass might well adopt the costume of a matron in an attempt to disguise her wiles, as the poet indicates, in decorousness. The famous reference to horned head-dress, then, seems to refer, in its context, to a period not earlier than the late years of the reign of Henry V; it may describe a combination of hat and collar to be found first in the reign of his successor, Henry VI.

Of more real value to us than tabard or collar or head-dress, however, is the gown which our poet puts upon contemporary man. In line 552 he makes that emissary of Satan, Tutivillus, addressing the assembled sinners, cry derisively: "Gay gyrdlys, iaggid hode, prankyd gownes, whedir?" And again, in lines 287–288, he makes him say, this time addressing the audience directly:

Yit a poynte of the new gett to tell will I not blyn,  
Of prankyd gownes & shulders vp set, mos and flokkys<sup>51</sup> sewyd wyth in.

<sup>47</sup> Royal MS. 19 C VII, fol. 18v. For transcription I am indebted to Professor Brandin.

<sup>48</sup> See Harvey Eagleson, *PMLA*, XLVII, 339 ff.

<sup>49</sup> The use of expensive fur by the lower classes was legislated against, III Edward IV, (1463), (See Planché, *History*, p. 132). Note our lass uses "cat skin!" For long collars on peasants see Dorothy Hartley, *Medieval Costume and Life*, p. 112, plate F, (B.M.MS. Addl. 20698; c 1475) and Joseph Strutt, *Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England* (1796–99), plate cxvii.

<sup>50</sup> Norris, *op cit.*, II, 439–440. The hat is illustrated in plate 614A.

<sup>51</sup> A material consisting of coarse tufts and refuse of wool and cotton *NED*. Padding of clothing was legislated against in III Edward IV. (Planché, *History*, p. 132). See Edward Parsons, *History of Leeds* (London, 1834), II, 188; Geo. Clinch, *The Antiquary's Book, English Costume*, pp. 61–62; *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, II, 411.

It will be noticed that in both quotations he calls the gown "prankyde," that is, "pleated." When the practice of pleating gowns first began in England I find it hard to determine; it may be that its inception is reflected by Occleve in his *de Regimine Principum* (1412) when he makes one of the characters say:

(I) not so wide gowne hute as is thyne,  
 So small y-pynched, (pleated), so fresh and guy  
 (Roxburghe Club edition, p. 14).

Here we seem to have the early gown undergoing pleating without losing its early flowing characteristics. However that may be, it is not without significance that both Occleve here and Chaucer in his description of the wimple worn by his Prioress, use the word "(y)-pynched" for "pleated," whereas our poet uses the word "prankyde," a word not known to the *NED* until its appearance in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (1440) where we find: "Prankyde, as cloþys: plicatus-a-um."<sup>52</sup> The name, if not the thing, then, seems to belong definitely to the fifteenth century.

Even more clear as late is the description of the shoulders of the gown as "vp set, mos and flokkys sewyd wythin." Though a political satire called *On The Times*, written, apparently about 1388,<sup>53</sup> says of the then gown, "Brodder than ever God made humeris sunt arte tomentes" the satire goes on to add, "Wyde colers and hye, ei glallis sunt colla parata."<sup>54</sup> These last words can but describe the high-necked gown worn almost universally during the decade on either side of 1400, a gown, however, to which our poet could not possibly have referred as having "shulders vp sett," for its shoulders were exactly the opposite of that. They were very sloping, as sloping as possible. Upon such shoulders Tutivillus could not have gone on to assure us: "Bot on such pilus<sup>55</sup> I me set and clap thaym cheke and chyn, no nay" (290-291). He sat, rather, upon the shoulder of the gown as transformed by a later fad for padding as a result of which the shoulders became flat and the sleeves were raised where they were attached to the body of the garment. And, unless the authorities are in error, this fad arose so much later than the years we have been suggesting that it was truly, as the poet says, of the "new gett." For all the authorities I have been able to consult derive the fad from Burgundy "toward the middle of the fifteenth century."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *EETS, ES*, cii, 344. The date 1440 appears in the compiler's preface. Camden was in error, of course, when he translated Chaucer's "palyngge" in the Parson's Tale, as "pleated" (*Remaines*, 1614 ed., p. 233).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. John Edwin Wells, *A Manual of the Writings* etc., p. 238.

<sup>54</sup> *Camden Society*, xiv, 275 (*Political Poems*, edited by Thomas Wright.)

<sup>55</sup> Hair. Hair was used for padding garments.

<sup>56</sup> So Hottenroth, *op. cit.*, German edition, II, 137, French edition II, 73; Norris, *op. cit.*, II,

The pleated gown with shouldeis "vp set, moss and flokkys sewyd within," then, more than confirms the presumptive dating of the other references we have studied. Indeed, it seems to make a date earlier than 1430 seem very unlikely.

One more allusion and we are done. In this same play, in a passage dealing with the Seven Deadly Sins, our poet thus describes male Pride.

Thise laddys thai leuen/ as lordys rial, At ce to be even/ picturde in pall As kyngys, May he dug hym a doket, <sup>57</sup> A kodpese <sup>53</sup> like a pokett, hym thynke it no hoket his tayll <sup>59</sup> when he Wryngys his luddokkys <sup>60</sup> thai lowke/ like walk-mylne cloggys, <sup>61</sup>	his hede is like a stowke, hurlyd as hoggys, <sup>62</sup> A well blawen bowke, <sup>63</sup> / thuse fryggys as fioggys, <sup>64</sup> Thus Ielian Iowke, dryfys/ he no doggys To felter, Bot with youre yolow lokkys, <sup>65</sup> for all youre many morkys, ye shall clym on hell crokkys <sup>66</sup> With a halpeny heltere. (307-322)
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This is the most diverting picture given us by our poet. It is capital caricature. And it is for our purposes so valuable that the dating of the plays might almost be left to it alone. Scantiness of attire characterized Chaucer's day as well as other periods in mediæval times, yet our Pride presents a very different appearance from his counterpart in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. In the first place, his hair is short—it stands up like a shock of wheat and is bristled as a hog's—whereas the dandy in Chaucer's time wore his hair long, his "lokkes crulle<sup>67</sup> as they were leyd in presse."<sup>68</sup> The fad for short hair began, we are told, late in

358 See Ashdown, *op. cit.*, fig. 199 Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné du Mobilier Français* (Paris, 1873), III, fig. 29 See Dorothy Hartley, *op. cit.*, p. 134, for peasants with pleated gowns and broad shoulders, temple Edward IV, in whose reign the fad seems to have reached its height (MS Harley, 4379)

<sup>67</sup> Meaning uncertain.

<sup>58</sup> The first instance in *NED*.

<sup>59</sup> "Tayle, or tayne of a cloth sciama-tis" (*Prompt. Parv.*, p. 488) "hoket" means "obstacle"

<sup>60</sup> Buttocks

<sup>61</sup> Fulling mill lumps

<sup>62</sup> Like a shock of wheat, bristled as hogs On "stowke" see Edward Peacock, *Myrc's Duties of a Parish Priest*, *EETS*, OS, LXXI, 79.

<sup>63</sup> Well blown belly.

<sup>64</sup> Pollard glosses "animals? beings?" as flogs (*EETS*, ES, LXXI, glossary.) It is interesting to compare with the picture of Pride and the details regarding the padded shoulders the following passage from a satire on priests written "not later than 1467":

Make shorter your taylis and broader your crowns,  
Leve your stuffed dowblettes and your playtid gowns.

(*Percy Society*, xxvii, 57)

<sup>65</sup> This word fits the picture beautifully as it is defined in the *Prompt. Parv.*, 1440, "loke of hey or oder lyke" (*op. cit.*, p. 268).

<sup>66</sup> Hooks.

<sup>67</sup> Curly.

<sup>68</sup> Prologue, l. 81. Chaucer is describing the Squire.

the reign of Henry IV,<sup>69</sup> and persisted until the days of Edward IV;<sup>70</sup> indeed, brasses in Yorkshire show the cropped tonsure as late as 1494.<sup>71</sup> Where in this long history of the close-cut hair our Pride belongs must be determined by reference to other details of the picture, though Mr. Kendrick, in the letter to which I have previously referred, says: "The hair 'bristled as a hog's' would be most appropriate when the hair was shortest, . . . That was about 1430-40."

In the second place, the codpiece is a distinguishing mark in Pride's attire. When this strange piece of costume came to England I have been unable to determine. Most authorities date its inception anywhere after about the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>72</sup> Mr. Francis M. Kelly, however, cites an example from a Vatican copy of the *Romance of the Rose*, which he dates 1371,<sup>73</sup> and Mr. T. G. Mann, late of the Wallace Collection, refers to one in Foxton's *Cosmography*, 1408.<sup>74</sup> The name "cod-piece," however, does not appear, according to our present knowledge, before its appearance in our play<sup>75</sup> and the advent into England of the thing itself must have been later than Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, or he would not have given to that worthy the following words: "Allas! somme of hem shewen the boce of hir shape and the horrible swollen membres, that semeth lik the maladie of hirnias, in the wrappying of hir hoses."<sup>76</sup> The codpiece displaced this mode entirely.

There remains the distended belly which makes the man remind our poet of a frog. Here at last is a detail about which I can find no disagreement. The information is put succinctly by Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell in their *History of Every Day Things in England*: "Men at this

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Planché, *Dictionary*, p. 242; Ashdown, *op. cit.*, p. 140, and Norris, *op. cit.*, II, 432. A very early dated case of the short hair is in the cut of Occleve presenting his poems to Prince Hal, 1412 (reproduced in colors by Henry Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, II (unpaginated), and in *Chamber's Encyclopedia of English Literature*, I, 78.)

<sup>70</sup> "No self respecting man, except those of the lower and peasant class, wore long hair until the reign of Edward IV." See Norris, *op. cit.*, II, 433.

<sup>71</sup> The brass of Brian Rouclyff in Conisborough Church, West Riding. (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xv, facing p. 10). Cf. "Figure of a knight," c.1480, in Howden Church (*ibid.*, XI, 170) and man in armour, Helmsley Church, West Riding, c.1460-1465 (*ibid.*, xv, 282).

<sup>72</sup> So *NED*, giving thus the consensus of opinion.

<sup>73</sup> In Dorothy Hartley, *op. cit.*, p. 36 and n. 1.

<sup>74</sup> Data given by Mr. Eric G. Millar in the letter already referred to, 15 April, 1933. Mr. Mann also refers to Victor Gay, says Mr. Millar, who, in his *Glossaire Archeologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, illustrated the cod-piece from *Bon Berger*, 1379. The name used, is "brayette." The Foxton reference is to MS. R. 15. 21, Trinity Coll., Cam.

<sup>75</sup> It is worth noting that, though the *Prompt. Parv.* gives "codde, of a mannys priuete," (p. 89), it does not give "codde piece." This is as late as 1440.

<sup>76</sup> *Parson's Tale*, ll. 421 ff Chaucer, like our poet, is discussing the Seven Deadly Sins. Italics mine.

time (middle of the fifteenth century), exaggerated their figures as much as their clothes and many not only tightened their waists but they wore their tunics stiffened out in globular shape over the chest."<sup>77</sup> The fad followed in the wake of padding and, in conjunction with a marked return of the very abbreviated dress—a return which Norris dates in the very middle of the century<sup>78</sup>—seems to have been introduced latest of all the fashions we have studied. Truly our male Pride, with his short hair, his codpiece, and his padded-out torso, was dressed cap à pie in the very latest of fashions at the time our poet wrote. And that time seems actually to have been as late as 1440.

Thus we reach the end of our review of the allusions to costume in the work of the Wakefield Master. I must grant at once that I have neglected many allusions which would be proper were our poet writing in the reign of Richard II or Henry IV. Had there been time to give and study these I suspect that many would now find themselves in some confusion. One immediate explanation of such seeming conflict offers, of course, in the suggestion that passages containing the late references have been "brought down to date" in accord with the mediæval practice which we ourselves illustrated in the case of the Middle English version of Geoffrey de La Tour-Landry. In reply to this possibility may I say that there is absolutely no evidence of such process in the extant manuscript. The style is such as to preclude imitation by any other man, and no one, I believe, has ever questioned the authenticity of the passages in which the late references occur.<sup>79</sup> Thus, if the passages are the result of any "bringing up to date" the revisions must have been made by the poet himself.<sup>80</sup> Such an interpretation would, no doubt, shift some the precise time of his flourishing, but would not affect materially the dates we have been considering.

Revision, however, is not necessary to interpret the facts, as another and sufficient explanation offers. It will be easily seen that our poet has his eyes, usually, upon the people of his day as they come and go in Wakefield and the West Riding of Yorkshire, where metropolitan fashions would be slow in rising and where, as in country districts always,

<sup>77</sup> Page 151. For pictorial examples see Planché, *Dict.*, p. 311, and Ashdown, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>78</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 357–358.

<sup>79</sup> The passages are not affected by Mr. Frank Cady's theory of an editor in couplets and quatrains. *JEGP*, x, 572 and xi, 244.)

<sup>80</sup> There is some bibliographical evidence favoring an authorial addition of the passage about the Sins. Stanzas 40–46 inclusive could be omitted entirely and they begin almost as if in response to popular demand:

yit of the synnes seuen som thyng special  
now nately to neven that renys ouer all. (305–306)

fashions would persist long.<sup>81</sup> We should not be surprised, then, to find the horned hat a "new fon syn" a matter of years after its advent in London or even York, and the same thing would be true of all the other allusions to early forms of dress. But when Tutivillus tells us about the gown with its shoulders "vp sett" and of the man with short hair, a codpiece and a well-blown belly, he is talking of the Seven Deadly Sins, as I have said, and the poet has his eyes upon centers of fashion, more particularly, I suppose, upon York, commonly called the "second capital of England" and the center of the cloth industry of the island. Here new styles would appear quickly and thus a very natural explanation offers of the time spread in the costume allusions of our plays.

By *either* interpretation, the costume allusions with unexpected definiteness, indicate that our poet was not writing before the second quarter of the fifteenth century instead of during the first decade of that century or earlier, thus restoring the long-neglected date proposed by Douce.<sup>82</sup> Yet our knowledge of mediæval costume is such that I should be the last to rest the date of ours or any manuscript upon costume references alone. Of vital moment, then, is a consideration of such other evidence of date as we can recover from the sparse records which the lapse of time has vouchsafed to us.

Before we present this evidence it will be well for us to remind ourselves that, except for a "tradition" favoring "Widkirk" as the place for the plays—a tradition to which I suppose no one now subscribes—all the evidence we have supports the conviction that the plays of the Towneley manuscript were presented by guilds in Wakefield.<sup>83</sup> In the first place, (a) the dialect is that of the West Riding of Yorkshire,<sup>84</sup> and there is reference in the plays (b) not only to Horbury, a village some three miles southwest of Wakefield,<sup>85</sup> but also to (c) "Watling strete," the name by which a Roman road passing about five miles east of town was known as late as the time of Henry VIII.<sup>86</sup> In the second place, there are references in the plays and the manuscript which indicate not

<sup>81</sup> Pollard, looking upon the advent of the horned headdress as dating 1388, advances the date of the poet to the "early years of the fifteenth century" (*op. cit.*, xxvii). I am asking a slightly greater lateness in Yorkshire practice after 1420.

<sup>82</sup> See page 631 and note 2 above.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *Surtees Society*, III, viii-x; Matthew Peacock, *Anglia*, neue folge XII, 516-519 (repeated in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xv, 94 ff. and *LTLS*, March 5, 1925); W. W. Skeat, *Athenæum*, Dec. 2, 1892. Woodkirk was about four miles north of Wakefield; all the allusions in the plays are to places south or east of the town, unless to the town itself.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Surt. Soc.*, III, xi-xii.

<sup>85</sup> Play XIII, l. 455.

<sup>86</sup> Play XXX, l. 126. Leland describes the Road in detail. Cf. *Yorks. Arch. and Top. Journal*, x, 243.

only the vicinity of Wakefield as the place of production but the town itself. Thus (a) Cain, in the *Mactacio Abel* (Play II), says, "bery (bury) me in gudeboure, at the quarell hede." (367) This is an almost certain reference to Goodybower Close near the Green in Wakefield and to the "quarell," Yorkshire for "quarry," which was located near it.<sup>87</sup> Again, (b) in the *Processus Talentorum* (Play XXIV), the dialogue refers four times to "this towne," the speaker in every case addressing the audience directly in monologue.<sup>88</sup> To interpret these words as alluding to Jerusalem, the place of the dramatic action, would be to do utmost violence to mediæval dramatic practice. That the poet committed no such violation is clear in all the passages for which let the last stand as evidence. In it the Third Torturer says:

I am the most shiew in all myn kyn,  
That is from this towne vnto lyn. (154-155)

Lynn was the great eastern seaport on the Ouse and came naturally to the poet as a measure of distance. No one in the audience could possibly have understood him to mean "from Jerusalem unto Lynn." Again, (c) —and this is evidence which has not, to my knowledge, been indicated before—in the *Prima Pastorum* (Play XII), the Second Shepherd says, on the approach of the Third Shepherd:

here comys slaw-pase (Slow-pace)  
ffro the mylñ whele (125-126).

We seem here to have reference to the soke mill of the Manor, located "just above the bridge" over the Calder, the mill where all the grain of "Wakefield, Sandal and the Tp. of Bosett" must be ground.<sup>89</sup> Finally, (d) the scribe himself assigned Play I and Play III to Wakefield in his captions to those plays.

We know further that by the middle of the fifteenth century some one in Wakefield had gained sufficient reputation, presumably as an actor, to be employed by the great city of York. The entry in the *York Memorandum Book* reads as follows: "(1446) j ludento de Wakefeld vjd."<sup>90</sup> Finally, the Burgess rolls for the years 1554 and 1556 give indubitable evidence that, in the sixteenth century at least, plays were being given in Wakefield under the sponsorship of the guilds of the "Merry" town.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Peacock, *Anglia*, n. f. XII, 517.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. ll. 75, 76; 110; 154-155.

<sup>89</sup> Alfred S. Ellis, *Yorks, Arch. and Tp. Journal*, VIII, 493, n. 6.

<sup>90</sup> Quoted from Lucy Toulmin Smith, *York Mystery Plays*, xxxviii.

<sup>91</sup> This evidence, first given by Mr. Peacock with errors in dating and transcription (*Yorks, Arch. Journal*, xv and *LTLS*, June 7, 1928), and later given by Mr. J. W. Walker, who discovered it, I shall give in toto because of its very great interest and of the fact that



The sponsorship of plays by guilds, thus made certain in the middle of the sixteenth century, seems likewise to have been true at Wakefield at the time when our plays were set down in the Towneley manuscript. At least Mr. W. W. Greg, after a careful weighing of the evidence available to him, wrote: "I think the proper inference is that the manuscript, like the York plays, is a 'register' made from originals in the hands of the different guilds."<sup>92</sup> That it is a "register" and not the work of a redactor working in couplets, quatrains or what not, is clear, not only from the evidence studied by Mr. Greg, but from other evidence not available

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it is at present so comparatively inaccessible. I quote it from the *Yorkshire Archeological Society, Record Series*, LXXIV, pp. 20-22.

PAYNES LAYD BY THE BURGESS QWEST AS FOLLOYT, IN ANNO 1554

1. Itm a payn̄ is layd yt gyles Dolleffe shall brenge In or Causse to be broght ye regenall (original) of Corpus Xti play before ys & wytsonday In pane . . .

2. Itm a payn̄ ys layde yt ye mesters of ye Corpus Xti playe shall Come & mayke thayre a Count (account) before ye gentyllmen & burgessus of ye toun before this & may day next. In payn of everye oñ not so doynge 20s.

PAYNES LAYDE BY THE BURGESS ENQUESTE AT THE COURTE KEPTE AT WAKEFELDE NEATE

AFTER THE FEASTE OF SAYNTE MICHAELL THARCHAUNGELL IN THIRDE AND FOUTHE

YEARE OF THE REIGNES OF OUR SOVERAIGNE LORDE AND LADYE KINGE

PHILYPPE AND QUENE MARYE, 1556

1. Itm a payne is sett that everye crafte and occupacion doo bringe furthe theire pagy aunts of Corpus Christi daye as hathe bene heretofore used and to gyve furthe the speches of the same in after hollydayes in payne of everye one not so doynge to forfeit xls.

2. Itm a payne is sett that everye player be redy in his pagaunt at settled tyme before 5 of ye clocke in ye mornynge in payne of every one not so doynge to forfeit vjs viiid.

3. Itm a payne is sett yt ye players playe where settled and no where els in payne of no so doynge to forfeit xxs.

4. Itm a payne is sett yt no man goe armed to disturb ye playe or hinder ye proccession in payne of everye one so doynge vjs viiid.

5. Itm a payne is sett yt everye man shall leave hys weapons att hys home or at hys ynne in payne not so doynge vjs viiid.

6. Ye summe of ye expens of ye Cherche mester for ye Corpus Christi playe xvijs. xd

a. Item payd to ye preste xijd.

b. Item payd to ye mynstrells xxd.

c. Item payd to ye mynstrells of Corpus Christi playe iiis. ivd.

d. Item payde for ye Corpus Christi playe & wrytyng of ye spechys for yt iijs. viiid.

e. Item payd for ye Baner for ye mynstrells vjs. viiid.

f. Item payd for ye ryngyng ye same day vjd.

g. Item payd for garlonds on Corpus Christi day xijd.

<sup>92</sup> *The Library*, 3d ser., v, 293. Mr. E. K. Chambers also considers the manuscript a register (*Mediaeval Stage*, II, 143). The position of Charles Davidson that the present form of the plays shows the hand of a compiler (*Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, 129-130) and that of F. W. Cady that it shows the hands of two redactors, one working in couplets and the other in quatrains (*JEGP* x, 572 ff.), have already been replied to by Miss Grace Frank (*Mod. Phil.*, xv, 181 ff.) The present study but renders doubly certain the position of those who see in the plays a register.

to him. I refer to evidence in the manuscript itself. No one, I am sure, can work long from the manuscript without feeling that the scribe, at least while transcribing the early plays, was following independent source manuscripts with great fidelity. There is concrete evidence of this, I think, in the error he made while transcribing the *Noah cum Filiis*. In transcribing that play he wrote on folio C I<sup>r</sup> the text belonging on folio C I<sup>v</sup>, placing on the latter the omitted text with rubrics calling attention to his error. As both these pages now begin with the words "Bot now syn" the mistake could most easily have been made had the corresponding pages of his source also begun with these words. Such explanation, however, would indicate a fidelity to source so great as to affect even the number of lines with which he ruled his page, and the assumption of such fidelity to source best explains other peculiarities in the MS.

For example, in the first thirteen plays he used an exceedingly varied space for the insertion of his initial capitals and those capitals themselves vary exceedingly in size and form. Those to plays I and II, for example, are small and radically unlike any others in the manuscript; that to Play VIII, a play derived from York, is tall and also unique; those to the two Shepherd plays, Plays XII and XIII, again differ from all others, though they are themselves of the same character. Furthermore, the initial letters of the first thirteen plays vary from 1½ inches to over 4 inches in height and none of them more than faintly presages the form of capital the scribe suddenly assumes with Play XIV and continues to use, with very slight modification, throughout the rest of the plays. If these variations, as we have seen reason to believe, are due to scribal fidelity in transcription, the conclusion is inevitable that he was working from separate manuscripts done by different scribes, a conclusion supported further by the fact which we have already pointed out—the fact that though the capitals of the Shepherd plays differ from all others, they are themselves of the same character.

Further evidence tending to show that the manuscript is a register lies in the variation in the writing of the stage directions which are sometimes written in the margin and sometimes within the text. This variation in practice might not be considered significant, but for the fact that in four of the plays where they are in red and within the text<sup>93</sup> space for them had to be left as the scribe wrote the body of the play. In such cases scribal whim offers a not too convincing explanation.

Moreover, as the last comment implies, though most of the stage directions are in black ink and thus presumably written at the time of

<sup>93</sup> Plays VIII, XVIII, XX, and XXVI. Of these the first two and the last are derived from York. There may be significance in the fact that, according to Miss Smith, original stage directions in the manuscript of the York "register" are in red (*York Mystery Plays*, xvii).

transcribing the text, others—eighteen, to be exact—are in red ink, done thus presumably as the scribe rubricated his text. This variation might also be ascribed to whom were it not for the fact that, except for one direction in the margin of Play xxvii—a direction which may well have been added during proof-reading of the transcription—and the directions in the very composite Play xii, all stage directions in red, marginal or otherwise, are in plays derived from York.

Additional evidence that the manuscript is a register lies in the fact that, although couplets in all but two of the plays, whether original or editorial, are, with negligible exceptions,<sup>94</sup> written in single lines unless there is change of speaker after the first rhyme, in those two plays they are not so written. In Play x the scribe writes all the couplets in two lines each and all but the first three and the last—all on folio 28b, to be exact—in two columns, a format found nowhere else in the manuscript. And in Play xxxi, after writing the first thirty-one couplets in two lines each, presumably thus following his source, he reverted to his usual one line practice as he began writing on folio 130a. If this variation in writing seems to offer doubtful evidence its force is at once strengthened when we recall that this play, *Locusus*, should follow Play xix, the *Johannes Baptista*, and not Play xxx, the *Judicium*, as in the manuscript. Apparently the scribe could not lay hands upon it at the proper time for its correct placing in the manuscript. Finally we have the error in the naming of Play xxviii. Although the scribe had called Play xxvi *Resurreccio Domini*, he repeated that title for Play xxviii and failed to correct the ascription. This again is not necessarily significant; scribes have done stranger things. But the manuscript, despite its evidence of carelessness at times, shows clearly that the scribe proof-read his text to source at the time of its rubrication. Many times he cancels an error in red,<sup>95</sup> and he also enters in red occasional omissions.<sup>96</sup> Other evidence could be given. Had he not been working from a source manuscript reading *Resurreccio Domini*, therefore, he would probably have caught the error even though he made it in rubricating the text.<sup>97</sup> The words are now

<sup>94</sup> The exceptions are confined to Play i where six couplets not involving change of speaker are each written in two lines and Play ii where the couplets are written indifferently in one line with internal rhyme or in two lines ligatured. An apparent exception in Play xx and another in Play xxxii are easily explicable in rather clear scribal error in transcription.

<sup>95</sup> So on folios 14b, 22a, 29a, 45b, 54a, 65b, 78a, etc.

<sup>96</sup> So on folio 22a he adds "Moyses, Moyses", on folio 70a he adds "Petrus"; etc.

<sup>97</sup> The scribe seems to have made an error also in the heading of Play iii, where a whole line, done in red, has been erased and a black line drawn through the space. There is no way of telling whether he made the erasure or not. It is so complete that nothing can be rescued, even with the violet ray. The loss may be great, as Play iii is assigned by the scribe to Wakefield. The erasure is on folio 7a.

crossed out in black ink and the words *Thomas of India*, indicating more exactly the part of the Resurrection treated by the play, have been added in the same ink and in a different hand.

That our manuscript is a register of plays derived from independent manuscripts seems, then, worthy of faith. That these independent manuscripts were the property of various guilds seems also very hard to deny. At least our copy of several of the plays shows them assigned to various guilds by annotation. Thus, near the title to Play I, some reader has written the word "Barkers," that is, Tanners, and this in a hand which Captain Haselden says may be essentially co. temporary with the manuscript itself. In like manner, near the title to Play II another early reader has written "Glover pag . . .," the completion of the word having been clipped away by the binder. Near the title of Play VIII, in like manner, are the words "listers Pagona" and part way down the page, in another hand, the words "lyster play," that is, dyer's play. As this play is almost verbatim like the York Play III it is worth noting that the latter play is assigned to the "Hoscers," that is, the hosiery. Thus the annotators did not have in mind the play as given in York. Again, under the title to Play XXVII we find the words "tysher Pagent," and finally, about midway down the margin of the first page of Play XXXII—the play added early in the sixteenth century, according to scholars—we find again the words "Lysters Pag . . .," under which is further text now illegible. Apparently, by the time this play was entered, the Dyers had ceased to sponsor Play VIII.<sup>98</sup>

The implication of all this cannot be gainsaid; the plays concerned were recognized by readers as belonging to certain guilds. And if this be true of the few plays, it was almost certainly true of them all. Our manuscript would seem to be, then, as Mr. Greg suggests, a register of guild plays. Inasmuch as we know that Wakefield later supported a guild cycle and that our plays were certainly some of them, and probably all of them, guild plays—and inasmuch as some of our plays are assigned by the scribe to Wakefield and others contain local allusions bearing out the same ascription—the conclusion seems as certain as any conclusion based in part upon circumstantial evidence can be, that the Towneley manuscript contains a cycle of plays produced by guilds in Wakefield.

Not only that, but, as Mr. Pollard says, the plays assigned by the scribe to Wakefield and those assigned by various readers to guilds as producers, cannot "furnish in any way a group by themselves,"<sup>99</sup> and, of

<sup>98</sup> The presence of this last entry was not noted by Professor Louis Wann in his study of the manuscript in *PMLA*, XLIII, 145.

<sup>99</sup> *EETS, ES*, LXXI, xxviii.

the two plays assigned by the scribe to Wakefield, the first, the *Creation Play*, belongs to what Mr. Pollard calls the "first stage" in the growth of the cycle, and the second, the *Noah cum Filiis*, belongs by common consent to the late work of the Wakefield Master. The conclusion is inevitable, I think, that the cycle as we now have it—except for minor editing, if any—<sup>100</sup>must have been in much its present form when the Master completed his work upon its plays. We are entirely justified in asking the question, therefore: When was Wakefield and its vicinity able to sponsor our elaborate cycle of mystery plays?

In seeking an answer to this question let us ask it first of the earlier years proposed by Professor Gayley, the years centering about the Wat Tyler Rebellion, 1381. Fortunately our answer for these years can be very concrete. It is customary to say about the Towneley Cycle that "it contains thirty-two plays"; it would be more accurate were we to say that "the Towneley manuscript at present contains thirty-two plays, some of them incomplete." For the manuscript as we have it lacks all of Sig. A,<sup>101</sup> the four middle leaves of Sig. B, the two middle leaves of Sig. D and Sig. K, all of Sig. S except the first leaf, and all of Sig. T except the last three leaves. In other words, the original manuscript of 160 leaves has lost 28 of those leaves so that it now contains but 132. If from the missing 28 we subtract all of Sig. A as containing probably no plays, there remain 20 undoubtedly containing text. The present manuscript, if we omit Play XII as repeated in Play XIII, contains 11,680 lines. If we add to these the probable number of lost lines, taking the present average per page as a basis of computation, we shall find that the original cycle probably extended to about 13,476 lines. The extant York Cycle of 48 plays contains but 13,211 lines. True, three plays are missing from the York manuscript, but the lines thus lost are offset by the fact that Miss Smith, whose line numberings I have used, prints as two lines all long twelve- and sixteen-syllable lines, thus almost doubling the number of lines in one-fourth of the plays.<sup>102</sup> Thus the York Cycle, commonly called our longest, may well have been really shorter than the Towneley Cycle.

Not only was the Towneley Cycle thus long, but the existing plays alone, again omitting the doubling involved in the two Shepherd plays,

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Frank Cady, *JEGP*, x, 572 ff. and Grace Frank, *Mod. Phil.*, for January, 1918.

<sup>101</sup> Though the Surtees Society editor postulated the loss of four leaves after Play I (page 7), the Early English Text Society editor postulated the loss of twelve (page vii, n. 1) and this error persists even in the work of Professor Wann (*PMLA*, XLIII, 139). My attention was called to the actual nature of the loss by Captain Haselden.

<sup>102</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 8, n. 1 and p. 68, n. 1.

involve the casting of no less than 224 rôles.<sup>103</sup> Of course many of these are simple, and the conditions of presentation may have permitted one actor to share in more than one rôle.<sup>104</sup> Yet, however we may reconstruct the conditions, the number of skilled actors required, even by mediæval village standards, must have been considerable if the plays were given with any adequacy. And the nature of the dramatic action, particularly in the Master's work, suggests strikingly such adequacy.

Could Wakefield in the neighborhood of 1381 sponsor so long a cycle involving so many character rôles? We may find the answer to this question, I think, in the poll-tax records of 1379, records which, fortunately for us, have survived the ravages of time.<sup>105</sup> Turning to them I think we must be astonished to find that the village had a tax-paying population of only 201 men and women over the age of sixteen. As 114 of these were married the total adult population of the place was 315. Beverley, with its cycle of similar length and its 38 crafts listed as sponsoring plays in 1390,<sup>106</sup> shows in the capitation tax of 1377 a population of 2663 over the age of fourteen,<sup>107</sup> and Newcastle-on-Tyne, with a cycle which Professor Holthausen numbers as possibly twenty-three plays in the fifteenth century,<sup>108</sup> shows in the same tax a population of 2647.<sup>109</sup> Coventry, famous for its cycle of ten plays,<sup>110</sup> at the same time had a population of upwards of 7000.<sup>111</sup> These figures do not make it seem

<sup>103</sup> The average number of actors is seven. In the York cycle the average is 7.7. Nine of the Towneley plays call for ten or more actors with speaking parts and Play xx, the *Conspiracio*, calls for fifteen.

<sup>104</sup> At York a law against doubling by an actor seems to have been passed in 1476 (Smith, *op. cit.*, xxxvii). In Coventry in 1443 members of certain crafts were forbidden to play in any pageant except their own without the consent of the Mayor (Chambers, *Mediæval Stage*, II, 360).

<sup>105</sup> The tax record for Wakefield is printed in *Yorks. Arch. and Tp. Journal*, VI, pp. 150-152. Further reference to the record will not be given. Mr. J. W. Walker, in Chapter VI of his forthcoming *History of Wakefield* (Wakefield—The West Yorkshire Printing Co. Limited), says, "Wakefield had a population of 567 souls." In reaching this total, however, he "included the whole of the old parish of Wakefield and of Sandal, including Walton," he writes me. He adds further "I quite agree with you that of Wakefield town the population is not 567 but 315." (Letter dated Feb. 5, 1934.)

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 340-341. The assumption which he and others seem to make that the number of plays corresponded with the number of guilds listed has no proof, so far as I know. See *Selden Society*, XIV, 33-34.

<sup>107</sup> On the smaller returns in 1379 see Eleanor Lloyd, *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, XX, 319. See also Arthur Leach, *Beverley Town Documents*, *Seld. Soc.*, XIV, xviii.

<sup>108</sup> Quoted from Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 424.

<sup>109</sup> *Archæologia*, VII, 340; quoted from George Poulson, *Beverlac* (London, 1829), 2 vols. in 1, p. 135 and n. 2.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Hardin Craig, *EETS, ES*, LXXXVII, xiii.

<sup>111</sup> L. F. Salzman, *English Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 78. J. W. Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History* (1893), II, 11, gives the figure as 9000.

likely that Wakefield, with its meagre population of 315 souls, could have supported our cycle of over thirty-two plays.

Let us grant, however, that the whole population was "drama-minded," we must also grant that more than enthusiasm would be required for the presentation of our plays. For we cannot overlook the matter of expense. The *York Memorandum Book*,<sup>112</sup> and the *Coventry Lcet Book*,<sup>113</sup> fairly bristle with petitions for relief from the expense involved in maintaining plays, and it is a matter of common knowledge that more than one craft frequently combined in the giving of single plays because of the expense. What the actual cost of producing a play was varied greatly, of course, with conditions. Entries for the payment of actors are common. Music was usually provided. Refreshments were commonly served to players and minstrels. At Coventry, for example, the Smiths, in 1490, paid ij s. ij d. for "brede, ale" and other refreshments at the first rehearsal of their play and ij s. iiij d. at the second.<sup>114</sup> They also had expense for new costumes and for music, so that the total cost of their play, as added up by Professor Chambers, was 3l 7 s. 5½ d.<sup>115</sup> The wealthy Mercers at York, on February 27, 1154, entered into an agreement for the production of their "Domysday" at an annual fee of 10l.<sup>116</sup> On the other hand, many plays cost much less. Thus at York, in 1422, we find the Millers paying x s. and the Hayresters v s., by agreement, to the Saucemakers and Tilemakers towards their play, and ten years later the Saucemakers withdrew from active production for a fee of vs.<sup>117</sup> It is just possible, therefore, that the cost of the play did not much exceed xx s. The same may be said of the Crucifixion Play, for, in the same year, 1422, the Painters and Stainers agreed to pay v s. each to the Pinner and Latoners as their share in the play.<sup>118</sup> It is hardly likely that the average for a cycle would be thus low, but even if that were possible the Towneley Cycle would have cost some 35l each year.<sup>119</sup> Were the citizens sufficiently prosperous to meet such expense?

Again the poll-tax records supply an answer. Turning to them we find but 51 of the 201 taxpayers assessed more than the minimum tax of iiij d. exacted of all "not notorious mendicants"<sup>120</sup> and of these only six paid over xij d. The highest tax paid was xl d. paid by a franklyn and two merchants. This was the usual tax for franklyns and shows the merchants to have been prospering. On the other hand the hostclers—of whom, by the way, there were but four—<sup>121</sup> instead of the usual ij s.

<sup>112</sup> Edited by Maude Sellars, *Surtees Soc.*, cxx and cxxv.

<sup>113</sup> Data conveniently summarized by Hardin Craig, *op. cit.*, App. II. <sup>114</sup> *Idem*, p. 33.

<sup>115</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 359.

<sup>116</sup> *Surtees Soc.*, cxxix, 58-59.

<sup>117</sup> *Idem*, cxxv, xlvii-xlviii and 171-173.

<sup>118</sup> *Idem*, cxxv, xlvii and 102-104.

<sup>119</sup> On original number of plays see three paragraphs below.

<sup>120</sup> *Yorks Arch. and Tp. Journal* VII, 187.

paid, three of them but xij d. and the fourth but vj d. Robertus friston, *farmer de pa:sonage*, instead of the usual ij s. paid but xij d.<sup>122</sup> The total tax of the village was but ivl xv s. viiij d., less than the probable cost of outfitting a single play such as the Towneley *Noah cum Filiis*. At least at Hull, the "New shype," built in 1421, for the Noah play there, cost vj viij s.<sup>123</sup> The possibility that a community so poor as these tax returns indicate could finance our cycle seems to me negligible.

Nor is the picture much improved if we assume that the whole countryside helped; for, even when we enlarge our horizon to include the whole wapentake of Aggebrigg<sup>124</sup> with its 37 vills or parishes aside from Wakefield, we find that but 26 in these vills all told paid over the minimum tax for trades and professions. Thus the whole wapentake, including Wakefield, shows but forty-six tax-payers assessed over vj d. Certainly this does not suggest a prosperous community. Even with the aid of the three farmers and the five franklyns in the wapentake, the district could hardly have financed year by year an all-day drama such as ours, and this is true whether we look upon the plays as sponsored by the community or by guilds.

That they were sponsored by guilds at the time of the writing of our manuscript we have seen abundant reason to believe. If so sponsored, however, they would make additional demands upon the producers. Obviously there must be a sufficient number of trades and crafts to sponsor them. We have said that the present manuscript contains parts or all of thirty-two plays. The losses in the early signatures<sup>125</sup> do not involve losses of whole plays, but the losses in Signatures S and T certainly do. For at present we jump directly from the *Ascencio* to the *Judicium*, whereas between these two plays the *Ludus Coventriae* has two plays, the Chester Cycle three, and the York Cycle four. Professor Chambers thinks that "probably two plays, at least, are lost"<sup>126</sup> and Mr. Peacock thinks that four are missing.<sup>127</sup> As the present average of leaves per play is about four we may feel confident, I think, that the twelve lost leaves contained at least three plays. This would give us a cycle of approximately thirty-five plays. Remembering that two and three and sometimes more crafts were wont to share the cost of single plays, if we advocate the giving of our cycle by the Guilds of Wakefield in 1379, we must certainly agree with Miss Maude Sellers, editor of the *York Memo-*

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*Journal*, xv, 101) Note the allusions to inns in the Burgess records of Wakefield which we quoted, note 91 above.

<sup>122</sup> For a digest of the tax returns see George T. Clark, "The West Riding Poll Tax and Lay Subsidy Rolls, 2nd. Richard II," *Yorks. Arch. and Tp. Journal*, vii, 187-193.

<sup>123</sup> Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 371.

<sup>124</sup> The "ridings" were divided into "wapentakes" in Yorkshire

<sup>125</sup> Mr. Peacock thinks the entry given in note 91, sub-head 12 above, shows that Banns were to be rewritten. Possibly the lost Sig. A contained such Banns. (*LTLS*, June 7, 1928).



*randum Book* and of the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, when she says: "There seem to be good grounds for thinking that the Towneley Mystery plays were acted at Wakefield; if so, the guilds there must have been both numerous and influential."<sup>128</sup>

From what we have just learned of Wakefield I am sure no reader expects to find such to have been actually the case there at the time we are considering. What we do find is a list of forty-nine tradesmen and artisans representing but fifteen trades and occupations.<sup>129</sup> Even if we included the whole wapentake of Aggebrigg we should find but 167 artisans and tradesmen to care for the 224 and more rôles in the plays and a total of but twenty-four trades and occupations to sponsor the approximately thirty-five plays.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, of these twenty-four there were only six followed by more than ten persons.<sup>131</sup> Such a group might sponsor in a small way a small cycle but never could have handled ours as we have it. Thus Professor Gayley's suggestion that the *Secunda Pastorum* might have been written "in the decade before or after Wat Tyler's Rebellion" must certainly be given up.

The question now becomes, How soon after 1379 had Wakefield grown sufficiently to be able to sponsor the plays? Unfortunately historical evidence whereby we may presume to continue to trace intimately the growth of the town for the next century or more is lacking. We do know, however, that Mr. Edward Parsons was able to say of it that in 1553 it was "unquestionably the largest, the most populous and the most flourishing town in the district."<sup>132</sup> This knowledge does not help us much, of course, yet I feel confident that the growth after 1379 was not so immediate nor so fast as to make it possible for the town to support our cycle by the time of Præmunire, 1393, the later date suggested by Professor Gayley. Sufficient evidence to prove this can be gleaned, I think, from a comparison of the poll-tax records of 1379 with the second aulneger's account for Wakefield, 1395-96,<sup>133</sup> particularly so as the tai-

<sup>128</sup> *Vict. Hist. Co. Yks*, III, 445.

<sup>129</sup> I have included two men bearing craft names because they paid the usual trade tax; I have also considered as two the crafts whose names might be but chance variants. Thus the numbers I have used represent the maximum possible.

<sup>130</sup> The indications of crafts upon the manuscript is, of course, much later than 1379, yet it is interesting to note that the tax rolls show but three Barkers (Play I), one Glover (Play II), and no Listers (Play VIII), or Fishers (Play XXVII) in the whole wapentake. The words Lister and Fisher appear once each as surnames but with a tax of but iiij d. each, the tax taken from those not in trades or occupations.

<sup>131</sup> These six were the tailors, smiths, spicers, suters (bootmakers), websters, and wrights.

<sup>132</sup> *History of Leeds*, I, 303.

<sup>133</sup> The first and third accounts do not segregate the returns from Wakefield, but the third shows three names missing from those assigned to Wakefield in the second. See Exch. K. R. Accts., bundle no. 345, 1st account no. 15; 2nd., no. 17; 3d., no. 18; reprinted in Yorks. Arch. Soc., Record Series, LXIV, 39 ff., 95 ff., and 98 ff.

lors alone outnumbered the weavers in the tax returns of 1379 and as twenty-four of the forty-nine artisans and tradesmen listed were engaged in some branch of the cloth industry. Turning to the records, then, we find that in 1379 there were five "websters" in Wakefield, two of them women, and that in 1395-96<sup>134</sup> there were seven, one of them a woman.<sup>135</sup> Urge any incompleteness in these records which you will, you cannot infer from them a town of any size. The whole period suggested by Professor Gayley, c.1375-1400, must, I feel sure, be given up.<sup>136</sup>

What, then, of Mr. Pollard's dating in the reign of Henry IV, 1400-1415? Unfortunately, there are no aulneger's accounts for these years to help us,<sup>137</sup> but we are not thereby left without a basis for judgment. In the first place, Mr. Pollard's arguments are, upon scrutiny, far from convincing.<sup>138</sup> For example, though there is in the plays "rather learned talk about music," involving terms new in the fourteenth century,<sup>139</sup> I see no reason for assuming, with Mr. Pollard, that such allusions date from early in the history of the use of the new terms. They would appear more likely at a later time when the knowledge of them might be supposed to be more disseminated among the poet's audience in western Yorkshire.<sup>140</sup> Likewise I do not see why the gift of a tennis ball to the

<sup>134</sup> Herbert Heaton, in his *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries*, pp. 69-72, dates the three aulneger's accounts each one year late. He also gives in error the total cloths reported from Wakefield in the second report as 173½. The report shows: Emma Earl, 48, Roger Presaw, 26; John Kent, 24; Richard Burbrigg, 30; William Bate, 16; Thomas Kendalle, 30, Henry Draper, 29; Total, 203 (Exch. K. R. Accounts, bundle no. 345, Package no. 17).

<sup>135</sup> *Yorks. Arch. and Tp. Journal.*, vi, 150 ff. The number of weavers seems to be a better index to the size of the town than the number of cloths taxed. In the first account, 1394-95, the total of cloths listed from Wakefield, Leeds, and Doncaster was 87; in the second, 1395-96, the number from Wakefield alone was 203, in the third, 1396-97, for those named in the previous account, there was the following astonishing falling off in the number of cloths taxed: Emma Earl, 48 to 8; Roger Presaw, 26 to 10; John Kent, 24 to 6; and Thomas Kendalle, 30 to 2 (*ibid.*). The names of Burbrigg, Bate, and Draper do not appear; this may not be of significance if the list of the previous year listed under the names Wakefield and Leeds "The whole district containing Bradford, Halifax, and Huddersfield; in fact, the whole of the county today engaged in the manufacture of woollen cloth" as Mr. Heaton thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 71). Mr. J. W. Walker gives evidence in rebuttal of this view in Chapter XXI of his forthcoming *History of Wakefield*.

<sup>136</sup> It may be added that Professor Gayley's use of the Tyler Rebellion as a means of dating falls in view of the fact that this Rebellion did not affect the district about Wakefield. See *Vict. Hist. Co. Yorks.*, iii, 442.

<sup>137</sup> The next account is dated 1468. Mr. Heaton suggests that the aulnege was "farmed out" during the interim (*op. cit.*, p. 72).

<sup>138</sup> For Mr. Pollard's arguments used see *EETS*, *ES*, lxxi, xxvi-xxvii and notes to these.

<sup>139</sup> See Hope Traver, "The Relations of the Musical Terms in the Woodkirk Shepherd Plays to the Date of Their Composition," *MLN*, xx, 1 ff.

<sup>140</sup> Probably the proximity of Nostel Priory accelerated the spread of the knowledge of music about Wakefield, but hardly at the rate called for by Mr. Pollard's theory.

Christ child in both Shepherd plays implies a writing in the fourteenth or early fifteenth century because the game was then new. It seems to me that a shepherd in the fields about Wakefield would be much more likely to think of such a gift—and have a tennis ball upon his person to be used as such a gift—when the game was much further on the way to its hey-day in the sixteenth century than Mr. Pollard's argument assumes.<sup>141</sup>

Equally undecisive seems to me his argument based upon the "complaints" of the shepherds in the *Prima* and the *Secunda Pastorum*, complaints involving cold and frost, storm and flood, sheep rot, taxation, oppression by the "higher ups", and hard times in general. As the verification of such conditions in western Yorkshire at a given period is no longer possible, the postulation of them by Mr. Pollard depends, of course, upon his knowledge of conditions in England at large. Yet all the conditions listed above are postulated for England at large by contemporary chronicles as marking certain years in the single reign of Henry VI.<sup>142</sup> They can thus have no probative value for the earlier reign of Henry IV.

Mr. Pollard's final argument is that "In a writer so full of allusions, the absence of any reference to fighting tends . . . to show that the plays were not written during the war with France" and thus are suited "to the reign of Henry IV."<sup>143</sup> There was, of course, no war with France during this monarch's reign, but would it not be passing strange that an author writing in western Yorkshire at the time, if given to allusions as our author most certainly was, should have nothing to say of the incarceration of Richard II in Pomfret Castle and his death there in 1400, and that he should in no way have reflected the uprising of Glendower, Mortimer, and Northumberland in 1404-5 with the subsequent beheading of Richard le Scroop, Archbishop of York, beloved of the people of Yorkshire as no other bishop of his time?<sup>144</sup> And these events were fol-

<sup>141</sup> Here again the influence of Nostel was probably felt. Mr. Robert W. Henderson, Librarian of the Raquet and Tennis Club of New York City, in a kind reply to a letter wrote me that priests, in the Middle Ages, "were undoubtedly tennis players" (letter dated August 31, 1933). The game, however, a different game from our "lawn tennis," of course—bore at first the name *luens pilae*, (*Ency. Brit.*, sub "lawn tennis") and in extant monuments is called tennis first by Cower c 1400 (*NED*).

<sup>142</sup> In the single year 1427-28 are references to sheep rot, to floods, and to taxation, during the years 1433-35 there were heavy frosts, dearth of corn, and hard times in general (Cf. *An English Chronicle* etc., *Camden Soc.*, O.S., LXIV (1856), 55 and 62; *Collections of a London Citizen*, the so-called "Gregory's Chronicle," *Camden Soc.*, N.S., XVII (1876), 162 and 187; *A Short English Chronicle*, *Camden Soc.*, N.S., XXVIII (1880), 62. Cf. also *Fabyan's Chronicle* [London 1533], cxc, verso.)

<sup>143</sup> We are told that 20,000 Yorkshire-men had flocked to his standard (see Thomas Baines, *Yorkshire, Past and Present*, II, 547-548), and that a royal edict became necessary to stop the flow of Yorkshire pilgrims to his shrine. (See William Stubbs, *Constitutional*

lowed in 1408 by the defeat of Northumberland at Bramham Moor in the West Riding, and the beheading of the Abbot of Hales at York.<sup>144</sup> Surely the absence of any allusion to these stirring local events argues strongly against the date proposed.

Not only are Mr. Pollard's arguments thus unconvincing, but, in the second place, the actual history of the period as reflected in our knowledge of the parish church further negates the reign of Henry IV as a time when the village could have supported the cycle as we now have it. That church had remained untouched since its consecration on August 10, 1329, but shortly after the turn of the century the project of building for it a bell tower was undertaken. For this purpose the parishioners were assessed "according to the rateable value of the houses" and the proper officers were instructed to collect the tax.<sup>145</sup> That the village was not yet able to finance so important an undertaking, however, may be inferred from the fact that Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, upon petition, issued a mandate June 14, 1409, "enjoyning and commanding the rebels without delay to contribute towards the work" under pain of excommunication. Clearly there were many who, as the petition set forth, "wrongfully refused to contribute according to the assessment made to the manifest prejudice and hurt of the bell tower." Despite the Bishop's threat of excommunication, however, the tower seems to have been at least unpaid for, and so unconsecrated, in 1420, for in a will dated in that year "Joan, relict of John de Thorp, mercer of Wakefield" left "13s. 4d. to the new fabric of the bell tower." This history of the church tower, then, though it shows by the mere fact of its undertaking that the village was growing, does not give us reason to believe that it was yet able to handle our cycle. Particularly does this seem true when we recall that the cycle was probably complete as to number of plays before the borrowings from York and that the Master did his work after those borrowings as is shown by the fact that he made additions to the York-derived play of the *Judicium*. I am confident, therefore, that we must decline to accept the proposed later dating of Mr. Pollard just as we have already declined to accept the earlier datings of Professor Gayley.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>144</sup> For a detailed account see Alex. D. H. Leaderman, *Yorks, Arch. Journal*, xii, 183-199.

<sup>145</sup> The history of the church is taken from galley proofs of Chapter IV of the forthcoming *History of Wakefield*, by Mr. J. W. Walker, OBE, FSA, Hon. Secy. of the Yorkshire Archeological Society. I wish here to thank Mr. Walker, not only for sending me galley sheets but also for other courtesies which made demands upon his time when he was very busy superintending his book through the press.

<sup>146</sup> For bibliographical evidence that the borrowings from York were later than 1415 see page 659 below. The facts we have presented seem to refute definitely the thesis of Miss Marie C. Lyle that the Wakefield and York cycles were originally the same. ("The original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles," in *Research Publications of the Uni-*

That Wakefield was growing during the reign of Henry IV, however, there can be no doubt. Indeed, the fact that the bell tower was built "about ten feet to the west of the church" shows, of itself, that the builders foresaw the need for an enlarged church in the not too distant future. The improvement came, finally, with the removal of the west wall and the extension of the nave to meet the tower, thus giving the added seating capacity which a growing town would need. The enlargement did not come, however, if I read the record aright, until the early years of the reign of Henry VI, when we have other evidence that Wakefield had become a prospering community. This other evidence is as follows. In the poll-tax records of 1379 we find the following entries:<sup>147</sup>

Johannes Syndale & Idonea	vxor ejus	iiij d.
Thomas Webster & Johanna	vxor ejus	vj d.
Thomas Banaster, serviens ejus		iiij d.

Forty-seven years later the following information was found in a will by the antiquarian Dodsworth:<sup>148</sup>

Finis 6 H 6 (1427-28)

XXX, 13. Between John Banestre compl<sup>t</sup> & Idonia late wife of Jo. Snyttall & Richard Snyttall, son of said Idonia, deforc<sup>t</sup>, of 2 mess, 100 acres of Land, 20 acres of meadow & xiii shillings Rent with the appurtenances in Wakefeld, Sandall, Stanley, Horbury, Osset & Allertorp, the right of John.

If this John Banastre was the son of Thomas Banaster, servant of Thomas Webster,<sup>149</sup> as seems likely, we must grant that the father had prospered and, if so, his prosperity must be looked upon as indicating the growing prosperity of his neighbors and friends in Wakefield. Finally, by the middle of the century, "in spite of the War of the Roses," as Mr. Walker puts it, the town must have become really prosperous, for at that time the chancel of the church was entirely torn down and enlarged,<sup>150</sup> the walls of the nave were pushed out to the previous line of the transepts, a north and south porch were added, and the building was otherwise changed so that it took on the form which persisted "until the additions of the twentieth century."

The logic of all these facts points clearly, I think, to the years 1422-60, that is, the years of Henry VI, as the years when the Wakefield

132-134 and W. W. Greg, *The Library*, 3d ser., v, 294 ) There also seems no reason for accepting longer Mr. Greg's statement that the borrowing from York was "presumably . . . about the middle of the second half of the fourteenth century" (*ibid.*, 293).

<sup>147</sup> *Yorks. Arch. and Tp. Journall*, vi, 150.

<sup>148</sup> *Yorkshire Notes*, Harley MS. 803, Plut. LXX, quoted from *Yorks. Arch. and Tp. Journal*, vi, 428.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. the poll-tax records of 1379.

<sup>150</sup> This work was still in progress in 1458 as shown by the will of Thomas Haukyn, wool

Master did his work, and if we narrow these years I think we must choose the later rather than the earlier ones as marking the period of the height of his powers. He must almost certainly have finished his work, however, before the War of the Roses made Wakefield and its vicinity a field of battle as it did in 1460.

The case is not all in, however, as we have another check on the testimony of the costume references. I refer to the results of bibliographical study. W. W. Greg, speaking of the plays in the Passion Group at York, says that they form the last layer in the York Cycle and "can hardly be earlier than 1400."<sup>151</sup> This is interesting, but Miss Lyle goes further when she calls attention to the fact that this group of plays probably underwent revision after 1415. She points out that Burton, in his famous "list" of the York plays, 1415, omits all reference to characters and events in the Passion Group so far as they were derived from the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, she finds the *Harrowing of Hell* in the "Register"<sup>153</sup> so different from his description of it that she does not hesitate to say, "Obviously this description refers to another play."<sup>152</sup> Yet it is just this late version of the York play which was borrowed by Wakefield. Moreover, the Towneley *Ascencio*, also borrowed from York, includes the part of the Centurian, a part in the present York play in the "Register" but a part not mentioned by Burton in his description of the play.<sup>154</sup> Of course Burton may have failed of a full description, but this possibility becomes very slight indeed when we recall that in every case where his description of a play differs from the plays as we have them in the "Register," the characters and situations he omits derive from the *Gospel*. Almost certainly, then, the *Gospel* influence came into the York plays after 1415 when Burton made his descriptive "list" of the plays.<sup>155</sup> The necessary corollary to this conclusion is that the

<sup>151</sup> *The Library*, 3d ser., v, 291.

<sup>152</sup> *The original Identity* etc., Chap. II.

<sup>153</sup> Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith, *The York Mystery Plays* (Oxon., 1885). She reprints Burton's "list," xix-xxvii.

<sup>154</sup> Miss Lyle, forced to see the import of these facts, negating as they do her thesis that the York and Towneley plays were originally the same, resorts to some queer logic in rebuttal. She writes: "The discrepancy in the two cycles of the division into separate plays, however, makes it seem probable that the separation took place before 1415. There is reason to believe that Burton's list represents the true situation as it existed in 1415 only in regard to the separation of plays and their assignment to crafts, but that in many cases the description given the characters and chief events refers to a situation existing at an earlier period" (*op. cit.*, p. 31, n. 6). Her position regarding the separation of the cycles is sufficiently refuted by this study. Her final assertion will not bear the test of logic. It but represents a "reason to believe" which she must have or give up her thesis.

<sup>155</sup> I am aware that Miss Grace Clark thinks the influence of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* was felt upon the York plays between 1400 and 1415 (*PMLA*, XLIII, 154 ff.). Her judgment, however, is based on very doubtful evidence. Of the five plays concerned she herself admits that one, Play XXXIX, is ambiguous in its lack of evidence, and that two others,

Towneley borrowings of these York plays were made later than 1415, the date of Burton's entries in the *York Menorandum Book*, and such conclusion clears up as by magic the question before us. It shows that by the time of Henry V, 1413-22, there was in Wakefield a well-developed cycle of plays, that, probably late in his reign, the guilds or masters or town authorities borrowed from York the plays of the Passion Group showing the influence of the *Gospel of Matthew*, probably new in the York plays after 1415; and, finally, that in the reign of Henry VI, 1422-60, the Wakefield Master appeared, wrote the additions to the *Judicium* which we found so important for their costume references, probably experimented with the *Master's Bible*, interpreted passages in many other plays, rewrote entirely, in his favorite stanza, four plays, and finally produced the masterpiece of all extant mediæval dramatic writing, the *Secunda Pastorum*.<sup>156</sup>

Thus, by evidence which totally disregards matters of costume, we have twice arrived at the same dates as those indicated to us by the costume allusions. The "langett," the "tabard," the horned head-dress, the "prankyng gownes" with "shulders vp set, mos and flukys seruyd wyth in," the coppiece and the puffed out froglike torso tell the same story as does historical investigation and bibliographical study. The combined evidence, I believe, must be looked upon as definitive. I see no escape from the conclusion, therefore, that the Wakefield Master did his work upon our cycle entirely within the reign of Henry VI—more specifically, within the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

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Burton's evidence rests, then, upon the evidence contained in Plays XXXVI and XXXVII. In the first of these she thinks the "showing of the good and evil spirits" in clerdy in the "Register" is alluded to by Burton in his words "boni et mali spiritus habetis cum vestris," and in the second she feels that Burton is not wholly clear about the infant play. In both cases, however, her judgment is based upon a personal interpretation of the very evidence which Miss Lyle interprets to an opposite conclusion. She may be right as to Play XXXVI with Burton's reference to "veralls," but her contention that Burton's "(vi) boni et vi mali" in the *Harrowing of Hell* refers to "seven spirits of the dead and five devils" scarce carries conviction. Particularly is this so when we discover that such interpretation violates Burton's otherwise unbroken practice of listing characters by name when they are given names in the corresponding play in the "Register," and that, when he does use the terms "good and evil spirits" elsewhere, in describing Play XXXVI, the ascription is correct. At most, then, Miss Clark seems to have shown but the possibility that the influence of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* began to be felt before Burton made his list in 1415. Even were we to accept her argument, however, I believe my case would stand.

<sup>156</sup> This resumé is based upon his work in the nine-line stanza. It is the judgment of the writer that there is almost certain evidence of his hand in plays in other verse forms. The temptation is strong to suggest that it was the Master who received a fee for playing at York in 1446.

NATHANIEL WOOD'S *CONFLICT OF CONSCIENCE*

THE *Conflict of Conscience*, a morality play by Nathaniel Wood,<sup>1</sup> was printed in London, 1581, in a Philobibler quarto. This is the only known edition of the work, it appeared, however, in two issues. The first of these gives the name of "Francis Spiera" on the title-page and in the Prologue, and at the end of the piece the Nuntius announces that Philologus, the character representing the Italian, Francesco Spiera, had committed suicide. The second issue does not mention the name of the historical prototype of the chief character in the drama, and in it the Nuntius announces that Philologus had been reconverted to Protestantism before his death.<sup>2</sup>

So far as records go, *The Conflict of Conscience* was never acted. The arrangement of the characters on the title-page so that six actors could give a presentation of the piece "in private houses, or otherwise" seems to indicate that the author intended his work to be acted. As this arrangement is an accurate one, it needs must have been made by the author, or at least by someone very well acquainted with the play. In Act iv, scene i, the character Avarice is carefully made to leave the stage in order that he may later take the part of Sensual Suggestion.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, there are specific stage directions in at least four instances.<sup>4</sup> Also, the Prologue speaks of the auditors,<sup>5</sup> and Hypocrisy in two instances and perhaps in three addresses himself directly to his audience.<sup>6</sup> On the

<sup>1</sup> The facts that are known of the life of Nathaniel Wood or Woodes, as the name appears on the title-page of his play, are limited. The record of his matriculation as a sizar at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in Michaelmas term, 1567, constitutes the first definite information about his life. He graduated B.A. from Cambridge in the spring of 1572 and M.A. two years later. In the meantime he was ordained priest at Norwich in 1571, and in 1572 he became rector of South Walsham St. Mary's, a small parish about nine miles from Norwich. In 1583 this living was given to another, and nothing is known of Wood's whereabouts until 1594, when he was reappointed at Oxford. After that time no more information regarding him is to be found. See John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigieenses* (Cambridge, 1922), iv, 45.

<sup>2</sup> William A. Jackson, "Woodes's *Conflict of Conscience*," *LTLS* (September 7, 1933), p. 592, points out the most important variations between the two issues. W. W. Greg in a later issue of *LTLS* (October 26, 1933), p. 732, corrects a bibliographical inaccuracy of Mr. Jackson's.

<sup>3</sup> *The Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. F i verso.—This reference and all references to the play, unless otherwise stated, are made to the facsimile reproduction of a British Museum copy of *The Conflict of Conscience* in the "Tudor Facsimile Texts."

<sup>4</sup> Two of these are on Sig. B ii verso, the remaining two are on Sig. C ii verso and Sig. D ii recto.

<sup>5</sup> Both issues, Sig. A ii verso.

<sup>6</sup> The unmistakable examples of this are in Act II, scene i (Sig. B ii verso) and in Act v, scene iii (Sig. H i verso), while the more doubtful example is at the beginning of Act iv, scene i (Sig. E i verso).



other hand, the numerous asides found in Act II, scenes ii and iii, and in Act III, scene iii, raise a question about the feasibility of acting the play. These asides are not incorporated into the stanza form, which is rhyme royal, nor does there, as a rule, seem to have been provision made for them by means of any pause in the stanza.<sup>7</sup> They simply appear in the margin parallel to the speeches about which they are comments. In spite of this curious arrangement, it seems a not unreasonable assumption that Wood intended his play for presentation. Whether or not it ever really was acted cannot be determined.

The date of composition cannot have been earlier than 1548, when the events upon which the plot of the play is based occurred, nor later than 1581, when the play was printed. The exact source of the play did not appear until after 1550.<sup>8</sup> It is, furthermore, very unlikely that Nathaniel Wood, who entered Cambridge in 1567, was old enough to have written such a work before 1553, since he probably was only a few years old then; and during Queen Mary's reign, 1553-58, it is improbable that any one would have written a work so definitely anti-Catholic. The work, then, was not written before Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne. Nor were the events of the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign likely to call forth such a play as *The Conflict of Conscience*, for during the first few years of that reign there was uncertainty as to the status of the Catholics. There was, moreover, a decline in English Catholicism between 1560 and 1570, because the Catholics were left so without leadership that they could not publicly make a definite stand.<sup>9</sup>

About 1570, however, the situation of the Catholics in England changed considerably. The Northern Rising of 1569, the excommunication of 1570, the coming of the first Catholic missionaries in 1574, the menace of Mary, Queen of Scots—all contributed to the rise of a pronounced opposition. This showed itself after a time not only in laws against the Catholics, but in anti-Catholic literature written and published during the seventies and the eighties. Many of the works were ballads which came out soon after 1570 in protest against the events of that year.<sup>10</sup> Besides the ballads a considerable number of tracts were

<sup>7</sup> The difficulty of acting a play with asides arranged in this fashion was pointed out to me by Professor Charles Read Baskervill A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (London, 1899), I, 139, considers the use of the seven-line stanza to be evidence that the play was hardly intended for presentation. But a considerable number of the early plays were written in the seven-line stanza.

<sup>8</sup> See below pp. 670-672, where I have attempted to show that Wood used a specific version of the life of Spiera.

<sup>9</sup> A. O. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, translated by J. R. McKee (London, 1916), pp. 68-70.

<sup>10</sup> Such a ballad is Thomas Knell, *An Answer at large, to a most hereticall, trayterous, Papisticall Byll*, . . . (London, 1570), reprinted in Northampton, 1881, by John Taylor.

written and published against the Catholics.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, some of the dramas printed during this period are strongly anti-Catholic.<sup>12</sup> New translations were made of anti-Catholic works which had been published earlier in some language other than English,<sup>13</sup> and new editions were issued of earlier anti-Catholic works, as about 1570 the second edition of an English account of Francesco Spiera.<sup>14</sup>

It seems altogether likely that *The Conflict of Conscience* had its place in this stream of Elizabethan anti-Catholic literature which perhaps increased in volume after 1570. Nathaniel Wood was then at Cambridge, and may have written his play while still at the university—that is, sometime before 1574—or he may have written it afterward when he presumably was in the vicinity of Norwich. In either case, he probably was stirred to a consideration of the history of Spiera as a basis for the plot of a dramatic piece by the reappearance of the English account of the unfortunate Italian. He may also have been conscious of the time-likeness of a treatment of such a theme; consequently, using the life of the Italian lawyer as the source, he wrote his play, certainly not earlier than, and probably at least a few years later than, 1570.<sup>15</sup>

In view of the fact that Nathaniel Wood on the title-page and in the Prologue of the first issue of *The Conflict of Conscience* states that his play deals with the story of Francesco Spiera,<sup>16</sup> there can be no doubt concerning the general historical source. Spiera, who was born in 1502, was a lawyer in the small town of Citadella, near Padua, Italy. When in his middle forties, he became converted to Protestant doctrines, and was so zealous in his declaration of his new faith that complaints of his heresy came to the tribunal at Venice. He and his nephew, Girolamo

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Other ballads of this type are reprinted by Joseph Lilly, *A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broad-sides* (London, 1867), pp 30–32; 33–36; 224–227. H. E. Rollins, "An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557–1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London," *SP*, xxi (1924), 14, 23, 84, 107, *passim*, has entries of ballads that obviously must have been of the type under discussion here.

<sup>11</sup> For example, Thomas Norton, *A warning against the dangerous practices of Papistes, and specially the parteners of the late Rebellion* (London, [ca. 1570]). Many of the earlier of the numerous works against the Catholics of the Puritan, William Fulke, fall in this period.

<sup>12</sup> A good example is *New Custom*, which was printed in 1573. This is reprinted in Robert Dodsley, *A Select Collection of Old English Plays* edited by W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1874–76), iii, 1–52.

<sup>13</sup> Barnaby Googe's translation of Thomas Kirchmeyer, *The popish kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist* (London, 1570) is an example. This work has been reprinted and edited by Robert Charles Hope (London, 1880).

<sup>14</sup> See below, p. 667.

<sup>15</sup> A feature of Wood's play that seems to point to the later date is the Scottish dialect chosen for the ignorant Catholic priest. This choice may have been influenced by the increasing uneasiness among English Protestants on account of Mary, Queen of Scots. See below, p. 677–678.

<sup>16</sup> This surname is sometimes spelled Spira or Spera.

Faccio, were summoned before that body. During the trial, which began May 25, 1548, Spiera's deviation from the Catholic teaching became apparent, for, among other things, it was proved that he had in his possession heretical writings. Spiera feared that he would lose his property and possibly even his life; therefore, in June he made a confession of his errors and begged for clemency. The papal legate at Venice at that time, Giovanni della Casa, Archbishop of Benevento, did not consider Spiera's confession sufficient evidence of his sincerity, but required that, besides the usual recantation in St. Mark's in Venice, he should make a public recantation in his native town. The same sentence was pronounced upon his nephew. In addition they both were required to pay a fine; Spiera paid his on July 1, while Faccio paid his in August. After this there is no more mention of Faccio.

On the way back to Citadella Spiera's conscience urged him to remain true to what he really believed, but he refused to be guided by it; and the following Sunday morning after mass, before a large group of people, he said that he formerly had erred in his beliefs and that he now was returning to the Roman church. Soon after he began to feel remorse for what he had done, and thought he heard a voice telling him that he had denied Christ and must therefore suffer eternal torture. From this time on Spiera sank into a state of despair from which he could not be aroused. After he had been in this condition some time, it was decided to remove him to Padua, where he might have the care of physicians as well as the aid of learned men. When he arrived in Padua the three foremost physicians in the town were called, but after a consultation they said that they could offer no advice since they considered his mental condition to be the cause of his physical disorders.

Thereafter every effort was made to arouse Spiera from his melancholy state of mind. Every day many people came to comfort him. Among the most noted of his visitors were Pietro Paola Vergerio, Matteo Gribaldi, Henry Scrymgeour or Scrimger, and Sigismund Gelous. These men were much impressed by the seriousness of Spiera's conflict, and they made strenuous attempts to inspire in him confidence in the mercy of God. But he seemed convinced that he was a reprobate and that his sin was unpardonable; consequently, he could find no consolation in the Scriptures or in prayer, since those things were for the elect. Spiera's condition daily grew worse. He longed to die, and actually tried to commit suicide by starving himself to death. He grew more and more weak, though forced to eat some food. In November, 1548, it was decided that he should be taken back to Citadella. The morning he was to leave Padua he attempted to kill himself with a knife, but was prevented from carrying out his intention by his two sons. He died in

Citadella, December 27, 1548. The details of his death were not accurately known; it was thought that his despair had not been relieved.

Within approximately two years after Francesco Spiera's death there had been published descriptions of his apostasy and the despair that followed it by the four men already mentioned who came to see him while he was at Padua. Of these men Vergerio and Gribaldi were Italians, Scrymgeour was a Scotsman, and Gelous was a Hungarian.<sup>17</sup>

It seems to be impossible without actually comparing all the extant biographies of Francesco Spiera that were published near 1550 to form any accurate judgment as to their relationship. The most important of these works, however, was the one which bore the title:

Francisci Spierae, qui quod susceptam semel Evangelice ueritatis professionem abnegasset, damnassetque, in horrendam incidit desperationem, Historia, A quatuor summis uiris, summa fide conscripta: cum clariss uirorum Praefationibus, Caelii S. C. et Io. Calvini, et Petri Pauli Vergerii Apologia. . . . Accessit quoque Martini Borrhui, de usu, quem Spierae tum exemplum, tum doctrina afferat, iudicium . . .<sup>18</sup>

The importance of this work lay in its completeness. There were 181 pages in all, which contained: the preface by Celio Secondo Curione,<sup>19</sup> six letters written by an anonymous Paduan—really Pietro Paolo Vergerio—translated by Curione (pp. 1–32), the epistle of Matteo Gribaldi (pp. 33–56); a preface by John Calvin (pp. 57–61); a history by Henry Scrymgeour (pp. 62–95); a history by Sigismund Gelous (pp. 96–124), the apology of Pietro Paolo Vergerio relative to the case of Spiera, translated out of Italian by Francis Nigro Bassianate (pp. 125–144), the opinion of Martin Borrhau,<sup>20</sup> from which it appears that he was the editor of the whole collection; and finally an index to the volume.<sup>21</sup>

Some of the various accounts that made up this collected work were published separately just before and just after its publication. For example, there was an Italian history by Vergerio; there was a Latin version of Vergerio's history;<sup>22</sup> there was the Latin narrative written by

<sup>17</sup> Brief accounts of these men may be found as follows *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (New York and London, 1912), xii, 164–165, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1817), xviii, 472–473; *DNB* (London, 1885–1900), LI, 150–151; *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers allgemeinem Gelehrten-Lexikon* von Johann Christoph Adelung (Leipzig, 1787), II, 1389.

<sup>18</sup> *Corpus Reformatorum* (Brunswick, 1870), xxxvii, lxx, gives the title as above. Emilio Comba, *I Nostri Protestanti* (Florence, 1897) II, 260, note, gives the place and the date as Basel, 1550. The *British Museum Catalogue*, under C. S. Curio, lists a title very like this, but the place and the date supplied are [Geneva? 1550?].

<sup>19</sup> Curione (1503–69), an Italian Protestant, was professor of rhetoric in Basel.

<sup>20</sup> Borrhau (1499–1564), a German Protestant, was professor of theology in Basel.

<sup>21</sup> *Corpus Reformatorum*, xxxvii, lxx–lxxi.

<sup>22</sup> *British Museum Catalogue* under P. P. Vergerio.

Henry Scrymgeour; finally there was an anonymous Latin history of 1549.<sup>23</sup> Of the early German descriptions of Spiera's desperation one is based upon the last mentioned Latin work; the other one, like the first one, is dated 1549.<sup>24</sup> There also was an early English version of Matteo Gribaldi's description of Spiera's apostasy. This bore the title:

A notable and marvellous epistle of the famous Doctour Mathewe Gribalde, professor of law in the universitie of Padua cōcerning the terrible iudgement of God, upon hym that for feare of men denieth Christ, and the knowne veritie. with a Preface of Doctor Caluine. Translated out of Latin intoo English by E. A. Worcester [Printed by John Osmen.] 1550.<sup>25</sup>

That Edward Aglionby made the translation into English is clear from the acrostic in "An Epigram of the terrible example of one Francis Spera an Italian, of whom this book is compiled."<sup>26</sup> Aglionby was a recorder of Warwick and was a figure of some importance during the middle years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.<sup>27</sup>

These early accounts of the fate of Francesco Spiera by men of some prominence in the Protestant world must have been a considerable factor in producing the great vogue that the tale seems to have had all over Europe. At least two of the four men who wrote accounts of their experiences with Spiera attributed their final decisions in favor of Protestant doctrines to the impressions made upon them by Spiera's miserable condition. These two were Vergerio and Scrymgeour. The Protestants considered the story of Spiera a prime example of the fate likely to overtake a person who, having once had the truth of the Protestant doctrines revealed to him, turned his back on that truth because of worldly considerations. Spiera was soon reported to have committed suicide, although the early narratives did not give warrant for such a report. The vogue of the story was probably also enhanced by the appeal that the sin of despair resulting in suicide—really the unpardonable sin, the sin against the Holy Ghost, since hope of repentance and ultimate salvation were thereby cut off—had to the sixteenth-century mind.<sup>28</sup> The vogue of the story did not, however, end with the sixteenth century, but continued through the following centuries.

<sup>23</sup> *British Museum Catalogue* under F. Spira

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>25</sup> This title is taken from Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (Boston and New York, 1916), p. 253. A copy of this edition of Gribaldi's work in English is to be found in the Bodleian Library. The *Catalogus Librorum Impressorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi* (Oxford, 1843), II, 200, does not give the place where the work was printed nor the printer.

<sup>26</sup> Scott, *Elizabethan Translations*, p. 254.

<sup>27</sup> *DNB*, I, 176-177.

<sup>28</sup> F. I. Carpenter, "Spenser's Cave of Despair," *MLN*, XII (1897), 257-273. Literary treatments of the theme of despair occur in Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, Book I, canto ix, and in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, notably scenes v, vi, xi, xiii, xiv.

Evidence for this great vogue is found, first of all, in the new editions that appeared of the early biographies of Spiera and in the new notices of him that also appeared.<sup>29</sup> Another edition of the early volume of collected writings regarding Spiera was brought out at Tübingen in 1558.<sup>30</sup> Comparatively brief notices were incorporated in such Latin works as Sleidan's *Chronicle* and Peter Martyr's *Common Places*. In addition there were at least two more sixteenth-century accounts in German, other than those already mentioned,<sup>31</sup> and there were later narrations of the story of Francesco Spiera in German.<sup>32</sup> The publication of a biography of him in French does not seem to have occurred very early as compared with the appearance of such works in other countries, but there was a brief notice in Simon Goulart's *Histoires admirables et memorables de nostre temps*, the first part of which was published in 1600, and there were at least two seventeenth-century accounts of Spiera.<sup>33</sup>

In England also there is ample evidence in the appearance of histories of Spiera's case for the vogue of the story there. The early translation of Gribaldi's story came out in a second edition; the title-page reads:

A notable and marueilous Epistle of the famous Doctour, Matthewe Gribalde, Professor of the Lawe, in the Vniuersitie of Padua: cōcernyng the terrible iudgement of God, vpon hym that for feare of men, denieth Christ and the knowne veritie: with a Preface of Doctor Caluine. Now newly imprinted, with a godly and wholesome preseruative against desperation, at all tymes necessarie for the soule: chiefly to be vsed when the deuill dooeth assaulte vs moste fiercely, and death approacheth nighest . . . Imprinted at London, By Henry Denham, for William Norton.<sup>34</sup>

The date usually given for this work is about 1570, a conjecture which is based on the fact that the work was entered in the Stationers' Register between July 22, 1569, and July 22, 1570.<sup>35</sup> The *Godly and Wholesome Preservative against Desperation*, printed with this second edition, had appeared independent of *A notable and marueilous Epistle* in two earlier editions, one in 1551, another in 1559.<sup>36</sup> The author of this tract is not known. Yet a third edition of *A notable and marueilous Epistle* has been

<sup>29</sup> The following list of works that dealt with Spiera's life is by no means complete. It is drawn up chiefly as evidence of the widespread popularity of the story.

<sup>30</sup> Comba, *I Nostri Protestanti*, II, 261, note.

<sup>31</sup> Jean George Théodore Graesse, *Trésor de Livres rares et précieux* (Dresden, 1865), VI, 468; *British Museum Catalogue* under F. Spira.

<sup>32</sup> For example, C. L. Roth, *Francesco Spiera's Lebensende* (Nuremberg, 1829).

<sup>33</sup> *British Museum Catalogue* under F. Spira.

<sup>34</sup> This title is taken from a rotograph of the British Museum copy.

<sup>35</sup> Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.* (London, 1875), I, 408.

<sup>36</sup> *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books* edited by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (London, 1926), nos. 20204 and 20205.

recorded as having been printed at London "by Jhon Kyngston for Willyam Norton, 1582,"<sup>37</sup> but the present existence of this edition can not be very well substantiated.<sup>38</sup> Other sixteenth-century works in English which carried notices of Francesco Spiera were the translations of two Latin works already mentioned, Sleidan's *Chronicle* and Peter Martyr's *Common Places*, the dates of these translations being 1560 and 1583 respectively. Thomas Lanquet's *Chronicle*, 1565, also contained a brief notice. It is interesting to note that in no one of these versions of the story was Spiera said to have committed suicide.

An additional translation into English of a foreign work was that of Simon Goulart's work, the French title of which has been given, by Edward Grimestone. The English title of this work is *Admirable and Memorable Histories containing the wonders of our times*.<sup>39</sup> It has in it a section devoted to the description of various "Desperate Persons."<sup>40</sup> These persons are described as having become so desperate by thinking over their past sins that they come to doubt the efficacy of God's mercy. Among these stories appears that of Francesco Spiera. The source for the statements made about him is given as "a discourse published by Maister Henrie Scringer, a learned lawyer, who was then at Padoua, did see and many times talke with this poore Spiera."<sup>41</sup> In some places the narrative in Goulart's work is in the first person singular, as if it were a verbal translation of Scrymgeour's discourse.

By far the most important version in English of the circumstances attending Spiera's apostasy and death is that of Nathaniel Bacon, whose work came out in London, 1638, bearing the title, *A Relation of the fearfull Estate of Francis Spira* in the yeare 1548.<sup>42</sup> This work went through a number of editions, the last of which appeared in 1845. There was also a translation of the work into Welsh.<sup>43</sup> In Nathaniel Bacon's preface to his work he intimated that he had used as his sources all of the early narratives by eye-witnesses of Spiera's conflict. He apparently knew of the sixteenth-century translation of Gribaldi's sketch, for he wrote:

<sup>37</sup> W. T. Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, edited by H. G. Bohn (London, 1871), II, 945. It is also described in Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* edited by T. F. Dibdin (London, 1819), IV, 481-482. Dibdin notes that the description comes from Herbert's manuscript memoranda.

<sup>38</sup> There is no record of this third edition in the *Short-Title Catalogue*.

<sup>39</sup> The first edition, London, 1607, is the edition I have used.

<sup>40</sup> Pp. 185-198.

<sup>41</sup> Goulart, *Admirable and Memorable Histories*, p. 196.

<sup>42</sup> The *British Museum Catalogue*, under F. Spira, supplies the date 1637 in brackets. I have not seen a copy of the first edition but have used the second edition which has the title: *A Relation of the Fearefull Estate of Francis Spira, in the yeare, 1548* (London, 1640).

<sup>43</sup> The dates of the various editions (*British Museum Catalogue*, under F. Spira) were: 1638 [1637], 1640, 1665, 1683, 1688, 1715, 1718, 1734, 1770, 1784, 1815, 1845. That of 1815 seems to have been an abridgement of Bacon's history. The title and approximate date of the Welsh translation are also given.

I acknowledge that there hath beene formerly a Booke published in our Mother tongue, concerning this subject, but as farre as I can learne (for I could never yet obtaine to see any of them) it was nothing so large and various as this present Treatise, and as I have heard, a translation of onely one of the Tractates, from whence I had gathered this present Discourse in part.<sup>44</sup>

The many editions of English works about Francesco Spiera attest the vogue of his story, but there is further proof of that vogue in the incidental references that were made to him in letters and in sermons, as well as in works of a more formal nature. Usually his story is held up as a warning against apostasy, as an illustration of a person who has committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. He is named in sermons along with other persons notorious for similar sins—such persons as Lot's wife, Pharaoh, Judas Iscariot, Nero, and Julian the Apostate.

*The Conflict of Conscience* was not the only literary treatment of the theme of Francesco Spiera's apostasy and despair. There were, notably, two other plays. The earlier was an obscure German play, written by an equally obscure Johannes Reinhard, bearing the title: *Eine wunderliche Geschichte, Francisci Spierae, wie er inn Verzweyflung kommen, vnd in der selbigen gestorben sey*. It was printed by Johannes Daubman at Königsberg in 1561.<sup>45</sup> This dramatic piece probably had no connection whatever with Wood's treatment of the same theme. Furthermore, the German work was even more mechanical and wooden than the English work. Reinhard made use of conventional dramatic motifs, one of which is the bringing of infernal spirits into the action. He assigned to the character of Spiera tedious speeches, whether he was discussing the theological problem of good works or giving expression to his repentance.<sup>46</sup> The second play was a French tragedy, *Francois Spera, ou le Désespoir*, printed in 1608.<sup>47</sup> The author is unknown, but the dedication is signed I.D.C.G. and is made to Claude Boucart, at one time professor of philosophy at Lausanne.<sup>48</sup> The tragedy is in verse and in five acts with choruses and no scene-division. Its plot seems to be a faithful reproduction of the story of Spiera in its essential features. Like the German play, this work seems to have no connection with *The Conflict of Conscience*, and to be of little merit, for it is described as a work "*qui est des plus mauvais*."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *A Relation of Francis Spira*, Sig. A 3 recto.

<sup>45</sup> I have relied upon Karl Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Dresden, 1886), II, 393, for the title and the facts regarding the publication of this work.

<sup>46</sup> Wilhelm Creizenach, *Geschichte des neuen Dramas* (Halle a.S., 1923), III, 326-327, gives the best discussion of this play that I have found.

<sup>47</sup> There seems to be question regarding the place where this work was printed. The *British Museum Catalogue*, under G., I D.C., gives the place as [Paris?], while Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire* (Paris, 1865), VI, 899, gives it (Genève).

<sup>48</sup> Louis César de la Baume Le Blanc, *duc de La Vallière, Bibliothèque du Théâtre français* (Dresden, 1768), I, 418-419, gives the best description of this tragedy. <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 418.



In England there probably was a ballad which dealt with the story of Francesco Spiera, for in the Stationers' Register under the date of June 15, 1587, John Charlewood is listed as having paid four pence "for printinge *A ballad of master FFRAUNCIS an Italian a Doctor of Lawe who denied the lord JESUS &c.*"<sup>50</sup> This ballad seems not to have survived.

The subject of Francesco Spiera's despair was still live enough to inspire a poetic treatment of it by a miscellaneous writer of the latter half of the nineteenth century, James Hain Friswell.<sup>51</sup> Among Friswell's many publications was a volume, printed in London, 1865, bearing the title *Francis Spira, and other poems*.

Obviously Wood could have got the outline of the story from many sources: he could have used Latin, Italian, and German tracts, he could have pieced his play together from all the various narratives concerning Spiera that were available to him. He seems, however, to have done the simplest thing he could, to have used one version of the history of Spiera; namely, the English translation of Gribaldi's work made by Aglionby and called *A notable and marueilous Epistle*. Two editions of this work, of 1550 and about 1570, had appeared before the publication of Wood's play in 1581. Although it cannot be definitely proved that Wood used the second edition of about 1570, he is more likely to have used that one, since it came out while he was a student at Cambridge.

That Wood did use *A notable and marueilous Epistle* can be seen from the verbal parallels between the two works. These are very close in spite of the fact that it is in prose, while *The Conflict of Conscience* is in rhyme royal. Two brief parallels will suffice.

*The Conflict of Conscience*

But it as easely may be done, as you  
may with one spoone,  
At once take vp the water cleane,  
which in the seas abide:  
And at one draught, then drink it vp,  
this shall ye doe as soone,  
As to my brest of true beleefe, one  
sparkle shall betide:

Tush, you which are in prosperous  
state, & my paines haue not tried  
Doe think it but an easy thing, a sin-  
ner to repent  
Him of his sinnes, and by true faith,  
damnation to preuent.

*A notable and marueilous Epistle*

But this is euen as possible as to  
take the whole water of the sea, in one  
spoon, and to drinke it vppe at a  
draughte. . . .

You that are in blessed estate suppose  
thys an easie thing to be done, that a  
sinner reknowledging his fault, may  
lift vp himselfe to hope and faith to-  
wards God, and therefore ye exhort  
me, for as much as ye see me re-

<sup>50</sup> Arber, *Stationers' Register*, II, 472.

<sup>51</sup> *DNB*, XX, 277-278.

The healthfull neede not Phisicks  
 art, and ye which are all haile,  
 Can giue good counsell to the sick,  
 their sicknesse to eschew;  
 But here alas, confusion, and hell,  
 doth mee assaile,  
 And that all grace, from me is reft, I  
 finde it to be true.  
 My heart is steele, so that no faith,  
 can from the same insue.  
 I can conceiue no hope at all, of pardon  
 or of grace,  
 But out alas, Confusion is alway be-  
 fore my face. (Sig. I i recto)

I pray you answer me herein, where  
 you by deepe dispaire,  
 Say, you are worse here in this lyfe,  
 then if you were in hell,  
 And for because to haue death come,  
 you alway make your prayer,  
 As though your soule and body both,  
 in torments great did dwell:  
 If that a man should giue to you a  
 sword, I pray you tell,  
 Would you destroy your selfe there  
 with? as doe the desperate,  
 Which hange or kill, or into fouds,  
 themselues precipitate.

Philologus.

Giue me a sworde, then shall you  
 know, what is in mine intent.

Eusebius.

Not so my friend, I onely aske, what  
 heerein were your will?

Philologus.

I cannot, neither will I tell, wherto I  
 would be bent. (Sig. I iii recto)

pentaunt and sorowful, that I would  
 conceiue some hope and trust to rise  
 againe: The helthfull hath no neede of  
 a Phisition: and he that is whole, can  
 soon giue counsell to the sicke. But  
 herein an I tormented: this is my hel,  
 this is my confusion and desperation,  
 that I knowe all / grace to be taken  
 from me, that I feele my heart hard-  
 ened, that I can not beleue nor hope  
 any thing at all of the atonement and  
 mercie of God.

(Sig. B v recto-verso)

Maister Frauncis, I praye you aun-  
 swere me. for as much as through vtter  
 desperation, ye saye, that in this lyfe  
 ye are worse, than if ye were with the  
 dāpned folke in hell: and for as much  
 as I see you cōtinually to wish for  
 death, that ye might go to hell, as  
 though now, / bothe your body and  
 soule were in more painefull torment,  
 as yee doe opely wytnesse. I demaūd  
 of you, if ye had a sworde in your  
 hande: would ye kyll your selfe (as all  
 desperate persones for the moste part  
 doe) that haue sticked themselues with  
 weapon, or strangled themselues by  
 hanging. Then saide he, giue me a  
 sworde, and ye shalt see what I will  
 doe. Nay (sayde I) I doe but desire you  
 to shewe vs your will: I can not tell  
 (saide he) neyther can I saye what my  
 will thē should be.

(Sig. C ii recto-verso)

There are many other passages in *The Conflict of Conscience* that can be  
 shown to have been taken almost directly from this source.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Other parallels may be found as follows:

*Conflict of Conscience*

Sig. G ii recto-verso

Sig. H ii recto-verso

Sig. H ii verso-H iii recto

Sig. H iii verso

*A notable and marueilous Epistle*

Sig. A vi recto-verso

Sig. A vii verso

Sig. A viii recto-verso

Sig. B i

Although Nathaniel Wood used *A notable and marueilous Epistle* as the source of the main part of *The Conflict of Conscience*, more than half of the play seems not to have a definite source. Gribaldi's work has not even a suggestion in it for the entire first scene of Act I, and the mass of the material in the early part of the play is not found in the narratives concerning Spiera.

This material comes from what may be called conventional sources. The play teems with illustrations and passages taken from the *Bible* and with references to Biblical characters and incidents, sometimes retelling of some parable or scene,<sup>53</sup> sometimes mentioned in such a way as to suggest the details of the stories.<sup>54</sup> Often in this first part of the play there are woven into the text verses from the *Bible*, altered very little in order to fit the stanza.<sup>55</sup> There appear also fairly exact references to various books of the *Bible*, as sources either of statements made or of additional material on the subject being discussed.<sup>56</sup> It is quite probable that in many cases Wood did not go directly to the *Bible*; he merely used texts that had already been rephrased in discussions of various theological and ethical problems. Very probably he did not have any one discussion in mind; he merely made the usual explanations of perplexing questions, and for such he would not need an exact source.

That Wood's themes and treatment of them are the usual ones can be seen by a comparison of passages from his work with passages from

Sig. H iii verso—H iv recto  
 Sig. H iv recto  
 Sig. H iv verso  
 Sig. H iv verso  
 Sig. H iv verso—I i recto  
 Sig. I i recto  
 Sig. I i verso  
 Sig. I i verso  
 Sig. I ii recto  
 Sig. I ii recto-verso  
 Sig. I ii verso  
 Sig. I ii verso  
 Sig. I iii recto  
 Sig. I iii verso  
 Sig. I iii verso  
 Sig. I iv recto

Sig. B i verso  
 Sig. B ii recto  
 Sig. B ii verso  
 Sig. B iv recto  
 Sig. B iv verso  
 Sig. B iii verso  
 Sig. B vi recto-verso  
 Sig. B vi verso—B vii recto  
 Sig. B vii recto-verso  
 Sig. B vii verso—B viii recto  
 Sig. B viii verso  
 Sig. B viii verso—C i recto  
 Sig. C i recto-verso  
 Sig. C ii verso—C iii recto  
 Sig. B ii verso  
 Sig. B v verso

I have already briefly pointed out Wood's dependence upon *A notable and marueilous Epistle* in a letter in *LTLS* (November 23, 1933), p. 840.

<sup>53</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. A iii recto and Sig. B ii recto.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Sig. B i recto; the whole page is dotted with names of Biblical characters.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Sig. B ii recto, where Romans 5 · 3-4 is quoted, and Sig. F iii verso, where Matthew 10:28 is the verse that is quoted.

<sup>56</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. A iv recto, B i recto, and B ii verso.

other writings of the period. In *The Conflict of Conscience*, Act 1, scene ii, Mathetes asks Philologus to discuss

The cause why God doth such afflictions sende,  
Into his Church.<sup>57</sup>

Of course the sixteenth century had no monopoly upon discussions of the question, why the righteous should suffer adversities. Interest in that problem is older than the Book of Job. But the people of the sixteenth century lived in troublous times, and many who attempted to exemplify in their lives what they thought to be truth and righteousness were called upon to suffer hardships on that account, so that it is not to be wondered at that frequent efforts were made to draw up reasonable explanations of God's affliction of the righteous. Sometimes these take the form of treatises dealing with it alone,<sup>58</sup> sometimes they take the form of chapters or sections of some longer work.<sup>59</sup> Philologus, in complying with the request of Mathetes, gives at least nine reasons why the righteous must suffer affliction, and then Mathetes summarizes these.<sup>60</sup> That the explanation of the question of God's purposes in afflicting the righteous which Philologus and Mathetes work out is made up of current ideas on the subject can be deduced from the fact that almost all of the reasons given in the play can be found in other works of the period. In the first place, some of the chapter headings of Coverdale's *A Spiritual and Most Precious Pearl* show that the lines of argument used are similar to those used in *The Conflict of Conscience*.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, there are passages to be found in the literature of the time which present ideas parallel to those in Wood's play.<sup>62</sup> It is possible to multiply instances of parallel ideas between *The Conflict of Conscience* and contemporary treatises on theological subjects, particularly on the questions of the supremacy of the pope and of the sacrament.

A third source of conventional material that Wood used is made up of

<sup>57</sup> Sig. A iv verso

<sup>58</sup> Miles Coverdale, "A Spiritual and Most Precious Pearl" in the *Writings and Translations of Myles Coverdale*, edited for the Parker Society by George Pearson (Cambridge, 1844), pp. 84-194.

<sup>59</sup> Roger Hutchinson, "The Image of God," Chapter XI, in *The Works of Roger Hutchinson*, edited for the Parker Society by John Bruce (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 57-60; John Marbeck, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces* (London, 1581), pp. 18-20.

<sup>60</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. B i verso-B ii recto.

<sup>61</sup> Coverdale, *Writings*, pp. 95, 116, 123, 127, 129.

<sup>62</sup> Some passages which are notably like those in *The Conflict of Conscience* are as follows: Marbeck, *A Booke of Notes and Commonplaces*, p. 19; Pietro Martire Vermigli, *The Common Places* (London, 1583), II, 366 b; John Veron, *A stronge battery against the Idolatrous inuocation of the dead Saintes* (London, 1562), fol. 5 recto; Henry Bullinger, *The tragedies of tyrants* (London, 1575), fols. 115 verso and 117 verso.

anti-Catholic works of all kinds. The sections of *The Conflict of Conscience* which seem to draw most freely on anti-Catholic literature are Act I, scene i, and Act III, scene iv. The first is a monologue of about three pages in which Satan describes his present plight and lays plans for the future. Since his domination in the world is being threatened, he must introduce measures by which it can be maintained. Satan boasts of mischief he had perpetrated in times past, and claims the pope as his son. In conclusion Satan says this son, the pope, has two champions, Avarice and Tyranny, and now a third helper is to be Hypocrisy. This whole passage is full of echoes from anti-Catholic works. Satan's plans for the overthrow of Christ's kingdom, the description of the pope as a child of Satan, and the pope's alliance with tyranny, avarice, and hypocrisy are common features of anti-Catholic treatises as well as of other anti-Catholic dramas.<sup>63</sup> As is usual in such works, avarice is considered to be the especial vice of the clergy. The Catholic priest in *The Conflict of Conscience* is conceived of as being so bent upon increasing the commercial value of his position that he wishes the sacraments might be sold to the people who, he is sure, would gladly pay thirty pence for them.<sup>64</sup> This conception of the priest is not peculiar to Wood, for the character, Lucifer, in an earlier anti-Catholic work, predicts that the clergy will not be ashamed to sell the masses for money.<sup>65</sup>

The delineation of the Catholic priest in *The Conflict of Conscience* as an exceedingly ignorant person is also owing at least in part to the anti-Catholic literature of the time. In several of Bale's works the ignorance of the Catholic priests is stressed.<sup>66</sup> A passage in Pierre Boaistuau, *Theatrum Mundi, the Theatre or rule of the world*, a translation from French, presents a Protestant conception of the Catholic priest that is similar to the character of Caconos, the priest in Wood's play.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, the Catholic priest is so often represented as a lover of ale<sup>68</sup> that it seems

<sup>63</sup> See John Bale, *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles* (London, 1561), Sig. \* ii recto, fols. 12 recto, 24 recto, 55 recto, 62 verso, *passim*; "A Comedy concerning Three Laws of Nature, Moses and Christ" and "A Tragedy of John, King of England" in *The Dramatic Writings of John Bale*, edited by J. S. Farmer (London, 1907), pp. 1-82 and 171-294; "Lusty Juventus" and "New Custom" in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, II, 41-102 and III, 1-52; and the recently discovered *Fable of Philargyrie*, printed by Robert Crowley and probably written by him, which has been published in facsimile with a short introduction by W. A. Marsden (London, 1931).

<sup>64</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. D iii verso-D iv recto.

<sup>65</sup> Bernardine Ochino, *A tragoedia, or Dialogue of the vniuste vsurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome* (London, 1549), Sig. X i verso.

<sup>66</sup> *A declaration*, fol. 20; *Three Laws*, p. 41.

<sup>67</sup> Boaistuau's work was translated by John Alday, and the first edition was published about 1566, according to the *Short-Title Catalogue*, no. 3168. The edition I used was published in London, 1581. The passage referred to is to be found on p. 115.

<sup>68</sup> Kirchmeyer, *The popish kingdome*, fol. 18 verso; Luke Shepherd, "Doctour Double Ale" in *Remains of Early Popular Poetry of England* edited by W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1866), III, 307, 311, *passim*.

reasonable to conclude that Caconos' statement, "Ay had rather han a cup af nale than a Testament,"<sup>69</sup> is a conventional Protestant idea of the extent of the ignorance and corruption of a Catholic priest. When Caconos is enlarging upon the fact that he cannot read his breviary but must depend upon the pictures for his knowledge of what is in the book, he gives a lengthy speech in which some of the saints are mentioned together with their beneficent qualities. After this speech Tyranny says,

What? this Parson, seemeth connyng to be,  
And as farre as I see, in a good vniformytie:  
Yea, he is well red, in that golden Legend.<sup>70</sup>

Caconos then explains that he gives the *Golden Legend* more credence than he gives the New Testament, for the former is authorized by the pope, while the latter is in part forbidden. This attitude of Caconos toward the *Golden Legend* is in keeping with the attitude attributed to the Catholics toward that work in anti-Catholic works.<sup>71</sup>

Furthermore, this passage shows Wood's use of another conventional source of material, the *Golden Legend*. As in the case of the *Bible*, it is very possible that Wood did not go directly to the *Golden Legend* for his material, but that it is the ultimate source is obvious from Tyranny's quick recognition of Caconos' comments as coming from that source. Moreover, a study of the lives of the saints that appear in the *Golden Legend* does in a considerable number of cases show reasons for the attribution to them of the particular beneficent qualities which Caconos gives them. This is especially notable in regard to St. Sylvester, St. George, and St. Rocke.<sup>72</sup> Since, however, not all of Caconos' statements concerning the saints are to be found in the *Golden Legend*, Wood doubtless had some source other than it, but it is fairly obvious that some of the material is very close to the *Golden Legend* and has ultimately to be traced to that source.<sup>73</sup>

There seems to have been a tendency on the part of Protestants to consider Catholics as unduly devoted to astrology.<sup>74</sup> Wood makes use of this opinion when he has Hypocrisy, who is one of the pope's helpers, give a long monologue in Act II, scene i, in which he describes the influences

<sup>69</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. D iv recto.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, verso.

<sup>71</sup> See Thomas Becon, *Prayers and Other Pieces*, edited for the Parker Society by John Ayre (Cambridge, 1844), pp. 234, 519, 535; John Jewel, *Works*, edited for the Parker Society by John Ayre (Cambridge, 1845-50), I, 265; IV, 816; James Pilkington, *Works*, edited for the Parker Society by James Scholefield (Cambridge, 1842), p. 18.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Jacobus de Varagine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, edited by F. S. Ellis (London, [1900]), II, 199-201; III, 133; V, 3.

<sup>73</sup> In Bale's *Three Laws*, pp. 19-20, there is a similar list of saints and the benefits they bestow upon men; but Bale is very obviously letting his character ridicule such ideas, while Wood intends Caconos to be seriously stating his beliefs.

<sup>74</sup> Kirchmeyer, *The popish kingdome*, fol. 44 recto-verso.

of the various planets upon the natures of those born under their signs. He is particularly explicit in his description of his own nature.<sup>75</sup> Hypocrisy's entire monologue illustrates further Wood's dependence upon conventional material which can be traced to an ultimate source. The source in this case is the encyclopedic work on medieval science by Bartholomæus Anglicus which had been translated into English by John of Trevisa in 1397. Here again it is a question whether Wood ever used the actual text of Bartholomæus, or may not more probably have used some of its ideas that were current.<sup>76</sup>

Wood also makes a considerable use of another type of conventional material—proverbs. Sometimes he incorporates into the text of his play proverbs in complete and formal statements;<sup>77</sup> sometimes he gives proverbs in their exact Latin forms and then translates them more or less elaborately; and in at least one instance he uses a Latin proverb for which he gives no translation.<sup>78</sup> On the other hand, he sometimes merely alludes to familiar proverbs or uses proverbial ideas which seem not to have taken the fixed form of proverbs.<sup>79</sup> He also uses a considerable number of proverbial expressions which are often intended to be comic.

Wood's use of proverbial literature, of astrological ideas, of saints' lore, of anti-Catholic literature, of current treatments of theological and ethical problems, and of the *Bible* shows that, where he could not depend upon his chief source, *A notable and marueilous Epistle*, his work abounds in ideas that were the common stock of many Elizabethan writers.

*The Conflict of Conscience*, although called a comedy on the title-page, was clearly intended to be a moral play, and in general shows the structure and main features of that type. The author's statement in the Prologue that comedy must not touch particularly the vices of one private man and that the law of decorum must be observed in presenting scenes of mirth is, however, an indication of classical precedent.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, the work is divided into acts and scenes, the latter usually according to the classical principle that the entrance or exit of an important character makes a new scene. Thus the drama, although a fairly late survival of the moral play, bears marks of the transition that was taking place.

On the whole Wood followed his principal source, *A notable and marueilous Epistle*, closely. His versification of it made necessary minor changes in the order of words as well as additions and omissions of words. But Wood also made some alterations not necessarily called for metri-

<sup>75</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. B iii recto.

<sup>76</sup> See Balman *vppon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum* (London, 1582), fol. 131 recto-verso (Book VIII, Chapter 27), fol. 352 verso (Book XVIII, Chapter 21).

<sup>77</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. A ii verso, C ii verso, C iv recto, D ii recto, verso, F iii verso, F iv recto, verso.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Sig. B iii verso, B iv recto, C iii recto, C iv recto.

<sup>79</sup> This is especially notable in the Prologue. <sup>80</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. A ii verso.

cally, but showing that he had a sense of discrimination. He omitted descriptive passages, tiresome repetitions, some theological discussions, some Biblical illustrations, and a few incidents, the most notable being the actual recantation of Philologus, which is narrated in the source.<sup>81</sup> If Wood omitted some parts of his source, he also added material even in the sections of the play that are close parallels to the source. Such additions are of Biblical material or are details about persons mentioned or subjects discussed. Finally he added a summary of what he considered the purpose of the whole play to be.<sup>82</sup> Occasionally he rearranged matter taken over from the source, the new order usually being more dramatic.

The most interesting use that Wood made of his source was his development of minor parts of it into larger aspects of the play. The scene in which Philologus teaches his friend Mathetes (Act I, scene ii), the trial scene (Act IV, scene i), and that which portrays the conflict between Conscience and Sensual Suggestion (Act IV, scene iii) all seem to have been developed from hints in *A notable and marueilous Epistle*.

Besides the characters Wood took over from his source, he also created characters from slight suggestions in it. Such are Mathetes, Caconos, Spirit, Conscience, Horror, and the sons of Philologus, Gisbertus and Paphinitius. Furthermore, the line which Wood followed in developing Philologus as a man fond of talk, fond of discussing serious questions, was probably prompted by John Calvin's description of Spiera in the preface to Gribaldi's narrative.<sup>83</sup> Thus Philologus is transformed from a particular Italian lawyer into a universal type. Wood also aimed to develop Theologus and Eusebius into such types, but less happily.

Most of the remaining figures in the drama are characterized conventionally. Caconos, however, is not a conventional figure, although the idea that the Catholic priests were ignorant and most of the matter of Caconos' talk have been shown to have been current in anti-Catholic literature. Nor is Caconos remarkable because he speaks in a dialect. There were earlier examples of characters who spoke in dialect, a well-known one being that of Hodge in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. But Caconos is unusual in that he speaks a dialect that is intended to be Northern, presumably Scottish.<sup>84</sup> The appearance of this dialect used by a Catholic priest is the origin of the plausible idea that Wood is intending to ridicule

<sup>81</sup> *A notable and marueilous Epistle*, Sig. A vii recto

<sup>82</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. I iii verso-I iv recto.

<sup>83</sup> *A notable and marueilous Epistle*, Sig. A iii recto.

<sup>84</sup> Eduard Eckhardt, *Die Dialekt- und Auslandertypen des alteren Englischen Dramas* (Louvain, 1910), I, 94-97, has made a study of the dialect of Caconos. His conclusions are that Wood probably intended Caconos to speak Scottish, but that Wood must have known the dialect very imperfectly, for while Scottish and Northern forms predominate, there are also many Midland forms in Caconos' dialect, as well as many that are invented.



Mary Queen of Scots.<sup>85</sup> It is, however, also possible that Wood's conception of the character of Caconos may have been suggested or at least strengthened by events in the history of the diocese of Norwich, for in 1571 Bishop Parkhurst had considerable trouble with a clergyman in his diocese who was a Northern man and who gave ample evidence of great ignorance and of leanings toward the papacy.<sup>86</sup> These characteristics are also those of Caconos; thus it seems not unreasonable that Wood, who was ordained at Norwich in 1571 and received a living near there in 1572, may have known of Parkhurst's difficulties with this clergyman and may thus have found the prototype of his Catholic priest. However that may be, Caconos seems to be the most original of Wood's characters.

Since the facts of Nathaniel Wood's life are meager, and his only known work is *The Conflict of Conscience*, it is the only evidence upon which any estimate of his ability can be based. Apparently Wood was able to recognize a good story, for the biography of Francesco Spiera does have appeal even now, and that appeal must have been much greater in the sixteenth century. Wood then tried to fit the tale into the moral play. In the story of Spiera he saw possibilities for morality figures, and developed these with some adroitness. The form was a decadent one, but it was a suitable vehicle for the dramatist's purpose, to show "which is the truth of Christ," and to teach "the wauering fayth, on which side to persist."<sup>87</sup> Wood was not without some skill in molding his source material into a morality. He carefully welded together conventional morality features and characters with his original source. He effectively carried through the play his conception of the character of Philologus. He brought in some realistic touches which lent to the whole work a little glow of life, and succeeded in giving to a few of his episodes some of the "honest mirth" promised in the Prologue. Wood nevertheless failed to bring *The Conflict of Conscience* much above a level that could have been reached by any quick-witted university man of his day. He was hampered by his theological inclinations and by the controversial nature of his subject.

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94, Louis B. Wright, "Social Aspects of some Related Moralities," *Anglia*, L.IV (1930), 114, note 1.

<sup>86</sup> John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (Oxford, 1821), II, 85-97.

<sup>87</sup> *Conflict of Conscience*, Sig. I iv recto.

THOMAS DELONEY'S EUPHUISTIC LEARNING AND  
THE FOREST

THOMAS DELONEY'S four novels are generally praised for their vigor of style and their realism. Indeed, his modern editor, Mr. F. O. Mann, in singling out for commendation "his faithful and sympathetic rendering of commonplace human life," insists that in Deloney is to be found "the highest achievement of the Elizabethan novel."<sup>1</sup> Not infrequently, however, Deloney's "commonplace human life" yields to high-flown and altogether improbable romances of earls and ladies, princes and princesses, kings and queens, just as his ordinary familiar prose style at times is embellished with all the euphuistic tricks he was capable of imitating. In particular his apparently casual references to strange birds, queer beasts, and other wonders of nature and to historical and mythological characters give a surprising air of learning; and the notes of his various editors suggest that he was acquainted with such authors as Boccaccio, Belleforest, Pliny, Sextus Empiricus, and Cornelius Nepos.<sup>2</sup>

Silk-weaver and ballad-writer, Deloney was presumably a man of meager education. His very occupation, not to mention the general inaccessibility of learned books to the laboring class, make it improbable that he was at all familiar with, say, many Latin and Italian works. But a ready and easy way to establish freely a reputation for erudition was available to all the Elizabethans, and the novelists without exception took advantage of it: by borrowing word for word from learned English compilations. The educational system and the taste of the age encouraged such borrowing, and evidently no novelist had any scruples in doing so. *Batman vppon Bartholome* (1582), not Pliny, was one of Deloney's chief guides through the jungles of natural history and euphuism (according to Nann); but another, not heretofore pointed out, was Fortescue's *The Forest*.

*The Forest or Collection of Historyes no lesse profitable, then pleasant and necessary, doone out of Frenche into English*, by Thomas Fortescue first appeared in 1571, but I have seen only the edition of 1576. Its popularity is attested by the translator's prefatory comment that it was composed "in the Spanish first, by Petrus Messia [or Pedro Mexia] a Gentleman

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Thomas Deloney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), pp. xiv, xxx.

<sup>2</sup> For example, A. F. Lange, *The Gentle Craft by Thomas Deloney, Palaestra*, xviii (1903), xxxiii, explains a reference to Iphicrates as based upon a reading of Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch; and Mann (p. 517) and W. J. Halliday, *Deloney's Gentle Craft* (Oxford, 1928), p. 94, partially duplicate his note. For the real source used by Deloney see p. 000, below.

of Siuile, and thence doon into the Italian, and last into the French by Claudius Gruget late Citizen of Paris." Somewhat amusingly, *The Forest* is listed in J. J. Jusserand's *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*<sup>3</sup> and in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*<sup>4</sup> as a collection of short stories—as fiction. To be sure *The Forest* is largely fiction, but it is not a novel or a series of tales. The compiler and the translator no doubt believed everything in the book, no matter how remarkable, to be true; and on its bountiful examples of the unusual and wonderful the Elizabethan novelists fell with delight. From it Brian Melbancke, as I shall show elsewhere, took literally dozens of classical illustrations and wonders of nature to decorate his novel *Philotimus* (1583), changing scarcely a word. From it John Lyly lifted occasional passages.<sup>5</sup> That Deloney followed suit is only to be expected. Below I give illustrations of how *The Forest* supplied him with wise saws as well as ancient and modern instances.<sup>6</sup>

## DELONEY

the Bel-weather of her flocke fancying one of the Eawes aboue the rest, and seeing *Gratis* the Shepheard abusing her in abominable sort (subuerting the law of Nature) . . . found the said Shepheard sleeping in the field, and suddenly ranne against him in such violent sort, that . . . he beat the braines out of the Shepheards head and slew him (7).

if there be a Lyon in the field, here is neuer a cocke to feare him (28).

like *Herostratus* the Shoomaker that burned the Temple of *Diana*, onely to get himself a name (30).

## FORTESCUE

the Shepheard *Cratis* . . . who beeing a sleep on a mountain . . . was slain of a male Gote, ielous of his mate (with which *Cratis* moste abhominably had subuerted the lawes of Nature (E2).<sup>7</sup>

The mightie Lyon dreadeth and feareth the Cock (Aa3).<sup>8</sup>

a lewde person considering of this so rich and so renowned a woork [i.e. Diana's Ephesian temple], desired still in hart (which he after did) to burn it, and beeing apprehended im-

<sup>3</sup> (London, 1903), p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> (New York, 1911), III, 605.

<sup>5</sup> Editing *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), R. W. Bond notes one instance (I, 249). Another is the reference to "the Vine [that] beareth three grapes" (II, 54, and see also I, 248), which came from Fortescue, sig. Dd2<sup>v</sup>. Lyly could, however, have learned about the three grapes in William Baldwin's *A treatise of Morall philosophy* (1555 [?] ed.), sig. E4, where also occur (sigs. G8<sup>v</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>-D2) Deloney's "chast-hearted *Xenocrates*" (p. 78) and his philosopher Thales (p. 250).

<sup>6</sup> The references are to Mann's edition by pages, to Fortescue's book by signatures.

<sup>7</sup> In *Philotimus* (1583), sig. 03, Melbancke likewise borrows the story of "Eratis."

<sup>8</sup> So Melbancke, sig. D4, writes: "The Lion feares the little crowing cocke."

## DELONEY

Marry . . . to see these maidens get their liuing as Bulls doe eate their meate. . . . By going still backward (33).

O . . . the huge Elephant was neuer more fearefull of the silly sheep . . . (40).

And as a certaine spring in *Arcadia* makes men to starue that drinke of it: so did poore *Benedicke*. . . . shee wisht them to rub him with the sweat of a Mule, to asswage his amorous passion,

or to fetch him some of the water in *Boetia*, to coole & extinguish the heate of his affection (48).

## FORTESCUE

mediatly vppon the fact, confest that he had for none other cause doone it, but that his fame might liue, him selfe eche where remembred, for euer of the posteritie. . . . *Strabo* and *Solinus* . . . call him *Herostratus* (Kk2<sup>v</sup>).<sup>9</sup>

This beast [the bull] feedeth contrary to all others, for in taking his repast he goeth alwaies backwardes all others of what soeuer kinde, marching stil on-wards (Q3).

The monstrous and huge Elephant . . . trembleth at the presence and sight of a Sheepe (Aa3<sup>v</sup>).

They [Solinus and others] again remember vs of an other [well] in *Arcadia*, of which who so drinketh, sterueth immediatly (S4).

*Plinie* saith that against this passion it shalbe good to take that dust or poulder, wheron a Mule hath in any place waltered or soyled her self, sprinckling or casting the same on y<sup>e</sup> amorous or as *Cardanus* wil in his book of sottleties, to rub him with y<sup>e</sup> sweat of a Mule hot & wel chafed (Dd2).

The said Authors . . . remember vs, of two other fountaines or Springs in *Boetia*. . . . Of two others also, th' one moouing and prouoking men to venery, the other drunck, cooleth and mortifieth these affections (s4).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> At sig. L2<sup>v</sup> Melbancke likewise borrows this story of "Erastus." There is some reason to believe that Deloney took it from Thomas Bowes's translation of Pierre de la Primaudaye, *The French Academie* (1586), p. 196, since his reference (p. 50), "*Artemisa* being a Heathen Lady, loued her husband so well, that shee drunke vp his ashes, and buried him in her owne bowels," seems from its wording to come from Bowes, p. 519, "*Artemisia* Queene of Caria, for the great loue she bare to hir husband that was dead, dranke all the ashes of his bodie, meanyng thereby to be his sepulchre."

<sup>10</sup> Compare Melbancke, sig. 03<sup>v</sup>: "carrie the dust about thee, wherein a mule sweating hath wallowed, or annoint thy selfe with the stale of a mule, and this thy loue will turne to hate."

## DELONEY

he . . . is now a starke foole, being by thy beauty bereft of wit, as if hee had drunk of the riuer *Cea*, & like bewitching *Circes* thou hast certainly transformed him from a man to an Asse.

There are stones in *Pontus* . . . that the deeper they be laid in the water, the fiercer they burn (48).

there is a mutuall loue in all things: the Doue and the Peacock loue intirely, so doth the Turtle and the Popiniay: the like affection the fish *Musculus* beareth vnto the huge Whale, insomuch that he leadeth him from all danger of stony rocks. . . . (95).

I would be as ready to guide thee from the dangerous rocks of my Fathers wrath, as the fish called *Musculus* is for the Whale (96).

Much more interesting is Chapter V of *Jack of Newbery*—"Of the pictures which *Iacke* of *Newbery* had in his house, whereby he encouraged his seruants to seeke for fame and dignitie"<sup>11</sup>—which is copied almost verbatim from Fortescue.<sup>12</sup> A study of the parallel passages below will show how through ignorance or intention Deloney made small changes. For example, he seems to have understood *artificer* to mean *weaver*—with disastrous results to his passage; and he resolves Mexia's doubts of the origin and occupation of Marcus Aurelius by making him a cloth-weaver. Pleasant and tactful changes both, since the novel was dedicated to the cloth-workers of England.

## DELONEY

[40] In a faire large Parlour . . . *Iacke* of *Newbery* had fiteene faire Pic-

## FORTESCUE

In the Isle of *Cea*, as recordeth *Plinie*, there was a Fountaine, of whiche, who so drank once, became foorthwith stupide and insensible, of no more feeling or wit then an Asse (T1v).

There is also in *Pontus* a riuer, in which are found certain stones that wil burn, whiche also then take o fire, when the winde is euermore greatest, and by how much the more they be couered in the Water, so much the better and sooner burne they (T1v).

many things, that secretly accorde well by the priuy instinct of nature, as of the Pecock and the Pigion, the Turtle and the Poppingaie. . . . The fish in latine called *Talpamarina*, is aboue all other fauoured and beloued of the Whale, which as witnesseth *Plime*, rolleth carefully before her, aduising her where to shun the whirling gulfs and deepe holes (Aa4v).<sup>10a</sup>

## FORTESCUE

[V4v] Wherefore the better to animate men to aspire to great matters, I wil

<sup>10a</sup> Here Fortescue is a parallel, not Deloney's exact source as I shall point out in a subsequent article.

<sup>11</sup> Mann, pp. 40-43.

<sup>12</sup> Sigs. V4v-X3.

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tures . . . which he would often shew to his friends and seruants.

In the first was the Picture of a shepheard, before whom kneeled a great King named *Viriat*, who sometime gouerned the people of *Portugall*. [41] See here (quoth *Iacke*) the father a shepheard, the sonne a Soueraigne. This man ruled in *Portugall*, and made great warres against the Romanes, and after that inuaded *Spaine*, yet in the end was traiterously slaine.

The next was the Portraiture of *Agathocles*, which for his surpassing wisdom and manhood, was created King of *Sicilia*, and maintained battell against the people of *Carthage*. His father was a poore Potter, before whom he also kneeled. And it was the vse of this King, that whensoever he made a banquet, he would haue as well vessels of earth as of gold set vpon the Table, to the intent he might alwayes beare in minde the place of his beginning, his Fathers house and family.

The third was the picture of *Iphicrates* an *Athenian* born, who vanquished the *Lacedemonians* in plaine and open battaile. This man was Captaine Generall to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, whose father was notwithstanding a Cobler, and there likewise pictured. *Eumenes* was also a famous Captaine to *Alexander* the great, whose father was no other than a Carter.

The fourth was the similitude of *Aelius Pertinax*, sometime Emperour of *Rome*, yet was his father but a Weauer: and

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remember the examples of some in perticuler issuing out of meane and simple parentage, which in the end excelled in honoure and vertue. And in the first place, *Viriat* a portugale. . . . This man was the sonne of a poore Shepherd, and in his youth aided his father in his charge . . . the *Romaines* inuading the *Spaniards* . . . he gaue battail to the *Romaines*, in defence of that Countrie: which warres or rather enmitie continued xliij. yeares . . . but in fine, vnkindely by treason [he] was slain. . . .

[X1] That excellent Captain *Agathocles*, which for his surpassing wisdom and manhood, was created king of *Sicilia* and maintained cruel battail against y<sup>e</sup> people of *Carthage* . . . his father was a Potter . . . as oftentimes as he banquetted, [he caused] his table to be furnished w<sup>th</sup> vessels aswel of clay as also of Golde or siluer, to th' intent he stil might haue in minde and remember the place of his beginning, his fathers house & family . . . .

*Iphicrates* an *Athenian* . . . he vanquished the *Lacedemonians* in plain and open battail . . . . The same he was whome *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia*, assigned Captain generall ouer all his whole armye. . . . Yet know we . . . that he was the sonne of none other then of a poore Cobler. I had almoste past ouer *Eumenes* one of the moste worthyest Capitains of *Alexander* . . . beeing the Sonne of a poore man, and as some deeme a Carter. . . .

[X1v] *Elius Partinax* Emperour of *Rome*, was y<sup>e</sup> sonne of a certain Artificer . . . and afterwarde to giue ex-

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afterward, to giue example to others of low condition to beare mindes of worthy men, he caused the shop to be beautified with Marble curiously cut, wherein his father before him was wont to get his liuing.

The fift was the picture of *Dioclesian*, that so much adorned *Rome* with his magnificall and triumphant victories. This was a famous Emperour, although no other than the sonne of a Booke-binder.

*Valentinian* stood the next, painted most artificially, who was also crowned Emperour, and was but the sonne of a poore Rope-maker: as in the same picture was expressed; where his father was painted by him, vsing his trade.

The seuenth was the Emperour *Probus*, whose father being a Gardener, was pictured by him holding a spade.

The eighth picture was of *Marcus Aurelius*, whom euery age honoureth, he was so wise and prudent an Emperour; yet was he but a Cloth-weauers son

The ninth was the Portraiture of the valiant Emperour *Maximinus*, the son of a Blacksmith, who was there painted as he was wont to worke at the Anuill.

In the tenth table was painted the Emperour *Gabianus*, who at the first was but a poore shepherd.

Next to this picture, was placed the pictures of two Popes of *Rome*, whose wisdomes and learning aduanced them to that dignite. The first was the liuely Counterfeit of Pope *Iohn* the 22 whose father was a Shoemaker: hee being elected Pope, encreased their rents and patrimonie greatly.

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ample to others of lowe condition, he caused the Shop to be doone about with Marble curiously cut, where his father before him wrought to get his liuing . . .

*Dioclecian* that so much adorned *Roome* with his magnificall and triumphant victories, was the sonne of none other then a common Scribe or Notary, some say that his father was a Booke binder. . . .

*Valentinian* was also crowned Emperour, but was the Sonne notwithstanding of a Roper

The Emperour *Probus* had to Father a Gardiner.

The renowned *Aurelius* whome euery age honoureth, issued out of so obscure a family, that the Historiographers lesse agree among them selues, of his spring and beginning.

*Maximinus* also was the sonne of a Smith, or as others some wil, a Carter. . . .

*Galerus* also, in the beginning a Shepherd. From this hauty and supreme dignitie, let vs descend to the Sea of *Rome*, vnto which aspired men of like condition with the others. As Pope *Iohn* the xxij. which was the Sonne of a Shoemaker, a *Frenchman* borne, notwithstanding for his learning and wisdomes, elected Bishop which increased their rents and patrimony busily. . . .

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The other was the Picture of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth of that name, being a poore Marriners son.

[42] The thirteenth Picture was of *Lamusius* King of *Lombardie*, who was no better than the son of a common Strumpet: being painted like a naked childe walking in the water, and taking hold of the poynt of a Launce, by the which hee held fast, and saued himselfe. The reason whereof, was this: After his lewde mother was deliuered of him,<sup>13</sup> shee vnnaturally threw him into a deepe stinking Ditch, wherein was some water. By hap king *Agilmond* passed that way, and found this childe almost drowned; who mouing him softly with the point of his Launce, the better to perceiue what hee was, the childe (though then newly borne) tooke hold thereof with one of his pretty hands, not suffering it to slide or slip away againe: which thing the King considering, being amazed at the strange force of this yongue little Infant, caused it to be taken vp, and carefully to be fostered. And because the place where hee found him was called *Lama*, hee named the childe *Lamusius*: who afterward grew to be so braue a man, and so much fauoured of Fortune, that in the end hee was crowned King of the *Lombards*, who liued there in honour, and in his succession after him, euen vntill the time of the vnfortunate King *Albouina*, when all came to ruine, subuersion and destruction.

In the fourteenth picture *Primislas* King of *Bohemia* was most artificially drawne; before whom there stood an

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Pope *Sixtus* the iiij . . . had to father a poore Sea man or mariner. . . .

[X2] The third of which [kings of "Lumberdy"] hauing to name *Lamusius*, was the Sonne of a beggerly and common Strumpet, which also beeing deliuered at the same time of two other children threw them into a deep and stinking ditch, in which also was some kinde of water: by hap King *Agelmonde* passing that way, found this Childe almoste drowned in the water, and mouing him softly with the end of his launce . . . to the end he more perfectly might feele what it was, but this Childe euen then newly borne, feeling it self touched, taketh holde of the launce with one of his handes not letting it slip or slide from him againe, whiche thing the Prince considering, all amased at the straunge force of this yung little creature, caused it to be taken thence and carefully to be fostred: and for that the place where he founde it, was called *Lama*, he did him thence to be named *Lamusius*: whiche afterwards was such a one, and so fauoured of fortune, that in the end he was crowned King of the *Lumbards*, who liued [X2<sup>v</sup>] there in honoure, and his succession after him, euen vntill the time of the vnfortunate King *Albouine*, when all came to ruine, subuertion, and destruction.

An other matter like straunge to this, happened in *Bohemia*, where as one *Primislas* the Sonne of a Ploughman,

<sup>13</sup> Edward Fenton, *Certaine Secrete wonders of Nature* (1569), sig. Ee 1, telling this story, remarks: "there was a certain common Woman brought forth.vij. boyes at one tyme, who for the horroure of hir sinne, cast them into the water," and so forth.



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Horse without Bridle or Saddle, in a field where Husband-men were at plough. The cause why this King was thus painted (quoth *Iacke*) was this. At that time the King of the *Bohemians* died without issue, and great strife being amongst the Nobility for a new king, at length they all consented that a horse should bee let into the field, without bridle or saddle, hauing all determined with the most assured purpose to make him their king, before whom this horse rested: At what time it came to passe, that the horse first stayed himselfe before this *Primislas*, being a simple creature, who was then busie driuing the plough, they presently made him their Souereigne, who ordered himselfe and his kingdome very wisely. Hee ordained many good lawes, hee compassed the Citie of *Prague* with strong walles, besides many other things, meriting perpetuall laud and commendations.

The fifteenth was the Picture of *Theophrastus*, a Philosopher, a counsellor of Kings, and companion of Nobles, who was but sonne of a Taylor. . . .

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was then chosen king when he moste busily was labouring y<sup>e</sup> soil in the feeld. For at that time the *Bohemians* not knowing whome they might chuse for their king, did to passe out a horse vnbridled into the feelds, letting him go whether it best liked him, hauing all determined with moste assured purpose to make him their king, before whome this horse arrested, so came it then to passe that the Horse first stayed him before this *Primislas*, busied then in turning the gleabe, a simple Carter: so beeing forthwith confirmed (as is before) their souerain, he ordered him self and his kingdome very wisely. He ordained many good and profitable lawes, he compassed the Citie of *Prague* with walles besides many other things, meriting perpetuall laude and commendation. . . .

[X3] *Theophrastus* the philosopher, had to father a Tailor or botcher.

The foregoing examples once again show how hazardous pronouncements on the learning and the style of Elizabethan writers may be. Chapter v of *Jack of Newbury* has attracted considerable attention from scholars, but any deductions that they have based on it regarding Deloney's style or his knowledge of Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, and Pliny actually apply to Thomas Fortescue or Pedro Mexia—not at all to the "author."

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ELIZABETHAN AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY  
PLAY MANUSCRIPTS

ON SEVERAL occasions the present writer would have found a list of play manuscripts dating from 1558 to 1700 a convenience while working in the field. These manuscripts, impressive in number and in the possibilities for study which they offer, have never been catalogued with the care which has been lavished upon play publications. The manuscripts listed in Appendix N of E. K. Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage* are limited to those of plays provedly composed before 1616; and the notes concerning manuscripts interspersed in W. C. Hazlitt's *Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays* are incomplete and frequently vague. The list of manuscripts which follows has been compiled after a reëxamination of the catalogues of museums and university libraries, and application by mail to the curators of such collections as those at the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Exhaustiveness is not claimed; but the lists already existing are considerably supplemented, and in a number of instances it has been possible to supply the precise location of manuscripts which were known but unlocated by Chambers or which have changed ownership since the time of Hazlitt.

As an instance of how a list of play manuscripts may prove useful to editors, the case of Dryden's *State of Innocence* may be cited. In the edition of Dryden by Montague Summers (Nonesuch Press, 1931-32) three manuscripts of this play are collated, but a fourth, that at the Huntington Library, is not even mentioned, doubtless because its existence was unknown to the editor. However, it is to the more obscure plays that one might wish the list to call attention. Some of these certainly have never been read since their own time, and offer the attraction of an adventure. After examining photostatic copies of about twenty-five such plays, the present writer is convinced that our early book-sellers were, after all, men of considerable perspicacity. But although literary gems are not discoverable here, few of these plays lack facets of historical interest; many of them might now be edited more profitably than plays which are better in quality but which are already accessible in an adequate form.

Many of the manuscripts listed are of printed plays. Some are no more than copies of early editions, but these are not always the least interesting, for at times they represent versions of stage revivals. Some of the manuscripts, such as those of *Sir Thomas More* and the *Parnassus*

plays, are quite famous and have been reproduced in facsimile and extensively studied. To have included comments on such plays would have consumed much space, and would have been foreign to the nature of the present contribution, which pretends to be no more than a catalogue. In the interest of brevity also the numerous manuscripts of Latin plays have been omitted from the list. Such descriptions as "autograph" and "holograph" have been added when supplied in the catalogues from which the list has been compiled, but these should not be taken as final either in their inclusion or omission. Most of the anonymous manuscripts and most of those by authors of single plays are probably holograph, although not so indicated. When more than one manuscript of a particular play is extant, each is numbered; but these numbers indicate no priority in age or interest.

BACON, FRANCIS

*Essex Entertainment* 1595. Fragments appear in Lambeth MS. v. 118; *ibid.* viii, 274; Northumberland MS. ff. 47-53 (Burgoyne, 55); S. P. D. Eliz. ccliv, 67, 68.

*Gesta Grayorum*. 1594. Fragments by Bacon (?) and Francis Davison appear in Brit. Mus. MS. Harleian 541, f. 138; Inner Temple Petyt MS. 583.43, f. 294.

BARNES, JOSHUA.

*The Academy*. Emmanuel Coll., Camb., MS. iii. 1. 4.

*Englebert*. *Ibid.*, MS. iii. 1. 4.

*Landgartha*. *Ibid.*, MS. iii. 1. 2.

"English play without title." *Ibid.* MS. 3. 1. 4.

BAYLIE, SIMON.

*The Wizard*. (1) MS. in Durham Cathedral Library. (2) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 10, 306.

BEARD, THOMAS.

*An Evangelicall Tragaedie, or A Harmonie of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christe*. (Ded. to James I.) Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 17 D. xvii.

BEAUMONT, FRANCIS, JOHN FLETCHER, *et al.*

*Beggar's Bush*. Folger Shakespeare Library, Lombarde Volume (bound c. 1700), MS. 1487. 2.

*Bonduca*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 36, 758.

*The Elder Brother*. Brit. Mus., Egerton MS. 1994, ff. 2-30.

*The Faithful Friends*. Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce MS. 10.

*The Honest Man's Fortune*. *Ibid.*, MS. 9.

*The Humorous Lieutenant*. (Printed by Dyce from MS. as *Demetrius and Evanthe*.)

*The Woman's Prize*. Folger Shakespeare Library, Lombarde Volume (bound c. 1700), MS. 1487.2.

BEAUMONT, SIR JOHN.

*Theatre of Apollo* (c. 1624). Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 18A. lxx.

BEHN, APHRA.

*The Younger Brother*. Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, poet 195.

BERKELEY, SIR WM.

*The Lost Lady*. Folger Shakespeare Library, Lombard Volume (bound c. 1700), MS. 1487.2.

BIRKHEAD, or BURKHEAD, HENRY.

*The Female Rebellion* (1) Bodleian, MS. Tanner 466, f. 174 *seq.* (2) Univ. of Glasgow, MS. Hunterian 635.

BLOW, DR.

*Venus and Adonis*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 22, 100. (See also Bodleian, MS. Mus. Sch. c 212, and c. 120.)

BOYLE, ROGER, EARL OF ORRERY.

*The General (Altemera)*. (1) Oxford, Worcester College MS (2) A MS, present location unknown, printed by Halliwell in 1853. (Cf. W. S. Clark, *MLN*, XLIV, 1-6).

*Henry the Fifth*. (1) Huntington Library, MS. EL 11, 642. (This and the Huntington copy of *Mustapha*, cf. *infra*, are probably from the Bunbury collection, cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Third Report, p. 241.) (2) Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 2. (Contains list of actors) (3) *Ibid.*, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 180.

*Mustapha*. (1) Huntington Library, MS. EL 11, 641. (2) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29, 280. (3) Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 5. (4) *Ibid.*, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 27.

*Tryphon*. (1) Bodleian, MS. Malone 11. (2) *Ibid.*, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 39.  
*Zoroastres*. Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 1828, ff. 46-79.

BROME, RICHARD

*The English Moor*. MS. at Lichfield Cathedral.

BROWNE, WM.

*Ulysses and Circe*. (1) Emmanuel Coll., Camb., MS. 68 (2) MS. in the collection of H. C. Pole-Gell. (Cf. E. K. Chambers, *E.S.*, iv, 406.)

CARLETON, R.

*The Concealed Royalty, or The May Queen* (a pastoral, 1674). Bodleian, MS. Eng. poet. d 2.

*The Martial Queen*. (1) Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 126. (2) Bodleian, MS. Eng. poet. d. 2. (Dated 1675, when privately performed.)

CARLELL, LODOWICK.

*Arviragus and Philicia*. Bodleian, MS. Eng. Misc. d. 11. ("Independent of the printed edition.") This copy is probably identical with that mentioned in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Sixth Report, p. 312.

CARTWRIGHT, WM.

*The Royal Slave*. (1) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 41, 616. (2) MS. at Petworth House, Sussex. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Sixth Report, p. 307. For possible other copies cf. Hazlitt's *Manual*, p. 200.

CAVENDISH, JANE, and ELIZABETH BRACKLEY.

*The Concealed Fancies*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 16.  
*A Pastoral*. *Ibid.*

CAVENDISH, WM., DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*The Country Captain*. Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 7650.

*The Humorous Lovers*. Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 7367, Art. 1.

CAMPION, THOMAS.

*The first Antimasque of Mountebanks* (Gray's Inn masque of 1618, conjecturally by Campion). (1) Huntington Library, MS. H M 21. (2) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 5956, f. 76. (3) Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson D 1021.

CAYWORTH, JOHN.

*Enchiridion Christiados* (A masque, 1636). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 10, 311.

DABORNE, ROBERT.

*The Poor Man's Comfort*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 268-293.

DANIEL, SAMUEL.

*Hymen's Triumph*. Edinburgh Univ. Lib., Drummond MS. (partly holograph).

DAY, JOHN.

*The Parliament of Bees*. Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne 725 (autograph).

DENNY, SIR WM.

*The Sheepheard's Holiday*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 34, 065 (holograph).

DRYDEN, JOHN.

*The Fall of Angels, and Man in Innocence (The State of Innocence)*. (1) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 37, 158. (2) Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson C. 146. (3) MS at Harvard College Library. (4) Huntington Library, MS. EL 11,640 (two almost identical early copies; see G. W. Whiting, *TLS*, Jan. 14, 1932, p. 28).

*The Indian Emperor*. Trinity Coll., Camb., MS. R. 3. 10.

*The Indian Queen* (Altered as an Opera. In score by H. Purcell). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 31,449.

DURFEY, T.

*The Fond Husband*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 52.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

*Hercules Aetaeus* (Fragment of pseudo-Senecan translation). Bodleian, MS. e Museo 55, f. 48.

FANE, MILDMAY, EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

*Candy Restored*. (1) Huntington Library, MS. H M 771. (2) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 34, 221, ff. 1-19b.

*The Change*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 34, 221, ff. 50-70.

*Don Phoebe's Triumph*. Huntington Library, MS. H M 770.

*Ladrones, or The Robber's Island* (Drake, Cavendish, and Magellan figure in the dramatis personae). A MS. of this description, present whereabouts unknown, was on sale at Sotheby's, July 17, 1888.

*De Pugna Animi*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 34, 221, ff. 125-147.

*Raguaillo D'Oceano*. *Ibid.*, ff. 107b-125.

*Time's Trick upon the Cards*. *Ibid.*, ff. 19b-50.

*Virtue's Triumph*. *Ibid.*, ff. 70-107b.

FANSHAWE, SIR RICHARD.

*To Love only to Love* (Tr. of Mendoza's *Queror por solo Queror*). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 32, 133.

FLETCHER, PHINEAS.

*Sicelides*. (1) Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet., 214. (2) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 4,453.

FORD, JOHN.

*Perkin Warbeck*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet., 122. (Stage adaptation of 1634 ed.)

FREEMAN, SIR RALPH.

*Imperiale*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 2948.

GASCOIGNE, GEORGE, and FRANCIS KYNWELMERSHE.

*Jocasta*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 34,063.

GLAPTHORNE, HENRY.

*The Lady Mother*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 212-245.

GREENE, ROBERT.

*Orlando Furioso*. Dulwich MS. 1. 138. (An actor's part.)

GREVILLE, FULKE.

*Alaham*. MS at Warwick Castle (holograph).

*Mustapha*. (1) MS. at Warwick Castle (holograph). (2) Cambridge Univ. MS. f. 2. 35.

HEYWOOD, THOMAS.

*The Captives, or The Lost Recovered*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 52-74.

*Dick of Devonshire* (conjecturally by Heywood). Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 30-52.

"Escapes of Jupiter" or "Calisto." (episodes from Heywood's *Golden Age* and *Silver Age*). Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 74-96.

HORNE, JOHN.

*Fortune's Task, or The Fickle Fair One* (A pastoral, 1684). Huntington library, MS. H M 11.

JAQUES, FRANCIS.

*The Queen of Corsica* (1642). Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne 807, ff. 1-28.

JAMES I, KING OF ENGLAND.

"Wedding Masque" (fragment). Bodleian, MS. Bodl. 165, ff. 60-65.

JEFFERE, JOHN.

*The Bugbears*. Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne 807, ff. 57 seq. (Possibly by Jeffere.)

JOHNSON, LAWRENCE.

*Misogonus*. Huntington Library, MS. H M 452 (contemporary copy).

JONSON, BEN.

*Christmas his Showe* (1615). Folger Shakespeare Library Commonplace Book (probably written before 1625), MS. 2203.1.

*Entertainment at the Earl of Newcastle's in Blackfriars* (conjecturally ascribed to Jonson). Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 4955, ff. 48-52.

*The Gypsie's Changed (Gipsies' Metamorphosis)*. Huntington Library, MS. H M 741 (contemporary copy).

*Masque at Coleoverton* (conjecturally ascribed to Jonson). Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce MS. 36.

*Masque of Queens*. Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 18A. XLV (holograph).

- The Twelfth Nights Reuells* (Masque of Blackness) Brit. Mus., Royal MS 17B. xxxi (autograph)
- Volpone*. J. S. Farmer in Int. to *Believe as you List* states that a holograph MS. is extant, but cf. E. K. Chambers, *E.S.*, III, 368.
- JORDAN, THOMAS.  
*Cupid his Coronation* (1654). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson B. 165, ff. 107-114.
- JOYNER, WILLIAM.  
*The Roman Empress*. MS. at Worcester Coll., Oxford.
- KEIGWIN, JOHN.  
*The Creation of the World* (1693, Tr. of Wm. Gordon's Cornish play of 1611).  
 (1) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 28, 554. (2) Bodleian, MS. Corn. e. 2-3.
- KILLIGREW, SIR WM.  
*The Siege of Urbin*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 29 (holograph?).
- K[IRKHAM], R.  
*Alfred, or Right Reinthron'd* (1659). Bodleian. MS. Rawlinson, poet. 80.
- LEE, ANNE.  
*Love's Martyr, or Wit above Crowns*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 28,693.
- LISTER, M.  
*Eunuchus* (Tr. Terence). Bodleian, MS. Lister 23.
- LOWER, SIR WM.  
*Don Japhet of Armenia* (Tr. from Scarron). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 28,723.  
*The Three Dorotheies, or Jodelet Box'd* (Tr. from Scarron). A MS, whereabouts unknown, was in the collection at Skeffington Hall.
- LUMLEY, LADY JANE.  
*Iphigenia* (Tr. from Euripedes). Brit. Mus., Reg. 15. A. ix.
- MABBE, JAMES.  
*Spanish Bawd*. J. M.'s *Celestine, or the tragi-comedy of Calisto and Melibea*, MS. at Alnwick Castle (cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Third Report, p. 119) is probably Mabbe's play.
- MARMION, SHAKERLEY.  
*The Soldered Citizen*. MS. extant in private hands. Cf. W. W. Greg, "Review of G. M. Sibley's *Lost Plays and Masques*," *M L R*, xxix (1934).
- MANUCHE, COSMO.  
*The Banish'd Shepheardess* (c. 1652). Huntington Library, MS. E L 8395 (holograph).  
*The Feast*. MS. at Worcester College, Oxford.  
*The Feast, The Mandrake, Agammemnon, Leontius—King of Cyprus, The Captives, Mariamne, and The Banish'd Shepheardess*, and several additional manuscript plays by Manuche were discovered at Ashby by Bishop Percy. *DNB.*, First Supp., III, 138-39, implies that they are still there, but the *Index and Epitome*, p. 837, states that only one is now there. However B. M. Wagner ("Manuscript Plays of the 17th Century," *TLS*, Oct. 4, 1934) implies that the plays are still at Ashby, and quotes from *The Feast*.
- MARSTON, JOHN.  
*Ashby Entertainment*. (1) MS. at Bridgewater House, London. (2) Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 848, f. 9 (speech of Enchantress only). (3) Huntington Library, MS. E L 34. B. 9 (partly holograph).

MASSINGER, PHILIP.

*Believe as you List*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 2828 (autograph).

*The Cure of Pride, or Every one in their Way* (1632. Adapt. of *The City Madam?*).

Huntington Library, MS. H M 95.

*Sir John Van Olden Barnaveldt*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 18,653.

*Parliament of Love*. Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce MS.

MAY, THOMAS.

*The Tragedy of Cleopatra*. Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 18 C. vii.

MERBURY, FRANCIS.

*A Marriage between Wit and Wisdom*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 26, 782.

MIDDLETON, THOMAS.

*A Game at Chess*. (1) Bodleian, MS. Malone 25 (early draught?). (2) Trinity

Coll., Camb., MS. O. 2. 66. (written in "current hand"). (3) Brit. Mus.,

MS. Lansdowne 690. (4) MS. at Bridgewater House, London (imperfect).

(5) Huntington Library, MS. E L 34. B. 17 (partly in author's handwriting).

*Hengist King of Kent (The Mayor of Quinborough)*. Folger Shakespeare Library, The Lombarde Volume (bound c. 1700), MS. 1487.2.

*The Witch*. Bodleian, MS. Malone. 12.

MILTON, JOHN.

*Comus*. (1) MS. at Bridgewater House, London. (2) MS. at Trinity Coll., Camb. (holograph).

MONTAGUE, WALTER.

*The Shepherd's Paradise*. (1) Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 3649. (2) Brit. Mus., MS. Stowe 976.

MONTGOMERY, ALEXANDER.

*Flying with Polwart* (1582-83). Huntington Library, MS. H M 105.

MOTTEAU, P.

*The Island Princess*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 15,318 (libretto with original music).

MOUNTFORT, W.

*The Launching of the Mary, or the Seaman's Honest Wife*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 318 seq.

MUNDAY, ANTHONY.

*John a Kent and John a Cumber*. Huntington Library, MS. H M 500 (holograph).

NEALE, THOMAS.

*The Ward*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet, 79.

PARKHURST, FERDINANDO.

*Ignoramus*. (Two copies of close, one of paraphractical translation of Ruggles' play, for acting at Cockpit in Drury Lane, 1662.) MS. of Marquis of Westminster, Eaton Hall, Chester. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Third Report, p. 215.

PERCY, WILLIAM.

*The Faery Pastorall, or Forrest of Elves*.

*Aphrodysial, or Sea Feast*.

*Arabia Sitiens, or A Dream of a Dry Year*.



*Cuck-Queans and Cuckolds Errant, or The Bearing Down the Inne.*

*Cupid's Sarcifice, or a Country's Tragedy in Vacuniam.*

*Necromantes, or the Two Supposed Heads.*

All in *Comoedyes and Pastoralls with their Songs*. Huntington Library, MS. H M 4 (holograph).

PITCAIRNE, ARCHIBALD.

*The Assembly*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 11,503 (transcript of ed. of 1691).

POPPLE, W.

*The Cid* (Tr. from Corneille). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 8888.

*Tamerlane the Beneficent*. Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 8888. (These two pieces are said by Hazlitt to be in the handwriting of Popple, nephew of Andrew Marvell.)

RANDOLPH, T.

*Aristippus*, and *The Conceited Pedler*. (1) Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 2531, ff. 124-140b. (2) University of Edinburgh, MS. Laing, III, 493.

RANT, HUMPHREY.

*Phormio* (c. 1674, Tr. from Terence). Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 1145, ff. 41-84.

RAYMES, WM.

*Selfe Interest, or The Belly Wager*. c. 1680-90 (tr. from Secchi). Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 1008.1.

SALISBURY, SIR THOMAS.

*Masque at Knowsley*. MS. in National Library of Wales.

SANSBURY, JOHN.

*Periander* (part of *The Christmas Prince*). Folger Shakespeare Library, Commonplace Book (prob. before 1625), MS. 2203.1.

SCHONAEUS, CORNELIUS.

Translation into English prose, for the use of scholars at Haarlem, of the plays published by the master in *Terentius Christianus*, 1592, being biblical histories and redactions of Euripides and Plautus; viz., *Naamen*, *Tobit*, *Nehemiah*, *Saul*, *Joseph*, *Judith*, *Jephthes*, *The Baptist*, *Medea* (Euripides), *Alcestis* (Euripides), *The Bacchides* (Plautus), *Mostellaria* (Plautus), *Menaechmi* (Plautus), *Hectoring Soldier* (Plautus), *The Merchant* (Plautus), *Pseudolus* (Plautus). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson D. 1388-1391 (3 vols.).

SETTLE, ELKANAH.

*Love and Revenge*. Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 6903, Art. i.

*Pastor Fido* (Tr. of Guarini, based on Fanshaw's). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 8.

SHAKESPEARE, WM.

*Henry IV* (The two parts combined into one play, 1610-20). Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 5. 2.

*Julius Caesar* (probably a transcript of a printed edition, c. 1660-80). Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 3. 4.

*Merry Wives of Windsor*. (1) (A transcript from the third folio), Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 1. 49. (2) (A transcript from the third folio of a portion of Acts III and IV), Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 617.1.

*Twelfth Night, As You Like It, The Comedy of Errors, Romeo and Juliet, Julius*

*Caesar*, and *Macbeth* appear in MS. 787 in the Public Library of Douai. The MS. also contains Lee's *Mithradates*, Dryden's *Indian Emperor*, and Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*. The volume is dated 1694-1695, and appears to have originated in the English convent. (See B. M. Wagner, *TLS*, Oct. 4, 1934, p. 675.) No doubt all the plays were simply copied from printed editions.

SHIRLEY, JAMES.

*The Court Secret*. MS. in Worcester College, Oxford.

*Cupid and Death* (text or Lock's music only?). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 17,799.

*Masque of the Four Inns of Court* (1633, *The Triumph of Peace?*). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 6308, p. 1.

SIDNAM, J.

*Il Pastor Fido* (Tr. from Guarini). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29,493.

SUCKLING, SIR JOHN.

*Aglaure* (with three prologues, and original tragic ending). Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 18 C. xxv.

TALBOT, SIR GEORGE

*Fillis of Sciros* (Tr. from Bonarelli). (1) Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 130 (autograph). (2) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 12, 128. (Autograph with author's corrections).

TOMKIS, THOMAS.

*Pathomachia, or Love's Loadstone* (*Pathomachia, or The Battle of the Affections*, conjecturally by Tomkis, pub. 1630). (1) Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian, 6869, Art. i. (2) Bodleian, MS. Eng. Misc. e. 5.

VERNEY, FRANCIS.

*The Tragedy of Antipoe*. Bodleian, MS. Eng. poet. e. 5.

WILD, ROBERT.

*The Benefice* (fragment beginning Act III, Sc. 4). Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne 807, Art. 4. (autograph).

WILDE, GEORGE.

*The Converted Robber*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 14,047.

*Love's Hospital*. (1) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 14,047. (2) Small fragment, Folger Shakespeare Library, Lombard Volume (bound c. 1700), MS. 1487.2.

WILMOT, JOHN, EARL OF ROCHESTER.

One scene, written by Wilmot, of *The Conquest of China*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 28,692, f. 70.

*Lucina's Rape, or the Tragedy of Vallentinian*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 28,692.

*Sodom*. (1) Bibliothèque National. Cf. *Nouvelles Acquisitions du Département des Manuscrits, 1891-1916*, Manuscrits Anglais, 1884-1910. (2) Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 7312.

WILMOT, ROBERT.

*Gismond of Salerne*. (1) Brit. Mus., MS. Hargrave 205. (2) Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne 786.

WILSON, ARTHUR.

*The Corporal*. (An early 18th cent. fragment of Wilson's lost play, ending in

Act II, Sc. I.). Bodleian, MS. Douce C. 2. A few leaves of this play are preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Forster Coll., MS. 638.

*The Inconstant Lady*. (1) Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 9 (contains also list of characters for *The Corporal*). (2) Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 128. (3) Folger Shakespeare Library, The Lombarde Volume (bound c. 1700), MS. 1487.2.

*The Swisser*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 36,759 (autograph, and with original cast).

WILSON, JOHN.

*The Cheats*. MS. at Worcester Coll., Oxford.

*Belphegor, or Marriage of the Devil*. Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 827.1 (apparently autograph, prepared for use as a prompt book).

ZOUCH, RICHARD.

*Fallacy, or The Troubles of Hermenia*. Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 6869, Art. 2.

AUTHORS UNKNOWN.

*Alice and Alexis* (fragment). 1604. Bodleian, MS. Douce 171, f. 48v.

*Tragedy of Amurath*. Oxford, 1618. Cf. "MSS. at Tabley House, Cheshire," *H.M.C.*, I, 49.

*Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe*. (1) Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 23, 723. (2) Oxford, 1646. MS. at Ashton Hall, York. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Third Report, p. 295.

*Birth of Hercules* (Ad. from *Amphitryon* of Plautus). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 28,722.

*Christmas Messe* (1619). Folger Shakespeare Library, Commonplace Book (written c. 1625), MS. 2203.1.

*The Christmas Prince*. MS. at St. John's College, Oxford. (Cf. Sansburye's *Periander*, *supra*.)

*Cinna* (Tr. from Corneille). Oxford, MS. Exoniensis, sec. xvii.

*Charlemagne, or The Distracted Emperor* (c. 1600). Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 119-136.

*Club Law*. St. John's Coll., Camb., MS. S. 62.

*The Cyprian Conqueror, or Faithless Relict* (17th century version of Petronius Arbiter's story of the Roman matron). Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 3709.

*Devices to be shown before the Queen at Nottingham Castle after the Meeting of the Queen of Scots* (1562). Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne 5, item 38.

*Disloyal Favourite, or The Tragedy of Metellus*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson D. 1361, ff. 285-306.

*Drinking Academy, or The Cheater's Holy Day*. c. 1600. Huntington Library, MS. H M 91. (Possibly by T. Randolph.)

*In ducem reducem, or A Welcome from the Isle of Ree* (1627). Huntington Library, MS. H M 742.

*Edmund Ironside the English King, or War Hath Made All Friends*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 96-119.

*Entertainment before James I and the King of Denmark* (1606; speeches of Eumone, Dice, and Irene). Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 2877, f. 162b.

*Entertainment at Clarke Castle* (1634; speeches of Genius, Orpheus, and Winter). Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton 2623, f. 20.

- Faithful Virgins*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 195. ("To be acted by the Duke's company.")
- The Fary Knight, or Oberon the Second* (c. 1640). Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 46.1.
- The Fatal Marriage, or A Second Lucretia*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 136-161.
- Gigantomachia, or Work for Jupiter*. Folger Shakespeare Library, Commonplace Book (prob. before 1625), MS. 2203.1.
- The Governor* (1656, not the play of this title by Sir Cornelius Formido). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 10,419.
- Grobiana's Nuptials*. Bodleian, MS. Bodl. 30.
- Harefield Entertainment*. 1602. Fragments appear in the Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 5353, f. 95; College of Arms, MS. Talbot K f. 43; Brit. Mus., MS. Birch 4173. Cf. further E. K. Chambers, *E. S.*, IV, 68.
- Hercules Fureus. Thyestis. Oedipus* (Translations from Seneca). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 76.
- Heterochitanomalonomia* (1613). Folger Shakespeare Library, Commonplace Book (prob. before 1625). MS. 2203.1.
- The Hypochondriac, or The Turmoils of Love*. Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 1863 ff. 43b-70.
- The Illustrious Slaves* (1672). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 32,094. f. 274.
- Judith* (c. 1595; partial translation from *Judithae Constantia* by Schonaeus). Nat. Library of Wales, Penarth MS. 508.
- Jugurtha, or The Faithless Cosen German*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 195.
- Julii and Julian*. Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 448.16 (written c. 1570 in a commonplace book).
- Love Feigned and Unfeigned*. A fragment written on first and last leaves of J. Herolt's *Sermones Discipuli* (pub. 1492) c. 1575 (?). Brit. Mus., I.B. 2172.
- The Lover's Stratagem, or Virtue Rewarded*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 18 (holograph).
- Love's Changelings Change*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 293-318.
- Love's Victorie* (c. 1630). Huntington Library, MS. H M 600.
- Masculine Bride, or Whimsyes of Senor Hidalgo*. Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 5152, Art. 1.
- Medea* (Tr. from Seneca). Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 911, ff. 100-115b.
- The Merry Loungers*. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 6402, f. 84.
- Narcissus, A Twelfth Night Merriment*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 212.
- The Tragedy of Nero* (1624). Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 245-268.
- The Partial Law* (c. 1620). Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 553.1.
- Pelopidarium Secunda*. Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 5110, Art 2.
- Pilgrimage to Parnassus and The Return from Parnassus*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson D. 398.
- The Return from Parnassus, or The Scourge of Simony*. Halliwell-Phillipp MS. (Same as *The Progresse to Parnassus*: Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 448.12?)

- Pyrami et Thisbe* (By N. R.). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 15,277, f. 56b.  
*The Review* ("prob. but not certainly later than 1700"). Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. 2018.1.  
*I Richard the Second*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 161–186.  
*Romanus* (By Ja. Co.; fragment). Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 4628, Art. 14.  
*The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne 807, ff. 28–56.  
*The Siege of Croya* (c. 1700). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 119.  
*Sir Thomas More*. Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 7368, Art. 1.  
*Sisigambis, Queen of Syracuse*. Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 167.  
*The Tell Tale*. Dulwich College, MS. xx.  
*Timon*. Victoria and Albert Museum, MS. Dyce 52.  
*The True Tragi-Comedie formerly acted at Court*, etc. (A five-act dramatization of the Frances Howard—Robert Carr Scandal, written after 1634). Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 25,348.  
*Trye before your (sic) Truste*. Late 17th cent. Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 37,158, f. 17.  
*The Two Noble Ladies, and the Converted Conjuror*. Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 224–245.  
*Warr of Grammar* (Acted by scholars of Cranebrook School, 1666). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 22,725.  
*The Welsh Ambassador* (c. 1623). MS. in Cardiff Public Library.  
*White Aethiopian*. Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 7313, Art 1.  
*Wine, Beere, and Ale*. University of Edinburgh, MS. Laing, III, 493.  
*Woodstock Entertainment. The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte* (Variously attributed to George Gascoigne and Sir Henry Lee). Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 18 A. XLVII (27). For fragments of *Second Woodstock Entertainment* see E. K. Chambers, *E. S.*, III, 404.

#### ANONYMOUS PLAYS WITHOUT TITLES.

- "A play, no name." Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 5,001.  
 "A comedy, wants title." Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 1828, ff. 1–45b.  
 "Fragment of a play, 17th cent." Brit. Mus., MS. Sloane 1911–1913, f. 203.  
 "An unidentified play without a title." Folger Shakespeare Library, The Lombarde Volume (bound c. 1700), MS. 1487.2.  
 "A play—title not given." MS. at Helmingham Hall, Suffolk. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, First Report, p. 61.  
 "Masque." c. 1625. Huntington Library, MS. H M 22.  
 "A Christmas entertainment" (in 5 acts with characters Leonides, Ingenio, Roscius, Sapientia, Obligia, etc.). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson D 1361, ff. 306–329.  
 "A Pastoral" (in five acts, with scene laid in Thrace, with principal characters Rascipolis, Myastis, Cotys, Cleta, Achmea, etc.). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29,496.  
 "A titleless play of the 17th cent." (scene Isle of Scyros, and characters Xamolxis, Perindo, etc.). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29,496.  
 "A play in blank verse on the subject of Tancred and Ghismunda" (Thomson's *Tancred and Sigismunda*, 1745?). Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 34,312, f. 139.

- "Time's Triumph" (a moral masque resembling Fane's dated Aug. 5, 1643). Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 212-245.
- "A prose comedy" (begins "Antonio, All this is most true," and features the characters Octavio and Allesandra, daughter of a Turk). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 93. (Sometimes called *Antonio of Raguso*.)
- "Fragment of a play" (chief characters are Ethelbert, the Duchess his wife, Oswald their son, Orina, Sir Ingram Mouse-trap, etc.; contains a Collier forgery). Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 2,623, f. 37.
- "A comedy, without a title" (characters are Wardho; Leyman; two English Cavaliers; Bubble, a Frenchman; Grim; etc.; initialed "R.M."). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson C. 923, f. 24.
- "An unfinished indecent comedy" (characters are a Quaker, Woodfall a lawyer, Sir Tho. Trueman, Capt. Mackforrest, Sally Salisbury, the goal-keeper at Newgate, etc.). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson 1413, f. 19.
- "A tragedy with no title" (the scene is laid in Tunis, and the chief characters are the Viceroy Asembeg; and Mustapha, pasha of Aleppo). Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson, poet. 20.

UNLOCATED MANUSCRIPTS.

A few manuscripts which appear to be lost are mentioned above under various authors. Attention may be called also to the lost fragments of George Peele's *Theobald's Entertainment* (cf. Chambers, *E. S.*, III, 247). Collier printed a fragment of Marlowe's *Massacre of Paris* from a manuscript now unknown and suspect. Among the Collier papers were the manuscript *Masque of the Twelve Months*, and *Masque of the Four Seasons*, both printed for the Shakespeare Society in 1848. In Hazlitt's *Manual*, *passim*, several manuscripts are listed from sales catalogues. The most interesting of these are George Chapman's *Gentleman Usher* and *Monsieur d'Olive*, but it is questionable if they are extant (cf. Chambers, *E. S.*, III, 253). Others are *The Death of the Black Prince*, *The Battle of the Vices against the Virtues*, *The Yorkshire Gentleman*, R. White's *Cupid's Banishment*, and B. Barnes, *Battle of Hexham*. Hazlitt also lists, simply as "MS" or "MS in private hands," *Otho* (tr. from Corneille), C. Tourneur's *The Nobleman*, F. Bristowe's *King Freewill*, J. Hughes' *Amalasont, Queen of the Goths*, "W. C.'s" *The Rape Revenged*, or *The Spanish Revolution*. Fleay, *B. C.*, II, 337, lists *Diana's Grove*, or *The Faithful Genius* as a manuscript in private hands. For extant Elizabethan manuscript "plots" see E. K. Chambers, *E. S.*, IV, 406.

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## XLVII

### EXEMPLUM MATERIALS UNDERLYING *MACBETH*

OF Shakespeare's awareness of the living currents of literature about him, the late Sir Walter Raleigh had this to say:

His plays are extraordinarily rich in the floating débris of popular literature—scraps, tags and broken ends of a whole world of songs and ballads and romances and proverbs. In this respect he is notable even among his contemporaries; few of them can match him in the wealth that he caught out of the air or picked up by the roadside.<sup>1</sup>

Shakespeare's familiarity with popular literature is, I think, beyond need of argument, but among the forms in which this flotsam drifted to him one is omitted from Sir Walter's graphic accounting. This is the brief tale, somewhere between condensed romance and expanded proverb, the "short short story" of Elizabethan England. These tales, originally written down as sermon illustrations and put into circulation from the pulpit, are preserved in collections of exempla compiled from the thirteenth century through the fifteenth. After that period, interest in the making of moralized collections declined; but at the time Shakespeare was writing, the tales had been disseminated as anecdotes through three centuries of oral circulation, undoubtedly losing in the process much of their original flavor of piety. The significance of this part of the Elizabethans' literary heritage has been stressed by one who speaks with final authority concerning the pulpit literature of the mediæval church, Dr. G. R. Owst:

Much indeed, has been written about William Shakespeare and his times. But we shall never understand him or his audience aright while we continue to ignore this literary upbringing of the immediate generations that produced them.<sup>2</sup>

As one of the cloud of witnesses which this faith commands,<sup>3</sup> I desire to bear testimony by presenting certain items of moralized narrative which appear, outside the limits of influence of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, to have affected the composition of *Macbeth*. I have sought to isolate some components, generated by exempla, from that atmosphere of old and

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare* (1907), p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1933), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Since the publication of Professor W. W. Lawrence's admirable study, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* (New York, 1931), the mediævalist approach to Shakspearean source-study stands in no need of vindication. The oral circulation of exempla in the sixteenth century has been frequently attested; cf. *inter alia* A. C. Lee, *The Decameron, Its Sources and Analogues* (1909) which supplies numerous references.

ever-changing story, kept in motion by the spoken word, which permeated the England of Shakespeare's day, and which, though less tangible at our distance than the printed symbol, held far more of reality for a populace largely illiterate.

The echoes in Shakespeare's dramas of these old pious tales are so frequent as to imply a wide background of familiar knowledge, though they do not point definitely to acquaintance with any single collection. The *locus classicus* for this type of tale is of course the *Gesta Romanorum*, and this collection does repeatedly supply authority for a Shakesperean reference. It would appear, however, that Shakespeare's contact with the *Gesta*, as with exemplum literature generally, was through the discrete channels of oral tradition, inasmuch as analogues are encountered now in the Continental Latin version and now in the Anglo-Latin. Further, the printed editions of the *Gesta* which circulated in Elizabethan England—those of Richard Robinson based on Wynkyn de Worde<sup>4</sup>—do not contain any considerable portion of relevant materials.

As preliminary to an inquiry into the significance of these old stories for the drama of *Macbeth*, it is necessary to glance once more at the familiar area of Shakespeare's dependence upon the *Chronicles* of Holinshed. For the murderous career of the hero, motivated by the prophecy of the weird sisters, Holinshed, as we know, supplied the framework, although Shakespeare has combined incidents from several widely separated passages in his source.<sup>5</sup> In relation to this portion of the play,

<sup>4</sup> The edition of 1595 contains a version of the casket plot in the *Merchant of Venice*, pp 99 ff., and the story of the "false steward who stole his master's daughter" (*Hamlet* iv, vi, 171-172) pp 50 ff. For a comparative table of exempla in the Latin, Anglo-Latin, and English versions of the *Gesta* together with those in the edition of Wynkyn de Worde, cf. Hertridge, *Gesta Romanorum*, EETS Ext. Ser. xxxiii, xxix-xxxi. The present writer has in hand a series of studies in the utilization of exemplum material by Shakespeare, of which one, "Mediaeval Prototypes of Lorenzo and Jessica," appeared in *MLN*, XLIV, 227 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. W. G. Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed* (1896), pp 18-30; also Allardyce and Josephine Nicoll, *Holinshed's Chronicles as used in Shakespeare's Plays*. (Everyman ed., 1927.) In addition to the portions of the *Chronicle* usually cited as source-material, numerous passages might be assembled, especially from accounts of sovereigns slain by their vassals and of illusory prophecy, which serve to gloss individual lines in *Macbeth*. For instance, we read that it was prophesied to King Natholocus (†280) that he should be murdered "not by his open enimies but by the hands of one of his moste familiar friendes in whom he had reposed an especiall truste" (*Chronicles*, ed. 1577, p. 75). The phrase is echoed in Duncan's comment on the traitorous Cawdor, "He was a gentleman on whom I built An absolute trust (i, iv, 14-15). Again, the *Chronicles* supply a reference for an ingredient in the witches' hell-broth,

sow's blood, that hath eaten

Her nine farrow (iv, i. 63-64).

The accursedness of such swine-meat is indicated in one of the laws of Kenneth: "If a sowe eate hir pigges let hyr be stoned to death and buried so that no man eate of hyr flesshe" (*Chronicles*, ed. cit., p. 181).



the materials I have assembled contribute little of significance beyond some suggestion as to influences upon the legend antedating the Scottish chroniclers. The case is different, however, with the treatment of the supernatural agency in *Macbeth*. Here, as will be remembered, Holinshed supplies the situation of the first meeting of Macbeth with the weird sisters and gives a hint for the second. In attempting to account for the immeasurable difference between the vaguely-outlined figures of the Chronicle and the grotesque vitality of Shakespeare's witches, criticism has ranged far afield. It has—after excising the Hecate passages as almost certainly spurious—brought together data from the records of Elizabethan witchcraft to verify the realism of Shakespeare's witches, and, from the opposite angle of approach, has analyzed those aspects of contemporary metaphysical theory, as Professor Curry has recently done with thoroughness,<sup>6</sup> which shed light on the current conception of evil as projected in the play through supernatural agents. Supplementing the contribution from both these fields, I would call attention to the popular literature of demonology represented by exempla, from which details were naturally transferred to the lore of witches, agents in mortal form of the demon-world.<sup>7</sup> Some of these stories of demon-lore aid us, in particular, in the interpretation of Act I, Scene iii, both the conversational exchanges of the witches prior to the entrance of Macbeth, and the implications of the prophetic greeting which ramify darkly throughout the play. Finally, there are two scenes in *Macbeth*, unaccounted for by Holinshed or other known sources hitherto cited, for which striking prototypes are afforded by exempla; namely, Act III, Scene iv, the appearance of the ghost of Banquo at the feast, and Act v, Scene i, the so-called "sleep-walking scene." It is with these two scenes that the present discussion is concerned.

The originality of Act v, scene 1, has never been seriously questioned.<sup>8</sup> Probably no other passage in Shakespeare has been more thoroughly saturated with subjective criticism; much of the comment assembled in the *Variorum Macbeth*, representative of the romantic school, is emotional to a degree. But the very ecstasies of perfervid commentators testify to the tremendously moving power exerted by the situation *per se*

<sup>6</sup> "The Demonic Metaphysics of Macbeth," *SP*, xxx, 395-426; see note 1 for convenient bibliography of discussions of Elizabethan witchcraft in relation to *Macbeth*.

<sup>7</sup> That the majority of persons in the Elizabethan age believed in this relationship between witches and the powers of evil has been often demonstrated; cf. especially Curry, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-400.

<sup>8</sup> The unanimity of scholars on this point is, so far as I know, modified only by the statement of the late J. W. Robertson: "A sleep-walking scene would not be out of his [sc. Kyd's] ambit, perhaps, though Shakespeare has written or rewritten ours" (*Literary Detection, A Symposium on Macbeth*, p. 151).

to an extent unmatched perhaps elsewhere in the play. The sleep-walking scene, indeed, has approached a kind of independent literary existence, as a result of its concentration of high emotional pressure in a situation not contributory to the movement of the plot. In fact, with its brief drama of self-betrayal enacted before the gentlewoman and doctor as most intimate audience, it offers something of the framework of an induction. For this reason it is possible to detach it for purposes of analysis without doing violence to the organic structure of the play; and for this reason also we should expect to find its source, if source there be, in an independent narrative unit.

Let us, then, repress for the moment our sense of the scene as part of the cataclysm of desolation which is the falling action of *Macbeth*, and throw it into impersonal terms.

A woman of queenly station and hitherto blameless report has caused, in the interests of her ambition, the murder of an innocent person. Oppressed by the burden of her guilty secret, she develops the hallucination that her hand is stained by the blood of her victim. Although she makes repeated efforts to wash the imagined stain from her hand, it remains, to her abnormally functioning mind, ineffaceable.

The first sentence of the above summary indicates, of course, past action implicit in the scene. What distinguishes the scene itself is the stage business as interpreted through the lines—this washing of a spot that will not out, symbol of guilt concealed.

It is natural to inquire whether Shakespeare, in this instance as in countless others, has laid his hand upon some unregarded clod of story-matter, and quickened it to enduring life. And if we turn, as it is natural to turn, to the popular collections of brief tales, we find in the *Gesta Romanorum* and elsewhere an incident which, although presented from a different psychological angle, is closely similar to Lady Macbeth's anguished attempt to wash away the symbolic stain. And the incident is set in a narrative framework sufficiently close to that of the heroine of the play to provide a firm nexus of association.

The story as it stands in the Latin *Gesta* (No. XIII in Oesterley's edition) may be summarized as follows:

A woman of queenly station and hitherto of blameless report murders, in the interests of her own security, an innocent person. The blood of her victim falls upon her hand, and although she makes repeated efforts to remove the stain, it remains. Oppressed by the burden of her guilty secret, she finally makes confession to a priest and the stain vanishes.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Hermann Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum* (Berlin, 1872) pp. 291 ff.; cf. also *Catalogue of Romances in the Brit. Mus.*, III, 574 and 680 for references to other texts of this tale.

The likenesses between the two situations have of course been thrown into relief, but they have not been distorted. Although the differences in matters of detail are many, they do not affect the central incident—the attempt to wash away an irremovable stain. There is, in the first place, a difference in the victim of the murder; in the exemplum it is a child, the fruit of an incestuous union. In each case, however, the victim is a person innocent of wrong-doing against the murderess, and there is a further associative link in the *modus operandi* of the crime—the victim is in both cases killed by the letting of blood.<sup>10</sup> Again, the older story carries no hint of hallucination, chronicling the incredible, in the manner of its type, as sober matter of experience. Shakespeare, grafting as often a slip of fable to the stock of truth, projects the situation into the subliminal world where incredible fantasy may body forth the deepest urges of the heart. Finally, the theological emphasis of the early tale, which seems at first glance a point of differentiation, proves on closer scrutiny to suggest a basic relationship. The miraculous removal of the stain by confession, the *raison d'être* of the exemplum, has of course no counterpart in the play, but underlying both is the same psychology of inhibition; it is the repressed consciousness of guilt which causes Lady Macbeth's hallucination. The release affirmed in the exemplum through confession is, indeed, suggested in the scene. Shakespeare knew, as the Roman church seems always to have known, the danger to mental life of a suppressed anguish of self-condemnation or self-knowledge, and the katharsis effected by impartation. To this the physician testifies, even calling upon the resources of orthodoxy:

Infected minds

To their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets.

More needs she the divine than the physician (v, i, 79–81).

The *dénouement* of the early tale, indeed, depicting the release of mental suffering through the accepted theological channel, suggests a reply to the question somewhat naively raised by an early commentator upon Lady Macbeth, "What might not religion have made of such a character?"<sup>11</sup> The answer requires an inversion of chronology; one asks more reasonably: What did Shakespeare make of a character subject to the compulsions of religion in transferring her experience to a passionate materialist? The didactic excrescences of the exemplum may have fallen away before Shakespeare handled it. In any case, his sure touch singled out the detail in which inhered the survival value of ballad action—the

<sup>10</sup> "Vidensque parvulum natum statim illum jugulavit, scindens guttur per medium. Sanguis vero gutturis ipsius parvuli in palmam sinistre manus regine cecidit" (Oesterley, *op. cit.*, p. 291).

<sup>11</sup> Mrs. Jameson, cited by Campbell, cf. *Variorum Macbeth* p. 483.

ballad's unmediated appeal to sense and feeling, and, further, its accentuation of pathos through repetition, or suggested repetition. For we should recall that Lady Macbeth's effort to cleanse the stained hand is not to be identified alone with the "sleep-walking scene," but is projected for dramatic purposes from a background like that in the exemplum of recurrent experience. "It is an accustomed action with her," reports the gentlewoman, "to seem thus washing her hands."

The evidence of relationship between the exemplum of the blood-stained hand and the sleep-walking scene is accented in one version of the early narrative by a striking correspondence in detail. In this version, which is that identified with the English *Gesta*, the stain upon the hand of the murderess is made by blood from the wounds of Christ, who appears in a vision to warn her of the need of confessing her secret sin. It maintains, however, the emphasis on the picturesque central situation—the futile washing of an irremovable stain. "She loked on her hande," runs this version, "and it was all bloody, that no hote watyre ne couthe, ne no nothere licoure myght washe it away."<sup>12</sup> It is hardly necessary to recall the lines,

What, will these hands ne'er be clean?

All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand.

And it may not be fantastic to suppose that the sleep-consciousness in which the blood-stained hand is envisaged, in the early tales, may have suggested the somnambulism of the Shakesperean scene.

The story, originally without locale, is in some versions given added interest for English readers by being brought within their own borders. In the *Speculum Laicorum* it is attached to a woman of London, "mulier quedam london [iensis]." It could without difficulty have reached the men and women of Shakespeare's London.

Variant versions of the tale are numerous, as are its ramifications into other themes of mediæval fiction. This field I have not attempted to cover with thoroughness. A suggestive correspondence occurring in a related narrative very possibly representing an earlier stage of the tradi-

<sup>12</sup> From MS. Harl. 9066; cf. *EETS* Ext. Ser. XXXIII, 393. This version does not normally occur in the Continental Latin or Anglo-Latin *Gesta*, but is included in the expanded collection of Odo of Cheriton's Fables, represented in MS. Harl. 219, on which Chapters 41-96 of MS. Harl. 9066 appear to be based (cf. *Cat. Rom.*, III, 55, 255-256). It occurs also in the *Speculum Laicorum* No. 136, ed. J. Th. Welter, pp. 30-31; the *Summa Praedicatorum* of John de Bromyard, Venice 1586, Confessio VI. 58, and the *Fasciculus Morum*, MS. Rawl C 670, Cap. 10, Pt. 5 "De Confessio." For the last reference I am indebted to Professor Frances Foster of Vassar College, who is preparing an edition of the *Fasciculus*. In a variant of this version a priest revives the slain infant by pouring water over the blood-stained hand (cf. *Cat. Rom.*, III, 682-683).

tion, may perhaps be noted for what it is worth. In this story the description of the staining of the hand is lacking, but the initial account of the woman's crime, and the stress on the guilt of withholding confession, both common to the *genre*, are present. The guilty woman, brought to trial before the emperor, is accused by the devil disguised as a "physician."<sup>13</sup> But whatever the value of a possibly casual parallel, the cumulative force of all basic similarities between play and exemplum excludes coincidence. Act v, Scene 1, of *Macbeth* becomes—if I may borrow a phrase from a recent work of Shakesperean scholarship—a "psychological rationalization of a pre-existent story."<sup>14</sup>

The primitive ancestor of this mediæval story of the ineffaceable stain may very possibly be the Scriptural account of the "mark" of Cain,—an irremovable seal set by supernatural power upon the first murderer.<sup>15</sup> Intermediate between this ancient tale and the exemplum of the guilty queen, and probably serving as connecting span, lies the narrative tradition of the devil's mark. Those who make guilty compacts with the devil receive his indelible seal, frequently upon the hand. It is removable only by confession. In the collection which goes under the name of Etienne de Bourbon,<sup>16</sup> one of a series of confession-stories concerns a man found by

<sup>13</sup> So in the expanded collection of Odo of Cheriton's Fables in MS. Harl. 219; cf. *Cat. Rom.*, III, 56. Gregory is here cited as authority. Elsewhere the devil appears as a clerk; cf. *Alphabet of Tales*, EETS pp. 220-221, No. cccxx; also Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* (Nuremberg, 1483), Bk. VIII, 93-95; this form of the narrative is found also in the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry (ed. T. F. Crane, Folk-lore Soc. xxvi, 263; cf. also discussion on pp. 246-249); and occurs in many collections of Mary-legends (cf. *Cat. Rom.* II, 627, 694, etc.). In this version the child is killed by strangulation. In the opinion of Mr. J. P. Herbert, this is the older version, from which the tale in the *Gesta* is derived (cf. *Cat. Rom.*, III, 236). For discussion of the elements in the latter tale not supplied by the Mary-legend, viz., the ineffaceable stain and the futile effort to cleanse it, cf. pp. 707-708 below. As an exemplum illustrating deletion of the evidence of guilt by confession, the tale is linked to innumerable others. <sup>14</sup> W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies*, p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> "And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him" (*Gen.* v, 15). The nature of the "mark" has always been a subject for speculation, but its undoubted characteristic was permanency. According to the late Professor Oliver Emerson, allusions to the mark of Cain in English are surprisingly few ("Legends of Cain especially in Old and Middle English" *PMLA*, XXI, 831-890; see especially Section IV). Cain became closely associated in legend with the demons; cf. Emerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 879-888.

<sup>16</sup> *Anecdotes Historiques d'Etienne de Bourbon*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (1877), pp. 157-158. For references to various versions of tales of the devil's mark cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 119, 138 (*Convertimini*), 381 (*Speculum Laicorum*, No. 124), 482, 485, 682. In the preface to the curious treatise entitled "Demonologie in Forme of a Dialogue" written by James I (Edinburgh, 1597) we find the following allusion to the "Devil's mark" in the course of a discussion of the devil's practices in following up an initial successful temptation: "He then discovers what he is vnto them [*sc. his victims*], makes them to renounce their God and Baptisme directlie, and gives them his mark vpon some secret place of their bodie which remains sore unhealed" (p. 33).

two Friars Preachers "in montibus Hybernice" who had served demons for thirty years, "et eorum ferebat in manu sua impressum sigillum in quo erant scripte littere illius homagii." The "littere" are of interest as a link with the exemplum of the blood-stained hand which stands in the Latin *Gesta*. Here also the stain resolves itself into an incriminating inscription:

Cum vero manum apertam vidisset [sc. the confessor] vidit quatuor circulos sanguineos ac rotundos. In primo circulo erant quatuor cccc, in secundo quatuor dddd, in tercio quatuor mmmm, in quarto quatuor rrrr. In circuitu circulorum ad modum sigilli erat talis superscriptio rubea, continens que hic sequuntur. Casu Cecidisti Carne Cecata; Demoni Decdisti Dona Donata; Monstrat Manifeste Manus Maculata; Recedit Rubigo Regina Rogata.<sup>17</sup>

The narrative tradition of the devil's mark adapts the theme of the mark of Cain to the ends of an exemplum enforcing the cleansing power of confession, although at the same time transforming the nature of the agency by which the miracle is effected. But the shift in symbolism from a sign of Divine displeasure, in the Cain story, to an evidence of direct physical contact with powers of evil, while it marks a descent in imaginative power, does not destroy the inner principle of the concept—indelibility supernaturally caused—which persists through the mediæval moralized tales.

The second element in the situation—the futile ablution—was apparently joined to the ineffaceable stain in early versions of the tale. Another story of the devil's mark in Etienne's collection offers this detail of ineffectual laving—the scrap of human realism through which perhaps this miracle-story was enabled to survive the skepticism of the New Learning. Etienne describes the blackening of a man's hand when it clasps in fealty the hand of Satan, and its ultimate whitening by the act of confession after repeated futile efforts at cleansing on the part of the sinner. "Cum autem," reports Etienne, "hoc faceret et manum dexteram ad promittendum fedus ei, inter manus dyaboli poneret, ibi nigrefacta est quasi carbo; nec aliqua ablucione vel alio poterat dealbari."<sup>18</sup> For this detail it is perhaps unnecessary to account, inasmuch as it reflects a wholly natural human impulse. At the same time, it presents itself in a familiar Scriptural narrative, which may well have suggested the incident—the symbolic washing of the hands by which Pilate sought to disavow guilt of the innocent blood.<sup>19</sup> This incident, it is of interest to note, twice serves with Shakespeare the ends of metaphor. The first instance is in *King Richard II*:

<sup>17</sup> Oosterley, *ed. cit.* p. 291.

<sup>18</sup> Etienne de Bourbon, *ed. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>19</sup> Matt. xxvii: 24. For the primitive Jewish rite reflected in the act attributed to Pilate cf. Deut. xxi.

K. Rich. Though some of you with Pilate wash your hands  
 Showing an outward pity, yet you Pilates  
 Have here delivered me to my sour cross,  
 And water cannot wash away your sin (iv, i, 239-242).<sup>20</sup>

A briefer allusion stands in *Richard III*.

Sec. Murd. A bloody deed, and desperately dispatched]  
 How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands  
 Of this most grievous murder (i, iv, 281-283).

Purification from the shedding of blood in battle is sought by Bolingbroke (*Rich. II*. v, vi, 49-50) through the somewhat perfunctory vow:

I'll make a voyage to the Holy Land  
 To wash this blood off from my guilty hand.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> This passage was noted by Sir Walter Raleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 185. I have been reminded by Professor Robert Adger Law of the passage in the *Faerie Queene* describing Sir Guyon's vain effort to cleanse the bloodstained hands of the infant Ruddymane (Bk. II, Canto II, St. iii).

He washt them oft and oft, yet nought they beene  
 For all his washing cleaner Still he strove  
 Yet still the litle hands were bloody seene.

The blood stain is in this instance symbolic of another's guilt, and intended to serve as a permanent reminder of the duty of vengeance. The lines of Stanza iv, describing Sir Guyon's amazement at the phenomenon, are of interest as bringing in the ancient concept underlying the story of the mark of Cain:

He wist not whether blott of fowle offense  
 Might not be purgd with water nor with bath;  
 Or that High God, in lieu of innocence  
 Imprinted had that token of his wrath,  
 To shew how sore bloodguiltinesse he hat'th.

Numerous instances of the appearance in later legend of symbolic washing of the hands could doubtless be assembled. A few may be noted here. The legend of Pilate associated with Lake Lucerne is recorded by Scott in *Anne of Geierstein*, Chap. I. "According to popular belief, a form is often seen to emerge from the gloomy waters and go through the action of one washing his hands; and when he does so, dark clouds of mist gather first round the bosom of the Infernal Lake (such it has been styled of old) and then wrapping the whole upper part of the mountain in darkness presage a tempest or hurricane which is sure to follow in a short space."—A tradition of the English countryside preserves the legend of a certain Lady Hoby, who killed her son in a fit of anger. After her death she was seen on numerous occasions walking about the house washing her hands in an invisible basin (cf. F. V. Worley, *River Thames* (1926), p. 144). I am indebted for this reference to Miss Mildred Marcett of New York University. My son Carl called my attention to an allusion to the ineffaceable bloodstain in Stevenson's *Black Arrow*, near the close of Bk. II: "Ye have my father's blood upon your hands; let be, it will not washe."

<sup>21</sup> Similarly, atonement is urged upon the Red Cross knight by Heavenly Contemplation: "Wash thy hands from guilt of bloody field" (*F. Q.* Bk. I, Canto x, St. lx).

And finally it was his sense of the futility of physical cleansing to purge a moral stain which prompted the anguished outcry of Macbeth, in his first reaction of terror after the murder of Duncan:

Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood  
Clean from my hand? (II, ii, 60-61).

It was, then, upon a strong current of association that the tale of the blood-stained hand was borne to *Macbeth* in the making. Ultimate origins must elude us, and certainly the beginnings of primitive lustration by water may be referred to the anthropologist. We are, moreover, left to surmise as to what version or crossing of versions was heard by Shakespeare in tap-room or chimney-corner. But we may, I think, feel assured that for many in Shakespeare's audience echoes of old story and the penumbra of an ancient symbolism enhanced the pathos of Lady Macbeth's impotent ritual of despair.

In the case of Act III, Scene iv, in which the spectre of Banquo rises before Macbeth at the feast celebrating his coronation, no such close analogue can be adduced as has been indicated for Lady Macbeth's blood-stained hand. The grimly spectacular banquet scene is rather to be associated with a group of narratives built upon a common formula, the unvarying elements of which are represented in variable detail. For the ghost itself, regarded as a stage effect, it is of course idle to raise the question of a source. Apparitions, as Professor Stoll has abundantly shown, were no novelty on the Elizabethan boards, and Banquo's ghost as such merely repeats a popular convention of melodrama.<sup>22</sup> But the apparition is in this instance inseparable from the setting in which it confronts the hero,—the banquet marking the fulfilment of Macbeth's ambitions. Such a setting affords, of course, special dramatic values; the sudden appearance at the feast signaling the hero's triumph of a ghostly Nemesis carries an element of dramatic irony charged with powerful emotional force. Professor Stoll has thus commented on what he terms this effect of "ironical reversal:"

In the folly and hypocrisy of his homicidal ambition, Macbeth gives voice to a wish that Banquo were present and turns to find him—father of a line of kings—seated on the throne.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> E. E. Stoll, "The Objectivity of the Ghosts in Shakespeare," *PMLA*, *xxii*, 201-233: cf. especially pp. 205-222.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 206. Was it not, however, the "place reserv'd" for Macbeth at the common table, rather than his high seat on the dais, which was usurped by the spectre? For a detailed discussion of the stage-setting and action of this scene, together with admirable interpretation of the situation, cf. J. Q. Adams, ed. *Macbeth* (1931), pp. 194-197.



The scene is unquestionably good theater, and of a type which, we may well assume, Shakespeare's powers of stagecraft, directed by his knowledge of popular taste, were capable of inventing. Invention, however, is to be discounted, where convention pre-exists, and behind the situation in Act III, Scene iv may be traced a clearly recognizable literary formula, not in this case a convention of the theater, for which Professor Stoll has somewhat accustomed us to look, but a convention of popular narrative. This convention prescribes the scene of a banquet, usually invested with some quality of climax, as the *milieu* in which a murderer is confronted by a supernatural omen, recognized as presaging doom. The formula emerges from a considerable number of moralized tales of homicide motivated by ambition or greed, and these tales occur for the most part in widely popular collections—circumstances which tend to establish its vitality in oral narrative tradition. For example, we find in the *Liber de Dono Timoris*,<sup>24</sup> in the fifteenth-century *Alphabet of Tales*,<sup>25</sup> in the *Anecdotes Historiques* of Etienne de Bourbon,<sup>26</sup> and elsewhere, a tale of an archdeacon who murdered his bishop and succeeded to the episcopate. The crime was revealed in a vision to one of the guests at the inaugural feast. When this was made known to the usurping bishop, he "wex wude and swelte." Again we may note in the *Manuel des Pêchés* and Robert of Brunne's adaptation, *Handlyng Synne*, the story of St. Beatrice, murdered by Lucretius for her land. His death is foretold by an infant miraculously endowed with speech while he sits at a feast. Later he dies tormented by devils.<sup>27</sup> Finally, the *Gesta Romanorum* has a story employing in a more elaborate narrative the same formula. A knight slays an old earl and seizes his goods. It is foretold by a voice from the victim's grave that the murderer will live thirty years. He builds a castle without comparison in strength, and at the end of the thirtieth year makes a feast for his nobles, defying prophesy. At the feast a bird of divers colors, recognized as a sight of ill omen, flies in. The knight kills it. The earth forthwith opens and swallows the castle and revelers.<sup>28</sup>

It is likely that this list of stories characterized by a supernatural warning at a murderer's feast could be considerably extended, and a further variety of disquieting apparitions noted. But I should predict that other versions when found would but ring changes on the same unchang-

<sup>24</sup> Ed. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, III, 242.

<sup>25</sup> *Ed. cit.*, p. 60; *inc.* "We rede in Libro de Dono Timoris."

<sup>26</sup> *Ed. cit.*, pp. 54-66. A dramatic version of the story is found in a collection of Miracles of our Lady, *Société des Anciens Textes Français* (1876), I, 101, under the title "De l'évesque que l'arcediacle meurtrit." This tale in its general structure is typical of the group to which the legend of Macbeth belongs. The unifying theme is the punishment of acts of violence prompted by unlawful ambition.

<sup>27</sup> *EETS*, 119, pp. 194-195.

<sup>28</sup> *EETS Est. Ser.*, XXXIII, 268-275.

ing theme; "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose." And the essentially same thing is in this instance, as in many themes of mediæval fiction, a narrative tradition deriving from the Old Testament. The earliest example of a supernatural warning at a feast is, as no one needs to be reminded, the hand which wrote on the wall words of dark portent at the feast made by King Belshazzar to a thousand of his lords.<sup>29</sup> It is true that this tyrant differs from the heroes of subsequent similar tales in that he is not, at least according to the presumptively familiar Scriptural account, an usurper or homicide; he is referred to consistently in the book of Daniel as the "King's son."<sup>30</sup> He does, however, sufficiently typify outrageous use of tyrannical power, and his feast, like those in the mediæval tales, illustrates a vainglorious insolence defying moral law.<sup>31</sup> For the use of the sacred vessels from the Temple as drinking cups marks the climax of his impious career, and it is recorded that "in that night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans, slain." Thus the Old Testament tale established for future story-tellers an invariable sequence, the banquet signaling an iniquitous success, the supernatural omen pre-saging doom, and the doom itself. This sequence, fitting with apposite-ness into the legend of the Scottish usurper, gives us Act III, Scene iv, of *Macbeth*.

The apparition in *Macbeth* is to be distinguished, through its association with traditional formula, from that in *Hamlet*. In the latter play there is nothing except dramatic fitness to predetermine the time or place at which the ghost of Hamlet's father should appear to him; it might as well be upon the battlements as anywhere apart. But in the case of *Macbeth* it was virtually inevitable that a supernatural apparition if called for at all should appear in the setting in which, traditionally, an usurper was faced by an omen of impending doom—the ceremonial feast. Shakespeare, dramatizing the Chronicle, would seem to have paused at the point where *Macbeth* has achieved "all as the weird women promised," to draw into the design a matching thread of old story; and *Macbeth* is prompted to offer Banquo the mocking invitation, charged with a fuller irony than he is himself aware

Tonight we hold a solemn supper, sir,  
And I'll request your presence.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Daniel*, Chap., v. The story is treated in the *Handlyng Synne*, ed. cit., pp. 293-295.

<sup>30</sup> According to the article *Belshazzar* (unsigned) in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions shows that the tyrant came to the throne as the result of a palace revolution.

<sup>31</sup> The terms used by Professor Stoll to characterize the mood of *Macbeth*, 'Αρη and ὕβρις, the classical, "Infatuation and Insolence" (*op. cit.*, p. 209), seem more apt in application to his remote ancestor Belshazzar.

Two of the most striking situations in the play may, then, be referred ultimately to the popular literature of piety. But the indirect dependence of the sleep-walking scene and the banquet scene upon exempla does not exhaust the influence of this type of literature upon the play. The language of *Macbeth* is pervaded by reminiscence of familiar tales, caught from the quick associations of a richly-stored memory into a phrase or line of dialogue. Thus Lady Macbeth's exhortation to her husband on the eve of Duncan's arrival—

bear welcome in your eye,  
Your hand, your tongue; look like the innocent flower,  
But be the serpent under't (I, v, 65-67).—

looks back to an exemplum in the collection of Jacques de Vitry.

Audivi de quodam serpente quod ferebat pulcrum rosam in ore. Quidam attendens tantam rose pulcritudinem cepit eam palpare et odorem cum naso attrahere et quia venenum non attendit, infestus veneno periit. Ita adulator pulchra verba habet exterius sed latet venenum interius; mel et lac sub lingua meretricis, id est adulatoris. Dilexerunt eum in ore suo et lingua sua mentiti sunt ei.<sup>32</sup>

The simile of the serpent concealed by a flower, it is true, had in Shakespeare's day become proverbial.<sup>33</sup> It had been, as will be recalled, employed by Chaucer, "Right as a serpent hit hym under floures."<sup>34</sup> But it would seem to have been current also as anecdote with traditional application; the phrasing of the exemplum, "Ita adulator pulchra verba habet exterius sed latet venenum interius; mel et lac sub lingua," comes close to Lady Macbeth's own words.

Jacques de Vitry may once more be called upon to furnish authority, this time offering a prototype for one of the series of characters summoned from imagination by the drunken porter impersonating the guardian of hell-gate. "Here's a farmer," he avers, "that hanged himself in the expectation of plenty" (II, iii, 4-5). The original hero of this situation is thus presented in an exemplum in Jacques de Vitry's collection:

Audivi de quodam qui multum de grano congregavit et per multos annos carius venderet expectavit. Deus autem semper bonum tempus dabat unde miser ille, spe sua frustratus, tandem pre tristitia super granum suum se ipsum suspendit.<sup>35</sup>

An analogue of de Vitry's exemplum, with the title "Novelletta d'un

<sup>32</sup> *Ed. cit.*, pp. 65-66; cf. also *Cat. Rom.*, III, 660-692.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. M. P. Tilley, *Elizabethan Proverb Lore* (1926), pp. 278-279. Other allusions to the flower-hidden snake in the plays of Shakespeare are here noted.

<sup>34</sup> *Squire's Tale*, v. 512.

<sup>35</sup> *Ed. cit.*, p. 71 (no. 164).

avaro," was printed in Venice about 1845 in a slender volume, *Lippotopo*, etc., which according to the title-page was itself the reprint of a book issued from the press of Thomas Woodcock, London 1591.<sup>36</sup>

The circulation of this story in Shakespeare's time is indicated by the following passage in Hall's *Satires*:

Ech Muck-worme will be rich with lawlesse gaine  
Altho he smother vp mowes of seven years graine  
And hang'd himself when corne grows cheap again.<sup>37</sup>

But the currency of the anecdote is in any case attested by the elliptic quality of Shakespeare's lines, which leave to be understood, as a matter of familiar knowledge, the motive for the farmer's apparently irrational act.

Repeatedly, then, the language of *Macbeth* enables us to glimpse across the centuries the impact of picturesque familiar story upon the dramatist's imagination. Students of Shakesperean backgrounds must perhaps admit a partial truth in the strictures laid upon the investigation of the sources of *Macbeth* by an eminent contemporary critic:

We may learn much from a comparison of *Macbeth* and Holinshed, but after all, Shakespeare the dramatist knew that his audience could not so compare his play with the original narrative, and as a consequence the results of the comparison must always have a slight flavour of the study about them.<sup>38</sup>

Professor Nicoll's pronouncement may perhaps be a little questioned even with reference to literary source-documents, inasmuch as any critic's effort to re-create a Shakesperean character or situation must be affected by his knowledge of the nature of the dramatist's materials. But in the case of the influences of popular story on Shakespeare we may, I think, rightfully hold that the subject of study, at least, is a living process, in which playwright and audience are involved in the same confluent realities of the imagination. Thus I believe we may regard the reflections in *Macbeth* of orally circulated exempla, not as guideposts to obscure trails in the mediæval literary jungle, but as "demon-

<sup>36</sup> The Italian novelletta was reproduced in 1934 for private circulation by Professor John M. Manly, who called attention to the anticipation in this story of "the farmer that hanged himself on the expectation of plenty."

<sup>37</sup> *Satires* (ed. 1597), iv. 6. The passage as quoted by Malone is cited in *Macbeth*, ed. W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright (Oxford, 1880), p. 109. For this reference I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Homer Watt of New York University. Critics have found, in the porter's introduction of the ill-fated farmer disappointed of his profits, a contemporary allusion, pointing to the abundant harvests and consequent low prices which obtained in 1606. (Cf. J. Q. Adams, ed. *Macbeth*, p. 246; Malone cited as authority). The value of the phrase as a chronological index is to some extent modified by its literary connotation.

<sup>38</sup> Allardyce Nicoll, *Studies in Shakespeare* (London, 1927), p. 14.

stration of the continuing vital spirit of an earlier time in the splendidly creative age of Elizabeth."<sup>39</sup>

In a later paper I propose to discuss others of the old tales which serve, in Douce's time-honored phrase, as "illustrations" of *Macbeth*, throwing light especially on the part played by the weird sisters as representatives of the demon world. One group, comprising numerous instances of demonic conclave, provides background for the conversation of the sisters prior to the entrance of *Macbeth*. A story, originally occurring in Alexander Neckham, suggests a reference for the First Witch's troublesome allusion to "a rat without a tail." Further, certain tales of deceptive diabolic prophecy contribute to an understanding of what might be called the conditioned fatalism of the play. But the relationship which I trust I have demonstrated, indicating the backgrounds of *Macbeth* in exemplum literature, may be taken as typical of Shakespeare's reaction to the literature of the mediæval church.

And his fructifying use of this material is, I believe, more to be noted in *Macbeth* than in any other of the great tragedies. This I take to be true because of its closer affinity in subject-matter with the literature of exempla. Such an affirmation holds most obviously perhaps with regard to the element of the supernatural, with which Shakespeare is more seriously preoccupied in *Macbeth* than in the other tragedies. The figures of the witches, bond-servants of Satan, naturally attracted to themselves fragments from those demon-tales which had some link of association with situations in the play. But we may record a profounder kinship. The majority of exempla, apart from *trivia* and illustrations of practical wisdom, are concerned with moral issues, painting with a stroke sometimes grotesque, but often powerful, some confrontation of right and wrong as their author conceives these to be. And it is moral realities, inextricably bound up as they are with human suffering, that dominate the play of *Macbeth*. We recognize in *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Othello* the tragedy of the limitation of human judgment; *Macbeth* alone exemplifies the tragedy of sin.

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<sup>39</sup> W. W. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

## XLVIII

### IS SHAKESPEARE'S *MUCH ADO* A REVISED EARLIER PLAY?

THE DATE of the Q text of *Much Ado About Nothing* is fixed by external evidence within fairly narrow limits. The only quarto edition of the play was registered for publication on August 23, 1600, after having been noted as "to be staied" on a fly-leaf of a volume of the Stationers' Register under date of August 4, with no year attached but closely following another entry dated May 27, 1600, and therefore presumably of the same year. The title does not appear in Meres's list of 1598, although of course there is the ever-present question of the mysterious *Love's Labour's Won* mentioned by Meres, with which, however, no attempts have been made to identify *Much Ado* in recent years. These facts apparently fix the date of writing of the play as between shortly before September 7, 1598, when Meres's work was registered, and August 4, 1600. That it was not immediately before the last-mentioned date is evident from the inclusion of *As You Like It* in the same list with *Much Ado* as "to be staied." Touchstone is a rôle of the type intended for Robert Armin, who superseded Will Kemp as clown of the Chamberlain's Men, while Kemp is known to have played Dogberry. The writing, staging, and popularizing of *As You Like It* therefore intervened between that of *Much Ado* and August 4, 1600. Kemp seems to have left the company early in 1599.<sup>1</sup> These facts tend to date *Much Ado* in the fall or winter of 1598-99, and this is today the generally accepted date.

There has been a marked tendency throughout the nineteenth- and twentieth-century criticism of the play, however, to consider *Much Ado* as possibly a revision of a preceding English drama. This tendency is based upon the following facts. (a) An entry of the performance of a *Benedicke and Betteris* at court appears in the Lord Treasurer's account for 1613, and this has been interpreted as possibly a Benedick-and-Beatrice play antecedent to the present text. (b) An entry in the Revels Accounts of a "matter of Panecia" as rehearsed by Leicester's Men on December 18, 1574, in preparation for a court performance, has been considered as possibly a scribal error for "a matter of Fenicia" and therefore a reference to an early dramatization of the plot from its primary source, the story of Timbreo di Cardona and Fenicia Lionato, the twentieth narrative in Bandello's *Novelle*. (c) A "historie of Ariodante and Geneuora," performed at court on February 12, 1583, by "m<sup>r</sup> Mulcasters children," was pretty certainly a dramatization from a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, pp. 79 and 79 n. 4.

probable secondary source of *Much Ado*, the tale of Ginevra in the Fifth Book of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. (d) Jacob Ayer, of Nuremberg, at some time before his death in 1605 wrote a dramatic version of the story of Fenicia under the title of *Die Schoene Phaenicia*; and this has been brought into connection with the visits of English actors to Germany in the years following 1585, and the theory evolved that Ayer simply dramatized in the German an English play carried to Germany by the English actors, which play also served as a source for Shakespeare. Another play, *Vincentius Ladiszlau* by Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig, printed in 1599, has been used to bolster up the theory although it has no direct connection with the *Much Ado* plot.<sup>2</sup> (e) Mr. A. E. Brae in 1860 argued that *Much Ado* was the mysterious *Love's Labour's Won* of Meres's list, and therefore antedated its generally accepted earliest time-limit. (f) The editors of the *New Shakespeare* edition, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Mr. J. Dover Wilson, in their edition of the play in 1923 argued at length that the 1600 quarto was a revision of some earlier play, however titled, by Shakespeare himself. It is the purpose of the present paper to evaluate these theories in order, with special attention to the latest.

1. The apparent record of a second version of the story, presented under the title *Benedicte and Betteris* at court in 1613, is, I think, easily disposed of. Weight has been given to it chiefly by the authority of Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Jr., who in his variorum edition of the play (1899) quoted only part of the original entries in the Lord Treasurer's accounts and failed to appreciate the significance of some of the material he omitted; and it has been perpetuated mainly by investigators who did not take the trouble to go beyond the material he quoted. Lord Treasurer Stanhope's accounts for the season of 1612-13 contain an unusual list of the plays produced at Court in connection with the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine. The Elector arrived at Court October 16, 1612; was betrothed to the Princess on December 27; wedded her on St. Valentine's Day following; and left with his bride for the Continent on April 10. Both of the warrants are dated May 20, and they clearly fix the season involved as the nearly six months between the Elector's arrival and his departure. I quote the lists in full.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The claims of this play as a matter of collateral interest are presented by Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. lxiv-lxvii, and are dealt with *pro* and *con* in the Furness variorum *Much Ado*, pp. 339-344, quoting Herman Grimm and J. Tittmann. The hero is a *miles gloriosus*, a type well known to the English predecessors of Shakespeare and in 1598-99 already employed by the poet in *Don Armado* and *Falstaff*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Rawl. A 239 (Bodleian), leaf 47. I follow the text as given by Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, II, 343. Nine plays by other companies were also performed at court during the same period (Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, IV, 180-181).

Item paid to John Heminges vppon the cowncells warrant dated at Whitehall XX die Maij 1613, for presentinge before the Princes Highnes the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince Pallatyne Elector fowerteene severall playes, viz.: one playe called *filaster*, one other called the *Knott of ffooles*, One other *Much Adoe about Nothings*, the *Mayeds Tragedy*, The *Merye Dyvell of Edmonton*, The *Tempest*, A *Kinge and no Kinge*, The *Twins Tragedie*, The *Winters Tale*, Sir *John fjalstaffe*, The *Moore of Venice*, The *Nobleman*, *Caesars Tragedye*, and on other called *Love lyes a bleedinge*, all which Playes weare played within the tyme of this Accompte, viz: paid the some of iiij<sup>xx</sup> xiiij<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> [£93. 6s. 8d.].

Under the same date by separate warrant of the Council was paid to "the said John Heminges" for

Sixe severall playes, viz: one play called A badd beginininge makes a good endinge, One other called y<sup>e</sup> *Capteyne*, One other the *Alcumist*, One other *Cardenno*, One other the *Hotspur* and one other called *Benedicte and Betteris*, All played within the tyme of this Accompte, viz: paid Fortie powndes, And by ways of his Majesties rewarde twentie powndes, In all lx<sup>li</sup> [£60].

Dr. Furness believed<sup>4</sup> that in the entry *Benedicte and Betteris* was contained a possible record of a pre-Shakespearean source for *Much Ado*. Since "no other of the plays was acted twice" and since "after the title . . . had been distinctly given in one warrant," on the same day "a different title . . . was given in another warrant," he felt that "the logical assumption is that two plays are referred to. At the same time," he adds, "it is possible that *Much Ado About Nothing* may have had, originally, a second alternative title, like *Twelfth Night; or What You Will*, and that this alternative title bore the names of the two principal characters." Now it is, *a priori*, a quite untenable hypothesis that a theatrical company would keep in active repertory, after a lapse of fifteen years, two partly identical versions of the same play, one highly successful and popular and the other its long out-moded predecessor. It is still more incredible that that company would then be so ill-advised as to climax a season before the King with the inferior production when, near the beginning, it had led off brilliantly with the favorite. And in fact, Dr. Furness's statement that "no other of the plays was acted twice" is an error. As *Benedicte and Betteris* ends the second list, so the first list concludes with the opening play, *Philaster*, duplicated under its subtitle, *Love Lies a-Bleeding*; so that indubitable precedent exists for the repetition even among the plays covered by a single warrant. Moreover, *Sir John fjalstaffe* and *Hotspur* at sight lead one to suspect a third identity (*1 Henry IV*), and the suspicion deepens to certainty when one considers the implications of the surrounding facts. *Hotspur* is listed immediately before *Benedicte and Betteris*. In each of these three pairs of duplications,

<sup>4</sup> Variorum ed., p. xxii.



the second of the pair occupies either a final or a penultimate position in the lists, and two of these seconds occur at the end of the briefer King's list. The sums paid in the warrants too are significant. The first list averages £6. 13s. 4d. a play and the second £10 a play, an advance for the latter of fifty per cent in the rate, and for this the second warrant itself states the reason. The combination of these facts is eloquent to any one versed in matters theatrical. The two lists constitute a series of twenty performances, six of them segregated in the royal accounts merely because when the King was present the regular court payment had to be increased one-half for the King's traditional "largess." The wedding festivities had drawn heavily upon the company's repertory as well as upon the royal treasury, and at the end of the season the King's Men had eked out their artistic resources by repeating their three chief successes, probably "by special request," quite in accordance with theatrical usage. The presence of the King would be an excellent reason for repeating two brilliant plays, *1 Henry IV* and *Much Ado*, that had especially pleased the younger members of the family in his absence; and the love play, *Philaster*, with its theme of feminine devotion, chosen with diplomatic tact to open the series before the prospective bridegroom, indubitably again closed it. From the scrupulousness with which, contrary to custom, titles of plays were being entered in the warrants, it is clear that in this year of unwonted expense the Lord Treasurer was checking up on bills with unusual care; and naturally the canny business manager of the company, John Heminges, sought to maintain the prestige of the organization and at the same time to avoid needless difficulty with the thrifty official formula "and one other" in the pay warrant, by carefully entering twenty different titles for the twenty different performances, and therefore had to give variant titles to *the three repeated plays at the ends of his lists*. Further, "the Prince's Highness," who by the record saw the performance of *Much Ado* in the first list and who naturally would also be present at that of *Benedicte and Betteris* in the second, was none other than the Prince who later, as Charles I, wrote the title *Benedick and Beatrice* opposite the title of Shakespeare's play in his copy of the Second Folio in Windsor Castle.<sup>5</sup> This corroborates the only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the evidence in the warrants. The supposed source play for *Much Ado* conjured out of the last entry in the briefer warrant is a forlorn phantom that never had a real existence. *In pace requiescat!*

The second, third, and fourth of the traces of possible precedent dra-

<sup>5</sup> J. O. Halliwell Philipps, *Memoranda on All's Well that Ends Well, . . . Much Ado About Nothing, . . .* p. 59. Furness, *op. cit.*, p. xxii, refers to Halliwell Philipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, ed. 1885, p. 262; but the entry does not appear in either of the two eds. of the *Outlines* to which I have access.

matic versions of the *Much Ado* material require for their discussion a preliminary sketch of the non-dramatic sources.

There can be no doubt that, directly or indirectly, Bandello's story of Timbreo di Cardona and Fenicia Lionato is the primary source of Shakespeare's play. The following elements are common to the two: (1) a close relationship of the names of the two important characters, King Piero (Prince Pedro) and Lionato de' Lionati (Leonato); (2) identity of *locale*—Messina; (3) the suit of Piero's (Pedro's) favorite for the hand of Fenicia (Hero) and the approval of her father, leading toward an imminent wedding; (4) the use of an intermediary between the lover and the father; (5) the resolve of an antagonistic force, Girondo (Don John), to break off the match by convincing the lover of his fiancée's unchastity; (6) the use of subordinates to produce the required illusion in the lover's mind; (7) the use of a window as the scene of the illusion; (8) the lover's consequent repudiation of the proposed bride; (9) the bride's swooning and mock-burial; (10) the lover's atonement at the supposed tomb of the bride; (11) the lover's consent to marry a lady of the father's choice; (12) the marriage (betrothal) of the lover to an unknown lady; (13) the joyful discovery of the identity of the new bride with the supposed dead fiancée; (14) the arrangement of a second wedding between a friend of the lover's and a relative of the bride to occur at the same date; (15) conclusion of the story with a dance.

This series of events, considerably differentiated from Bandello in motivation, treatment, emphasis, and the method of revealing the deception practiced upon the lover, but unmistakably identical as a narrative sequence, forms the serious plot in Shakespeare's play. For but one of Shakespeare's modifications in it is there a subordinate source. Shakespeare has not only subordinated the scene at the window that forms the crux of Girondo's (Don John's) stratagem by keeping it off the stage, but he has also increased its plausibility by making it, as we learn through dialogue in III, iii, an interview at Hero's chamber window between Don John's follower, Borachio, and Hero's gentlewoman, Margaret, whom Claudio and the Prince are led through her costume to mistake for Hero herself. The details of this stratagem are apparently taken, directly or indirectly, either from Ariosto's story of Ariodante and Ginevra in *Orlando Furioso*, Book v (translated into English by Sir John Harrington in 1591), or from Spenser's story of Claribell and Phedon in *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, canto iv. For Shakespeare's two main changes in the play, namely, the development of the high comedy intrigue by which Benedick and Beatrice are lured into matrimony, and the conception of the Dogberry low-comedy group and its blundering intervention in the main plot, by which action Don John's schemes are brought to

naught, there is no known literary source or suggestion. The influence of the secondary source upon the present *Much Ado*, therefore, is limited to a couple of details in an off-stage scene, as they influence speech and action in the *scènes à faire*.

Of Bandello's *Novelle* (Lucca, 1554), according to Bishop Tanner as quoted by Warton,<sup>6</sup> there was an English translation by "W.W." in 1580, but if so, this has disappeared. A French version of the story, "enriched" from Bandello, was included in Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* (Paris, 1572);<sup>7</sup> but no sign of the numerous enrichments is in *Much Ado*, and it is therefore improbable that Shakespeare either directly or indirectly based upon it. With this non-dramatic source situation in mind we may now resume our discussion of the hypothetically possible earlier dramatic versions of the *Much Ado* material listed in the second paragraph of this article.

2. The "matter of Panecia," rehearsed for Court performance in 1574 on December 18, by the Earl of Leicester's Men,<sup>8</sup> was preceded by Belleforest's French version by only two years and preceded "W.W." 's reported English version by six years. It is possible but improbable that the Paris version would in so short a time have been available for the Leicester Men's source; and therefore if the "matter" really was a dramatization of the story of Fenicia and Don Timbreo, it was pretty certainly based either immediately upon Bandello or upon an unknown translation of him earlier than that of "W.W." This might place it in the same line of development as Shakespeare's play, which apparently bases upon Bandello rather than Belleforest; and it may also be significant that Leicester's players were then headed by James Burbage, the father of Richard Burbage, through whose hands it conceivably might reach the Chamberlain's Men. However, the mere suspicion that a single word, *Panecia*, is a mis-spelling is too insecure a foundation upon which to erect such a conjecture with any confidence.

3. The performance of the "historie of Ariodante and Geneuora" of 1583<sup>9</sup> is of little importance in this connection (1) because, like its source,

<sup>6</sup> Noted by H. C. Bartlett, *Mr. William Shakespeare: Original and Early Editions of His Quartos and Folios*, etc., p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> Through the courtesy of the authorities of the Folger Memorial Library in Washington, and especially of their Reference Librarian, Mr. Giles E. Dawson, I have been able to trace the first publication of Belleforest's version back to the third volume of the *Histoires Tragiques* (Paris, 1572), in which it appears as the eighteenth and last in the volume, with a running title numbering it fifty-fourth in the series. This is ten years earlier than the date given by Furness, who quotes from the ed. of 1582 and is followed by all later editors. The story does not appear in the two-volume eds. of 1559-60 or 1568.

<sup>8</sup> Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 148, citing the Revels Accounts, ed. Feuillerat, p. 238.

<sup>9</sup> Chambers, *op. cit.*, iv, 99, 159, citing the Declared Accounts of the Record Office, 542. mm. 44-45, also the Revels Accounts, ed. Feuillerat, p. 350.

Ariosto, its contribution to *Much Ado* could be at best but slight, and (2) because it was apparently a special performance complimentary to the Queen prepared by the children of the Merchant Tailor's School, headed by Richard Mulcaster, and was therefore outside the regular line of professional development either of the adult or the child companies. It probably never passed into any professional repertory and, even if it did, it could not possibly have served as the initial suggestion for *Much Ado*, the basic relations of which are overwhelmingly with the Bandello version.

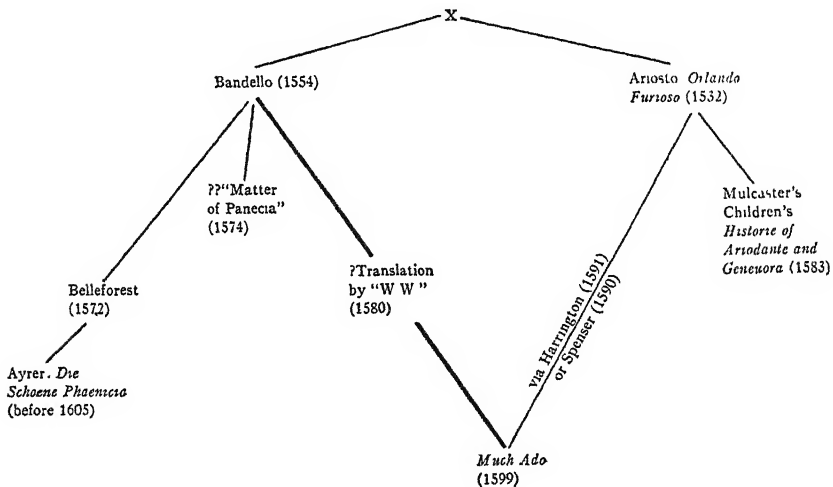
4. As for Jacob Ayrrer's German version of the story, *Die Schoene Phaenicia*,<sup>10</sup> the author expressly stated that his plays, seventy in number, were composed after the English fashion, and many of them, including the play in question, introduce the typical English clown. For the supposition that this play was based upon an English version antecedent to Shakespeare's, however, there is no tangible foundation. As Dr. Furness demonstrated indubitably in 1899,<sup>11</sup> it is based upon the French of Belleforest, a fact that almost inevitably isolates it from the "matter of Panecia" and also from what, by all positive evidence, is the Italian line of descent of *Much Ado*. The only elements not in its source that suggest a possible relationship between it and Shakespeare's play are, first, that in Ayrrer's garden (window) scene, unlike both Bandello's and Belleforest's, a character (here the Clown in woman's garb) does actually appear and is mistaken by Timborus (Claudio) for Phaenicia (Hero) as Margaret is reported (not shown) to have done in *Much Ado*; and second, that Phaenicia's mock death takes place, not that she may later make another marriage, as with Bandello and Belleforest, but, as with Shakespeare, that Tymborus may be led to repent and again receive her. The second was a dramaturgic conception that would naturally arise independently in any dramatist's mind out of the author's knowledge of the approaching sequel. The attempt to make the garden scene more convincing through the lover's belief that he had not merely seen a man enter her apartment but that he had actually witnessed a love scene between the stranger and the betrothed, would also naturally occur to any competent dramatist, and the fact that the scene was used as an outlet for clownery and not as a result of a lady-in-waiting's real love for the villain seems at once to remove this from any actual relationship either to Shakespeare or to Shakespeare's secondary source, whether Ariosto or Spenser. We may disregard Jahn the Clown's vulgarly comic "love" for the servant Anna Maria (brought to a summary

<sup>10</sup> I have not been able to examine the German edition. A partial translation appears in A. Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, pp. 82-111 (German and English in parallel columns) and another in Furness, *Much Ado*, pp. 329-337.

<sup>11</sup> *Much Ado*, pp. xxx and 329 ff.

close before the play is one-third over by the emptying of a bucket of water upon his head) although this commonest of subplot types<sup>12</sup> has been regarded as an early form of the Benedick-Beatrice situation! In short it may safely be asserted that there is no reliable indication whatever of any connection, direct or indirect, between this German version and any English version of the existence of which there is any evidence.

From the considerations listed above, and with due allowance for the limitations of linear diagramming, we may indicate the relations of the various known sources of *Much Ado* and the probable provenance of the three versions just discussed as follows:



<sup>12</sup> Such a comedy subplot with a love complication involving inferiors attached to the principal characters occurs in the earliest known English secular drama, Medwell's *Fulgens and Lucres*. Before *Much Ado* the device had appeared in the *Comedy of Errors*, and Shakespeare again utilizes it in *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, and *Twelfth Night*, with variations of rank and relationship. Shakespeare needed no such suggestion. Further, some elements in Ayer's subplot derive indirectly from Belleforest, whom neither Cohn nor apparently Shakespeare knew. In an "enrichment" of Bandello, Belleforest says that Timbreo passed and repassed Fenicia's home because "so unbounded is the passion of love that the eye once struck by the arrow of Cupid, transmits the wound and conceit to the heart." With Ayer this commonplace crystallizes into a dramatized assault on Timbreo by Venus and Cupid, which immediately finds a comic duplication in the entrance of the Clown, who with an arrow "dishonorably lodged" in his rear and "holding his hands over the spot, alternately bewails his pain and proclaims his love for Anna Maria." (I quote Furness.) The yokel comedically must be fooled, and the use of water for the climax both here and in *Vincentius Ladislaus* points to a current German comic stage trick, but establishes no relationship with Shakespeare. Cupid's arrow also naturally suggests to Ayer the trite reference to Vulcan as the forger of the arrows, an idea that, despite Cohn, has no real parallelism of thought to *Much Ado*, I, i, 185-186.

There remain for consideration only the two attempts to derive the Q text of *Much Ado* from preceding versions by Shakespeare himself.

5. The possibility that Shakespeare's earlier *Love Labour's Won*ne listed by Meres in 1598 as complementing *Love's Labour's Lost*, was really *Much Ado*, as urged by A. E. Brae in 1860,<sup>13</sup> rested upon Brae's assumption that the phrase *Love's Labour* in the two titles was to be interpreted mythologically as "Cupid's Labour" "in the same sense as the fabled Labours of Hercules," and is an attempt to show that the two plays were intended as companion pieces designed to show *Cupid's Failure* and *Cupid's Success*; and in support of this theory Brae collects three references to Cupid and one to one of Hercules' labors in *Love's Labour's Lost* and one reference to Hercules' labors and six to Cupid in *Much Ado*. The references are all mythological commonplaces of the day, and the theory has nowhere been seriously maintained in recent years. And unless it can be reasonably shown that *Much Ado* is early, at least in part, Brae's theory goes down with the *New Shakespeare* hypothesis of 1923. To the latter, then, we next turn our attention.

6. The *New Shakespeare* theory I shall endeavor, as briefly as possible, to present in full, amplifying the statements in the *New Shakespeare* treatment of "The Copy for *Much Ado* . . . 1600" by the supplementary points urged in Professor J. Dover Wilson's "Notes."

First<sup>14</sup> there are pointed out certain actual and certain supposed peculiarities in the text of the drama. Prominent among these are (a) a number of well known irregularities in the stage directions, namely: the mention of Leonato's otherwise unknown wife, Innogen, in the entrance directions of I, i and II, i; the incongruous entrance of Don John with Don Pedro at I, i, 191; the unnecessary entrance of Don John, Conrade, and Borachio at the same time with the Prince, Hero, and Leonato, at II, i, 194; and the extraordinary direction at II, i, 76, *Enter prince, Pedro, Claudio, and Benedicke, and Balthaser, or dumb Iohn*. With these there may be classed the minor oddities of the occurrence of two *and's* in the latter stage direction and in that at the head of III, iv, *Enter*

<sup>13</sup> See his volume, *Collier, Coleridge, and Shakespeare*, pp. 131 ff., or the somewhat cut form given by Furness, *Much Ado*, pp. 367 ff. Apparently the last serious support given this view was that of Fleay (*Life and Work of Shakespeare*, pp. 135, 204), who argued for 1590 as the original date of the play on the insubstantial ground that at I, i, 276 a date *July 6* is mentioned, that at II, i, 351-352 the same day is referred to as Monday, and that July 6 fell on Monday in no year between 1590 and 1601. A parallel argument of Fleay's breaks down for *Every Man in His Humour*, as J. C. Smith pointed out, Arden ed. of *Much Ado*, p. x, n. 2. And W. O. Wright had already identified July 6 with "Old Midsummer Day, an appropriate date for such Midsummer madness." The significance of the date is not chronological but dramatic, as if Benedick had said, "the first of April."

<sup>14</sup> *New Shakespeare* ed., pp. 93-102.

*Hero, and Margaret, and Ursula*; and Balthasar's entrance in the train of the Prince at I, i, 90 although he is not needed for singing<sup>15</sup> (obviously a mere theatrical device for giving the Prince a little more retinue out of the limited facilities of a small theatrical company). The *New Shakespeare* editors also comment upon: (b) Shakespeare's alleged short memory of the names of his characters in that he employs variant speech headings for Dogberry, Verges, and Antonio, and has two characters by the name of Seacoal; (c) two passages that are considered by Professor Wilson to betray imperfect deletions of earlier matter, viz., IV, i, 54-57 and V, i, 106-108; and (d) the punctuation, which Professor Wilson finds light in the dialogue prose but in the verse scenes "careful, adequate, and correct."

Constructively, the *New Shakespeare* editors explain these facts by the hypothesis<sup>16</sup> that there are "clearly two strata" in the play. They conceive that the Claudio-Hero scenes formed the main plot of an early Shakespearean verse play in which there were also two subplots, the one dealing with Benedick and Beatrice (including, as in the present play, the amatory hoodwinking of both by their friends and the participation of both in Hero's interrupted wedding scene), and the other concerned with Margaret and Borachio. This play they think Shakespeare revised in 1599, amplifying the Benedick-Beatrice scenes in prose, tearing out the Borachio-Margaret scenes to make room for the new dialogue, and thereby leaving unexplained some details of the Margaret-Borachio window scene, which was incidentally relegated to a position off stage. In support of this theory Professor Wilson supplements the arguments given above by finding reasons for believing that the verse scenes of the play are metrically of an earlier type than Shakespeare was writing in 1599 and reminiscent of the style of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; by identifying occasional verse rhythms in some prose passages, thus leading to a suspicion that those passages were rewritten from earlier verse; and by a few minor stylistic points as to individual passages. Incidentally, from the questions raised at various points in the discussion it appears that the theory involves the supposition that the earlier play contained scenes answering the queries:—Who was "my uncle's fool" (alluded to by Beatrice at I, i, 37 and hypothetically crowded out of the *textus receptus* on account of the introduction of the comic Dogberry, Verges, and the Watch)? Why had Don Pedro and Don John quarreled and how been reconciled? What were the pre-

<sup>15</sup> He is mute throughout the sixty-seven lines of the passage and is not to be identified for the audience until II, iii, 45, and therefore, whatever may be his apparent significance for a literary editor, in I, i, he as yet has none for the audience, who will not remember his brief presence here when he again appears, or be at all concerned about it if they do. Shakespeare is working in accordance with the principles of audience psychology, not the psychology of an undesired reader.

<sup>16</sup> Pp. 102-107 and Notes *passim*.

ceding love passages between Beatrice and Benedick that she refers to at II, i, 259–262? Why did the Prince and Claudio ask Balthasar to arrange a serenade at II, iii, 88–89? Why did Beatrice not sleep with Hero on her pre-wedding night? Where *did* Hero sleep? How did Borachio persuade Margaret to help him deceive Claudio? Why did Margaret not report her escapade? How did she defend herself during her interview with Leonato between v, i and v, iv?

Despite my former marked predisposition in favor of the *New Shakespeare* theory, and my very lively appreciation of the debt of gratitude that the world of Shakespearean scholarship owes in general to the labors of the *New Shakespeare* editors, in this case of *Much Ado*, point by point, I find their evidence fallacious. It is possible for an editor to work so microscopically that he loses his sense of artistic values; and here much of the argument is based upon Professor Wilson's apparent forgetfulness of the nature of the dramatist's art and a misapprehension of the creative processes of dramatic composition.<sup>17</sup> Such is the convincing power of Shakespeare's genius that it often transcends the necessities of the dramatist's craft and amazingly well stands the application of tests that are properly applicable only to other literary media. But one must not expect that this will always be the case. Shakespeare is responsible only for meeting the criteria of his own art. The dramatist is not a historian, a biographer, or even a novelist. He writes, not for the reader in the study, but for the spectator in the theatre. Shakespeare aimed to produce the illusion of life upon his audiences both by presenting certain scenes before their eyes and by giving perspective and motivation in the past and behind the scenes. The *New Shakespeare* editors are here taking for granted, not merely a fictional illusion of solidity, but the equivalent of a biographical solidarity. Many of the questions raised above for *Much Ado* we might parallel for *Hamlet* and on these grounds hypothesize an early Shakespearean play with scenes showing the child Hamlet at play with the jester Yorick (crowded out of Shakespeare's hypothetical later revision by the admission of the comic grave-diggers); depicting Hamlet's life at Wittenberg, where he was so much immersed in "your philosophy" that he quite misunderstood what manner of men Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were; telling in detail how the quarrel arose between the elder Hamlet and the father of young Fortinbras; representing the early relations between the Queen and Claudius and making it extremely clear why the Queen, if innocent of complicity in the murder of her husband, did not denounce Claudius; letting us see

<sup>17</sup> I am by no means unmindful of the fact that Professor Wilson's co-editor is the justly admired author of a large body of fiction as well as a volume on *Shakespeare's Workmanship*; but I am not aware that he has had experience as a playwright, in which profession, I reiterate, the conditions and psychological operations of the author are quite different.



the first love passages between Hamlet and Ophelia; and so forth;—all of which, it might be assumed, Shakespeare cut out again from his later play in order to concentrate on the duel between the young Prince and his uncle. The retrospective treatment of these matters in *Hamlet* is partly to supply past motivation for present action, partly for perspective to give verisimilitude, partly the result of concentration on matters of fundamental importance with proper subordination of minor detail. Not infrequently, too, Shakespeare thus evades an inconvenient question.<sup>18</sup> And with regard to the events of Hero's pre-wedding night he had especial reason for such evasion. Has Professor Wilson considered *creatively* the full difficulty of the task that he insists Shakespeare at first needlessly undertook? The poet would be called on to contrive plausibly that Borachio, knowing neither of the ladies, should nevertheless oust Hero and Beatrice for that one night from their joint sleeping chamber, at the window of which he and Margaret were to meet, and at the same time he must separate them from each other, else Beatrice's attitude on the denunciation of Hero by Claudio in iv, i, loses the force of its frankness, Leonato's reaction much of its power, and the whole carefully climaxed wedding scene, the chief crisis of the play, is notably weakened. It is obviously impossible that Borachio should do this alone; he must therefore work through Margaret. But he is already taking long risks with the innocent Margaret in asking her to masquerade as Hero on that evening. How could he further ask her to contrive the absence of these two ladies separately from their own sleeping apartment without arousing her suspicions, then or later, concerning the harm intended her mistress by the device? In fact, many an editor, Professor Wilson himself among them, has asked why she was not suspicious as it was. The only possible solution seems to be for Shakespeare to make the scene take place at some other window, pretendedly Hero's; but Bandello himself pointed out<sup>19</sup> the implausibility of using a window other than the heroine's and thus in the lover's eyes weakening the only evidence of his fiancée's unchastity. Let any reader place himself in Shakespeare's position and see if he can invent a natural and safe solution to Borachio's problem. And why should Shakespeare risk the entire plausibility of his drama at its crucial point when, by keeping the scene off stage and putting into Borachio's mouth an airy "I will so fashion the matter," he could do all that the illusion of the play required? And why should he write a special scene or series of scenes in order to satisfy the ultra-critical twentieth century reader (not to say editor) whom he never expected to have, when he knew that under his deft treatment his Elizabethan audiences would delightedly throng his theatre perfectly

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Portia's words to Antonio, *Merchant of Venice*, v, i, 278-279, "You shall not know by what strange accident / I chanced on this letter."

<sup>19</sup> Cf. conveniently, Furness ed., p. 319.

satisfied? But more: to have written in these scenes would have completely destroyed the delicate balance of dramatic values in the play. Commentators have repeatedly insisted, and rightly, on the skill with which Shakespeare has suppressed the melodrama, of which the window scene is one of the two crises, and has kept the comedy atmosphere dominant. And it was especially needful that the window scene be suppressed as it is necessarily referred to five times (in three at some length) in other scenes of the play. Thus, actually to depict the scene in addition would go far to make all the later repetitions anticlimactic. Common sense and good dramaturgy united in demanding that Shakespeare treat the incident as he did in 1599, and the same logic applies to its occurrence in any possible earlier Shakespearcan version.

Especially weak is the climactic argument of the *New Shakespeare* editors that at II, ii, 43-44, Borachio's

words to Don John "hear me call Margaret Hero, hear Margaret term me Claudio," so inappropriately connected with Claudio and Don Pedro, who were presumably intended to watch from a distance in the orchard and hear nothing, were a slip of the pen on Shakespeare's part, due to his knowledge of the un-revised text.

When Borachio speaks thus to Don John he is imaginatively sketching, from his point of view, the scene as he plans it shall take place between him and Margaret, *motivating her action* in Shakespeare's dramaturgy and not knowing as yet where Don John will place Don Pedro and Claudio; and it is certain from his own later statement<sup>20</sup> that at the interview the plan, at least as to the use of Hero's name for Margaret, *was* so carried out. This passage is far more explicable as a development by Shakespeare directly from his secondary source, here most probably Ariosto, than as an absent-mindedly slavish following of supposititious scenes that he had previously evolved in an earlier play from that same source and had partly forgotten. Why adopt so curiously complex an explanation when a simple, natural one will serve as well? And in general, it is wholly unlike Shakespeare, busy man that he was, to go to the trouble of inventing a mass of dramatic machinery to add to a source, and a few years later tear it out again. Shakespeare sometimes adds in revision, but where is there any well authenticated evidence, that, on a large scale and in a lump, he ever elsewhere in revision subtracted important and elaborately planned plot elements? And what makes it especially improbable in this case is, that he apparently did so, according to the *New Shakespeare* theory, for the purpose of adding what, as to the plot action, is unessential matter. Both the primary architectonic reasons for the presence of the Benedick-Beatrice plot were, according to the evidence, already present in the supposed earlier ver-

<sup>20</sup> III. iv. 153-155.

sion. The two were already tricked into a mutual belief in each other's desperate love-sickness, and they were both already concerned in the interrupted wedding of the Hero plot and were ranged among Hero's defenders.<sup>21</sup> Wilson's theory is that Shakespeare cut out a mass of elaborate plot machinery, contrived with unusual difficulty and without necessity, for the purpose of merely increasing the brilliance of the dialogue elsewhere.

There is, too, a certain unintentional ambiguity in the *New Shakespeare* editors' use of the phrase "the old play." Either that supposed play is Shakespeare's, or it is some other author's, or Shakespeare had more than one old play before him. But the *New Shakespeare* editors, while not excluding the possibility of a second "old play," clearly state, "The old play, . . . so far as the internal evidence takes us, was an early play by Shakespeare himself." If so, and if Shakespeare had repeatedly heard the play presented before revising (in fact, had presumably often taken part in it), how, on their theory, can one account for Shakespeare's unparalleled inability in 1599 to remember the names of Antonio and other characters while revising his own dialogue, especially in view of the fact that he had already used the name Antonio in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and in the very title rôle of *The Merchant of Venice*? Again, at II, i, 99-103, we come across the passage:

*Don Pedro.* My visor is Philemon's roof—within the house is Jove.

*Hero.* Why, then your visor should be thatched.

*Don Pedro.*

Speak low if you speak love.

Because these lines are "two fourteeners," say the *New Shakespeare* editors, "We suggest that they are relics of the old play." What old play? Shakespeare's old play, hypothesized by Professor Wilson, was in iambic pentameter, much of it retained in the pentameters of the present *Much Ado*. This must then be from an older "old play" prior to Shakespeare's, written in fourteeners of which these two lonely lines are the sole trace. Where, in Shakespeare's earlier plays, is there ordinary dramatic dialogue written in fourteen couplets in series?<sup>22</sup> Again, if "my uncle's fool" was crowded out of "the old play" of Shakespeare by Dogberry, the Watch, *et al.*, as Professor Wilson suggests,<sup>23</sup> then Dogberry and the

<sup>21</sup> See scenes II, iii; III, i; and IV, i; and Professor Wilson's notes upon them.

<sup>22</sup> Mr. Granville Barker, *Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, p. 49, refers to "fourteeners" in the *Comedy of Errors* and *Love's Labour's Lost*. In the former there are none; the irregular lines are four-stress tumbling verse throughout. In the latter, fourteeners are twice used briefly for special effects—at IV, ii, 58-63, to distinguish an extemporized epigram in stanza form *ababcc*, and at V, ii, 555-558, to color quaintly Costard's impersonation of Pompey the Great in the antiquated "show" of the Nine Worthies. These are very special functions and by no means parallel with the ordinary dialogue use of the single couplet in *Much Ado*.

<sup>23</sup> In his note to I, i, 37.

comic characters around him must have originated in the version of 1599. If so, how, in Shakespeare's earlier version, was Don John's conspiracy brought to nothing, the special function of the comedy group in the drama? There is no clear, organically synthesized conception of "the old play" back of the *New Shakespeare* hypothesis, and the editors make no attempt to wrestle with the dramaturgic difficulties that their hypothesis involves.

To come now to the more specific facts cited by the editors in support of their hypothesis:

The questions of the irregular entrances listed above under (a) are too complex to be treated at length in the limited space here at disposal. I shall give them a comprehensive discussion elsewhere. In general, the interpretation here laid upon them appears to arise from Professor Wilson's lack of practical experience with the psychology of dramatic creation. The more one studies Shakespeare's dramaturgy, the more clear it becomes that he plotted his story as to general order and content of scenes but, like playwrights in general, left the minor details to be worked out in each scene as he proceeded with its writing. Sometimes he changed his mind with regard to a given detail as he advanced. When this occurred, he frequently did not go back to correct past passages, but permitted them to stand (thus making "scarce . . . a blot in his papers," as Hemynges and Condell tell us) until the necessary adjustments should be made at rehearsals, where he would naturally always be at hand to advise and which perhaps he even himself conducted. This supplies the key to the appearance of Hero's mother, Innogen, to cite one such case. She is listed as entering only in the opening stage directions of I, i and II, i, in both of which scenes she is mute; and she is not present even at the wedding of her daughter. Professor Wilson therefore conjectures that Shakespeare blindly copied her into his script from the stage directions in his preceding "old play"—and then forgot her! A much more natural explanation is this: In his plot Shakespeare really *needed* only three women—Hero, Beatrice, and a subordinate (Margaret) to serve as Hero's double and converse with Borachio at Hero's window. But he had a fourth boy for a woman's part at his disposal. What should he do with him? In Bandello's story Hero (Fenicia) had a mother. To this character the fourth boy was tentatively assigned, and Shakespeare gave her an entrance with her husband at the beginning of both Acts as indicated, and proceeded with the evolution of his dialogue. She did not work her way into the dialogue in either case; and the author came to recognize that she was not really needed. Then, during the mask and dance scene in II, i (possibly because you can't have an effective walk-around and full-stage dance with only three couples), he found the convenience of a second attendant for Hero, Ursula. He there-

fore transferred the boy to that new part, which he slightly developed in following scenes, and dropped the mother from the *dramatis personae*. On this explanation Shakespeare is no longer slavishly copying; he is intelligently changing his plan as the dramatic vista of his play opens before him.

The variant speech-headings for Dogberry and Verges I have elsewhere explained.<sup>24</sup> The somewhat similar phenomenon in the case of Leonato's brother Antonio is not difficult as soon as one gets the creative dramatist's slant on the situation. In the story Antonio was not essential. But in I, ii, of the drama, when the confusion as to who was to be Hero's prospective bridegroom arose, for the benefit of the audience Leonato required a confidant. Dramaturgically Antonio is that confidant; histrionically, in the professional set-up of the company, he is "second old man." (Compare "Second Old Capulet" in *Romeo and Juliet*, I, v.) At the beginning of the play, therefore, he was merely a stage necessity—a confidant to be played by an actor accustomed to "old man" parts, possibly with a natural bent toward slightly eccentric humor. Such a humorous touch at least appears in him in the dance scene. He makes no appearance in the wedding scene, where he would have been an incumbrance rather than a help. He makes his appearance again in v, i, where Hero's injured father once more needs a confidant, and here at last, the character having grown on Shakespeare as he worked, Hero's uncle attains to his strongest personality. Primarily, however, he is merely a necessary piece of dramaturgic mechanics, and the Quarto entrance directions and the speech-headings, *Old Man*, throughout betray this fact. Only three times does need for his name develop in the dialogue, and then Shakespeare improvises a name for him, using first an Italian form, "Anthonio," (II, i, 116) and later shifting it to the familiar English, "brother Anthony" (v, i, 91, 99). Once more, these type-character speech-headings arise from no forgetfulness on the part of the poet; he is simply pursuing his work in a craftsmanlike way.

Let us now examine the two "imperfectly deleted" passages that are the most tangible textual basis for the *New Shakespeare* hypothesis. At IV, i, 157–160, in the midst of six pages of almost uninterrupted blank verse, occur these words, squeezed into the bottom of a page:

*Friar.* Hear me a little, for I haue only bin silent so long, & giuen way vnto this course of fortune, by noting of the lady, I haue markt,

<sup>24</sup> *PMLA*, XL (Sept., 1925), 543–550.—But whereas I formerly believed, with Wilson, that this represented a revision from before 1598 to the *Q* version, I now believe it was an immediate amplification of the 1598–99 *Q* text arising from the popular hit made by Dogberry and possibly from other reasons involved in the make-up of the company.

Here the page turns and the speech continues in iambic pentameter. All editors down to Clark and Wright simply rearrange these lines as blank verse in a three- or four-line division, R. G. White also transposing *silent* and *been*. Clark and Wright explain the passage as the result of a printer's "pic" and a consequent resetting with the loss of some words. They print as imperfect, in this form:

*Friar.* Hear me a little; for I have only been  
 Silent so long and given way unto  
 †This course of fortune . . .  
 By noting of the lady I have marked  
 A thousand blushing apparitions  
 To start into her face, a thousand innocent shames  
 In angel whiteness beat away those blushes; *etc.*

Mr. P. A. Daniel<sup>25</sup> with greater penetration viewed the prose-set passages as arising from a miscalculation in the printer's office with regard to the division of material between two compositors, so that one compositor had to set up four lines of blank verse as two of prose in order to condense them at the bottom of his last page and thus avoid interfering with the following paginated material already set up. Finding nothing missing, Mr. Daniel would read:

*Friar.* Hear me a little:  
 For I have only been silent so long  
 And given way unto this course of fortune  
 By noting of the lady. I have marked  
 A thousand blushing apparitions, *etc.*

This reading was followed by Professor Neilson in the American Cambridge edition and by Professor Tucker Brooke in the Yale edition. It is smooth in sense and metre and retains inviolate the *Q* wording. True, it involves the use of *by* in an unusual sense, "on account of," but over thirty years ago Dr. Furness<sup>26</sup> quoted Matzner and Abbot, showing the usage not unparalleled. The *New Shakespeare* editors, however, offer a new explanation, namely, that Shakespeare had cut out a passage of some length from the hypothetical "old play," retaining the introductory words, "Hear me a little," and had failed properly to delete the two immediately following lines; that the compositor failed at first to notice the retained "Hear me a little" and began the speech with "By noting," *etc.*; and that when someone drew his attention to the omission, he included not only the "Hear me a little" but also the following two "imperfectly deleted" lines. They therefore print these two lines in brackets as an unfinished and canceled sentence, thus:

<sup>25</sup> Praetorius facsimile of *Much Ado* quarto, p. viii.

<sup>26</sup> Variorum ed., pp. 208-209.

*Friar.* Hear me a little—  
 †[For I have only been silent so long  
 And given way unto this course of fortune],  
 By noting of the lady I have marked, *etc.*

This is tautological. How *could* the Friar "mark" what he does except "by noting of the lady"? Thus interpreted, these excrescent five words form a more un-Shakespearean flaw than the alleged difficulty as to the use of *by* noted in the alternative reading. The Daniel-Neilson-Brooke text, on the contrary, attaches that clause to the preceding two lines, making it a natural and sufficient reason for the Friar's silence. Further, even if Shakespeare did delete two lines that were afterward accidentally replaced, they did not necessarily come from the old play—they may have been only a cancel of an unsatisfactory opening of the speech. The *New Shakespeare* reading is not only faulty as proposed text; it is also inconclusive as to the conclusion reached.

Quite as unsatisfactory is the treatment of the second of the two "imperfectly deleted" passages. At v, i, 106–109 Q reads:

*Leonato.* My Lord, my Lord.

*Prince.* I will not hear you.

*Leo[nato].* No come brother, away, I wil be heard. *Exeunt amb[o].*

*Bro[ther].* And shal, or some of vs wil smart for it.

*Enter Ben[edick].*

Of this passage Professor Wilson says, "It is not easy to arrange these lines properly, and it is even less easy to see why, or how, the two old men abruptly leave the stage when they appear so determined to have the quarrel out." The *New Shakespeare* assumption is, therefore, that in the older version the quarrel continued, that Shakespeare, in revising, to shorten the scene scribbled *Exeunt amb[o]* in the margin and *come brother away* above the third line, and then intended, but forgot, to cancel the third and fourth lines before going on to add fresh Benedick material. But this explanation fails to recognize both the human nature in the situation and the dramaturgic function of the lines that the editors think Shakespeare intended to cut. The actor's tendency is to play down stage toward his audience, but on the Elizabethan platform-stage all entrances and exits were necessarily at the rear. In such cases Shakespeare has constantly to supply dialogue to cover the time required for the walk down or up stage. Here, on "Come, brother, away," Leonato turns, saying defiantly as he begins to cross, "I will be heard" (i.e., if not now, later), as men will, to save face, when for the moment discomfited and in retreat; and his brother, following, continues, "And shall, or some of us will smart for it," which brings them to the door. The *New Shakespeare* proposed elision would leave the pair to stalk from mid-

stage in awkward silence. Shakespeare was too clever, both as craftsman and as psychologist, to do that.

To turn now to the verse of the play in general, Professor Wilson believes<sup>27</sup> that "so far from resembling what we should expect Shakespeare to be writing at the end of the century, it is all strongly reminiscent of *The Two Gentlemen* and *Romeo and Juliet*." It is quite true that as poetry, either for form or content, *Much Ado* does not rank high. Clearly Shakespeare never developed any deep interest in the Bandello story, which was full of mediæval improbabilities and was, for dramatic purposes, something that must be wrestled with before it could be adapted to his needs. The mood of the play, too, is that of wit rather than romance. Thus the poetic material suffers, especially in the earlier scenes, where one sometimes feels that the author was spurring himself to his task. It is the opinion of the *New Shakespeare* editors that the verse is early, but that this has escaped notice because of the high percentage of feminine endings. However, while they believe that the verse was cut and in a number of passages rewritten as prose, they nowhere suggest that in what they regard as the revision of 1599 it was anywhere rewritten as verse or that new verse was interpolated. In reviewing the theory, therefore, the verse of the play is to be considered as temporally a homogeneous unit. Consequently, I tabulate herewith in a Metrical Table<sup>28</sup> the figures from recognized authorities for (1) the respective amounts of prose, blank verse, and rhymed verse, (2) the standard metrical tests so far as pertinent, and (3) the percentages for rhymed lines and for short lines mingled with blank verse, for the following plays: *Two Gentlemen*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Much Ado*, and *Twelfth Night*; and I supplement these with the corresponding figures for three later dramas to complete the curves of Shakespeare's metrical development. The first three columns give information as to the relative breadth of base upon which the metrical percentages are estimated. The heart of the tables is in columns 4 to 9. Here the figures for *Romeo and Juliet* are necessarily based upon the revision of the play published in the basic

<sup>27</sup> *New Shakespeare* ed., p. 104.

<sup>28</sup> Columns (1), (2), and (3) are from Chambers, *Shakespeare*, II, 398 (2), (4), and (3), who corrects Fleay's figures as given in C. M. Ingleby, *Shakespeare, The Man and His Work*, II, 99. They are quoted here merely as an aid in interpreting columns (4)-(9). Column (4) is from König, *Der Vers in Shakespeares Dramen*, p. 132. Column (5) is from Chambers, II, 400 (2), following Fleay in Ingleby, II, 71, I convert to percentages. Column (6) is from Chambers, II, 400 (7), who quotes from Fleay in Ingleby, II, 99; I convert to percentages. Column (7) is from König, 134. Column (8) is from Chambers, II, 402 (4-5). Columns (9)-(10) are from König, pp. 133, 131. Column (11) is from Chambers, II, 400 (1) quoted from Fleay in Ingleby, II, 99; I convert to percentages. In all percentages Chambers turns decimal figures into the nearest integer, treating 0.5 as 1; I follow the same rule in the second decimal place.



## METRICAL TABLE

(1) Total prose lines; (2) Number of blank verse lines excluding prologues, epilogues, choruses, interludes, masques, etc.; (3) Number of rhymed lines excluding prologues, epilogues, choruses, interludes, masques, etc.; (4) % of feminine endings in blank verse; (5) % of alexandrines to blank verse; (6) % of mid-line extra syllables; (7) % of broken speech endings to total of speeches over a line long and without rhyme tag; (8) % of total unsplit lines with pauses to total unsplit lines; (9) % of overflow (=non-endstopt) lines; (10) % of rhymed five-foot lines to all five-foot lines; (11) % of blank verse short lines to total blank verse.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
<i>Two Gentlemen</i>	654	1510	128	18.4	0.4	0.3	5.8	12	12.4	6.5	4.9
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	455	2101	466	8.2	0.4	0.6	14.9	25	14.2	17.2	2.2
<i>Much Ado</i>	2105	644	76	22.9	1.1	1.7	20.7	21	19.3	5.2	4.0
<i>Twelfth Night</i>	1752	762	176	25.6	1.2	3.7	36.3	25	14.7	13.7	7.3
<i>Hamlet</i>	1211	2444	135	22.6	1.3	3.2	51.6	26	23.1	2.7	6.3
<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>	287	2732	40	26.5	1.7	4.4	77.5	44	43.3	0.7	5.2
<i>Tempest</i>	464	1445	64	35.4	1.3	2.3	84.5	42	41.5	0.1	4.6

text (1599) and made an undetermined time (1596?) before that date; while concerning *Twelfth Night* Professor Wilson himself is of the opinion<sup>29</sup> that it probably dates at earliest to the winter of 1600-01. If, then, the verse of *Much Ado*, like the prose, is derived from 1598-99, one would expect that the significant verse tests for that play would in general be intermediate between the other two. Such indeed is the case. *Much Ado* finds such intermediate position as to feminine endings, alexandrines, mid-line extra syllables, and broken speech endings, and in the matter of feminine endings and alexandrines it is closer to *Twelfth Night* than to *Romeo and Juliet*. In the figures for pause in unsplit lines it is below both the revised *Romeo and Juliet* and *Twelfth Night*, but far above the really early *Two Gentlemen*. The immaturity of *Two Gentlemen* in comparison with *Much Ado* is evident throughout, and especially so in the matter of alexandrines, mid-line extra syllables, broken speech endings, and pauses in unsplit lines. It is especially noteworthy that in the test of overflow *vs.* end-stopt lines, which Professor Wilson particularly emphasizes as indicative of the early date of the verse of *Much Ado*, the fact is that our play has 1.35 times the overflow percentage of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1.55 times that of *Two Gentlemen*, and 1.31 times that of the admittedly late *Twelfth Night*. Even III, i, 1-116, the longest passage Wilson cites in this connection, by his own figures has still 20 per cent of overflow lines, or over one-third more than the average for *Twelfth Night*. The proportion of rhymed pentameters to blank verse

<sup>29</sup> *New Shakespeare ed., Twelfth Night*, pp. viii, ix, 100-101.

is of limited significance in studying the chronological relations of individual plays because it varies markedly according to the type and mood of the subject matter; but in this respect too among the cited earlier plays *Much Ado* most closely approaches the maturity of *Hamlet*, very markedly exceeding *Twelfth Night*. The proportion of short lines is of no chronological significance whatever, but is given here because Professor Wilson's argument stresses them frequently as signs of cuts in revision, though in fact the proportion of short lines in *Much Ado* is little more than half that in *Twelfth Night*, where Wilson's own researches show little revision to have taken place. Altogether, it is obvious that the standard metrical tests give no support whatever to the *New Shakespeare* theory, but on the contrary confirm the traditional view.

In several prose sections,<sup>30</sup> too, the *New Shakespeare* editors find isolated lines that can be scanned as iambic pentameters, or group passages that with a little forcing can be made so to scan, and they therefore suggest that these were originally verse that has been rewritten into prose form. This is unfortunately not susceptible of statistical treatment either *pro* or *con*. But it must be remembered that for years Shakespeare spent mornings and afternoons, six days in the week, and sometimes evenings, in listening to, memorizing, and speaking blank verse lines, and part of the remaining time in reading and writing them. How could he help instinctively thinking more or less in iambic pentameter rhythms?<sup>31</sup> Anyone with a natural ear for rhythm will do so under more or less parallel conditions. Particularly inconclusive are arguments based upon the opening of prose speeches following a versified section, for the dramatist does not at a given point determine, "I will now write this coming section in prose"; he sensitively catches the prose mood as he advances, and it not infrequently takes him a line or two to do so, which is not only a natural psychological process but affords a graceful transition from the one medium to the other.

As for the punctuation of the verse and prose respectively, the final main point on which the *New Shakespeare* editors base their argument, I have critically examined and reexamined every sentence in *Q* from this angle, and I cannot perceive that there is any justification for the conclusions reached. Here and there an important speech of well defined dramaturgic value, *both in prose and in verse*, is in its pointing "careful, adequate, and correct," as the *New Shakespeare* editors allege of the verse scenes only. Between these, shorter and less important speeches

<sup>30</sup> Namely, *r*, iii, 20-27; *v*, i, 110 ff.; and *v*, i, 255, though the last is part of a blank verse passage and may be supposed to have a metrical rhythm.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Chambers, *Shakespeare*, *r*, 233, for their frequency in Shakespeare's prose.

are apt to be careless, *both in verse and in prose*. We must remember that comedy prose tends to be much shorter gaited than iambic pentameter verse and is intended to be delivered at a more rapid tempo, which fact tends to be reflected in a lighter punctuation. We must remember also that the shorter the gait, the more punctuation, and the greater the chance of printers' blunders with respect to it. We must remember further that rapid prose conversation frequently begins speeches with *well, why, yes, no*, vocatives, and the like, and that the punctuation of these in *Q* is notably unsystematic and inconsistent, all varieties of punctuation and mispunctuation being citable for them in both media. As these occur less frequently in verse, however, their inconsistencies there make less impression on the reader. The formal initial capitalization in verse also conceals many possible inconsistencies of capitalization not so covered in prose. But let us compare three cases of good punctuation in carefully planned passages. First consider Claudio's metrical speech of accusation in iv, i, 31-43. (It must be borne in mind that throughout *Q*, within a speech as a rule a colon serves as sentence end-stop, the period being generally reserved for the end of the speech.)

*Claudio.* Sweete Prince, you learne me noble thankfulnes:  
 There Leonato, take her backe againe,  
 Giue not this rotten orenge to your friend,  
 Shee's but the signe and semblance of her honor:  
 Behold how like a maide she blushes heere!  
 O what authoritie and shew of truth  
 Can cunning sinne couer it selfe withall!  
 Comes not that blood, as modest euidence,  
 To witnesse simple Vertue? would you not sweare  
 All you that see her, that she were a maide,  
 By these exterior shewes? But she is none:  
 She knowes the heate of a luxurious bed:  
 Her blush is guiltinesse, not modestie.

As to the prose, the *New Shakespeare* editors offer no suggestion for differentiating between the material they believe originally written for Benedick and its later amplifications. I shall therefore refrain from reproducing his admirably punctuated lines at ii, iii, 6 ff. But it is certainly fair to quote Dogberry's concluding speech in iv, ii, which labors under threefold disadvantages: it is not only short-gaited prose and low comedy, but, since Dogberry and his comrades by the *New Shakespeare* theory supposedly drove out the hypothetically earlier "my uncle's fool," it belongs exclusively to the alleged poorly punctuated 1598-99 material.

*Kemp.* Doost thou not suspect my place? doost thou not suspect my yeeres? O that he were here to write me downe an asse! but maisters, remember that I am an asse, though it bee not written downe, yet forget not that I am an asse: No thou villaine, thou art full of pietie as shal be prou'de vpon thee by good witnes, I am a wise fellow, and which is more, an officer, and which is more, a housholder, and which is more, as pretty a peece of flesh as anie is in Messina, and one that knowes the Law, goe to, and a rich fellow enough, go to, and a fellow that hath had losses, and one that hath two gownes, and euery thing hansome about him bring him away: O that I had bin writ downe an asse!

*Exit.*

Revise the comma after *witnes* to a colon, and, for its subject matter and rapid, excited delivery, this is perfect according to the best standards of the play. And wholly unexceptionable is Borachio's prose speech of confession (v, i, 236 ff.) made to the Prince and Claudio in the presence of Dogberry and referring to him, and therefore also belonging to the second version as conceived in the *New Shakespeare* theory.

*Bor[achio]* Sweete prince, let me goe no farther to mine answer: do you heare me, and let this Counte kill me: I haue deceiued euen your very eyes: What your wisdoms could not discouer, these shallowe fooles haue broght to light, who in the night ouerheard me confessing to this man, how Don Iohn your brother incensed me to slaunder the Lady Hero, howe you were brought into the orchard, and saw me court Margaret in Heroes garments, how you disgrace hir when you should marry hir: my villany they haue vpon record, which I had rather seale with my death, than repeate ouer to my shame: the lady is dead vpon mine and my masters false accusation: and briefly, I desire nothing but the reward of a villaine.

Is not the pointing in this speech as sensitive as that in Claudio's?

But these are specimens of the punctuation at its best. Soon after Claudio's speech we have, in blank verse, such manifestly faulty pointing as:

*Leonato.* Hath no mans dagger here a point for me.

*Beatrice.* Why how now cosin, wherfore sinke you down?

*Bastard.* Come let vs go: these things come thus to light,  
Smother her spirits vp.

*Benedicke.* How doth the Lady?

*Beatrice.* Dead I thinke, help vncke,  
Hero, why Hero, vncke, signior Benedicke, Frier.

And similarly negligent passages appear in the prose. There is no pervasive distinction in this respect between the prose and the verse.

In the light of these major facts I cannot find any ground for believing in an early Shakespearean version of the play. Nor, as already pointed out, can I find any reason for believing that there was an earlier Eng-

lish dramatic version contributory to that of Shakespeare. If the preceding discussion has exhaustively covered the ground—as I believe that, save for several minor details of the *New Shakespeare* presentation barred out here merely by space limitations,<sup>32</sup> it has—any reasonable interpretation of the records shows that, apart from *Much Ado*, there never was a *Benedicte and Betteris*; Ayrrer's German play derives from a French source that there is no evidence whatever, direct or indirect, that Shakespeare knew, and any pertinent similarities between it and *Much Ado* either come from the common ultimate Italian original or are such as would be a natural independent development from suggestions contained implicitly in that original; the *historie of Ariodante and Geneuora*, necessarily basing on Ariosto, could not possibly have served as Shakespeare's main source since the latter lacks many of the details of *Much Ado* supplied by Bandello, and the *matter of Panecia* is involved in the discussion only on the ground of a hypothetically erroneous spelling of a single dubious word in the recorded title of an otherwise unknown play. Nor in the light of the relationship between Shakespeare's play and Bandello's original story is there any necessity for supposing the existence of an intervening dramatic form. I conclude that, on analysis, all hitherto proposed bases for belief in the existence of an English dramatic form preceding that of the quarto of *Much Ado* lack adequate foundation, and that the application of the standard verse tests to the metrical sections of *Much Ado*, like the brilliance of its prose, adequately supports the traditional view that the text of that quarto originated shortly before its publication in 1600, probably in the theatrical season of 1598–99.

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<sup>32</sup> All such details are considered in my forthcoming edition of the play.

## XLIX

### THE PUBLIC REPUDIATION OF HERO

ALMOST every nineteenth-century critic has declared one or more of the leading characters of *Much Ado* in some respects unconvincing or at least distasteful.<sup>1</sup> Chambers, moreover, finds in the play as a whole "inconsistency of purpose" and "the chiaroscuro of melodrama";<sup>2</sup> and Schücking asks why Shakespeare makes his characters "behave as irrationally" as do the characters in *Much Ado*.<sup>3</sup> Lawrence explains the apparent inconsistencies of the plot as the outcome of Shakespeare's close adherence to the old popular tale that was his ultimate source;<sup>4</sup> but in *Much Ado* Shakespeare did make bold departures from Bandello and Belleforest in the Hero-Claudio romance,<sup>5</sup> and, furthermore, replaced two insipid minor characters with the vigorous Benedick and the glib and pungent Beatrice. Stoll explains these difficulties rather as the outcome of dramatic convention, and declares that Hero's public repudiation "is a matter of Elizabethan art and taste rather than of character";<sup>6</sup> but Stoll neither makes clear how Elizabethan "art" demanded the interpolation of such an incident, nor cites similar interpolations in other plays. These two explanations, therefore, seem hardly satisfactory, and this study proposes to examine the problem in the light of Elizabethan culture and ideals. Why is Claudio, though clearly intended as a hero, so mercenary in his wooing, so apparently malicious in publicly defaming Hero, and so fickle in accepting another bride? Why does Hero passively accept such treatment?

Elizabethan gentlemen, still looking upon woman as the weaker vessel, did not favor tendencies toward female independence, but exalted submission to the *summa* of wifely virtue. The ideal wife lived merely to please her husband, and, like Eve, was God's own gift for man's enjoyment.<sup>7</sup> Wife-beating was lawful, though "inconvenient in the decencie of manners."<sup>8</sup> This ideal wife must be chaste;<sup>9</sup> she must be

<sup>1</sup> See *Much Ado*, Furness' variorum edition, "English Criticism," pp. 350, 362.

<sup>2</sup> E. K. Chambers, *Shakespeare: A Survey* (New York, 1926), p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* (New York, 1931), p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> *Much Ado*, ed. cit., 311-329.—These changes occur in both sources: Hero and Claudio converse together before marriage; Claudio does not make attempts on his love's honor; Hero accepts a proposal of marriage; and she is defamed publicly.

<sup>6</sup> E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies* (New York, 1927), pp. 72, 101.

<sup>7</sup> Sweetman, *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Inconstant Women* (London, 1615), p. 53.      <sup>8</sup> William Heale, *An Apologie for Women* (London, 1609), p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> Greene, *Life and Works of Robert Greene*, III (London, 1587), pp. 40, 11.

the "mirrour" of a modesty, preserved at the sacrifice of learning; it were far "better for her to be unlearned and chaste than learned and of a dishonest life";<sup>10</sup> and she should never frequent places of "publicke resort."<sup>11</sup> She must, furthermore, be altogether charming: she should not ape men's fashions,<sup>12</sup> she must speak tenderly, delightfully, lovingly to her husband,<sup>13</sup> she must be attractive but not too "faire."<sup>14</sup> She must covet "less to direct than to be directed,"<sup>15</sup> she must acknowledge her husband to be her superior" for "hee is as a king in his owne house."<sup>16</sup> She must be well trained, moreover, in all household duties, and must know how to "serve and keepe him with true dutie";<sup>17</sup> she must be "both a staff and a chair" for him;<sup>18</sup> and Sir Walter Raleigh admonished his son to take care "that thou be beloved of thy Wife, rather than thyself besotted on her."<sup>19</sup> All of this was not enough: she must have a considerable dowry. Contemporary gentlemen, in fact, were criticized because "they alwaies aime more at the money than at the maide."<sup>20</sup> When no property was in the case, indeed, most of them simply never entertained a notion of marriage;<sup>21</sup> for wedding some poor "mayden" was "utterly unmeete." Truly the ideal wife, especially in the cities, must have been difficult to find; yet these common attributes were emphasized not only in domestic conduct books but also by such different authors as Gouge, Andrewes, Smith, Overbury, Hannay, Braithwait, Swetman, Greene, Markham, and Salter. The Elizabethan parents must educate his daughters to be ideal wives or, since there were no convents, they would remain single and become a financial burden on his hands. The father, of course, maintained absolute authority in all matters concerning their marriage;<sup>22</sup> and without his consent, indeed, marriage was "flat against the commandement of God."<sup>23</sup>

Hero's submission to her father, therefore, reflects the ideal marriageable girl. The characters naturally assume that her choice of a husband is subject to his will: Don Pedro reports to Claudio, "I have wooed in

<sup>10</sup> Salter, *A Mirrhor Mete for all Mothers*, etc., (London, 1579), f. Biii(r).

<sup>11</sup> Braithwait, *The English Gentlewoman* (London, 1631), 50. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Hannay, *A Happy Husband*, "The Good Wife" (London, 1618), B8v.

<sup>14</sup> Swetman, *op cit*, pp. 43, 49.

<sup>15</sup> Markham, *The English Huswife* (London, 1615), p. 344.

<sup>16</sup> Gouge, *Domesticall Duties, Worke* (London, 1627), p. 151.

<sup>17</sup> Markham, *op cit*, p. 4. <sup>18</sup> Overbury, *A Wife* (London, 1614), pp. 11, 175.

<sup>19</sup> Powell, *English Domestic Relations* (New York, 1917), p. 176.

<sup>20</sup> Greene, *op cit*, p. 72.

<sup>21</sup> See J. W. Draper, "The Theme of *Timon of Athens*," forthcoming in *MLR*. He finds this interest in a considerable dowry to be a natural result of the economic pressure of the age.

<sup>22</sup> Gouge, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

<sup>23</sup> Perbus, *A Commentarie upon the Epistle to the Galatians* (London, 1612-1613), III.

thy name, and faire Hero is won, I have broke with her father, and his good will obtained, name the day of marriage",<sup>24</sup> even the independent Beatrice says it is her "cosens dutie to make curtsie" to her father;<sup>25</sup> Leonato, when misinformed that the prince is going to favor his daughter with an offer of marriage at once embraces the possibility and joyously commands her, "If the prince doe solicit you in that kinde, you know your answere",<sup>26</sup> and Hero does not demur. Not only is Hero willing to marry whatever suitor her father demands, but she adjusts her conduct to conform also to his ideas of womanly demeanor. She believes implicitly her father's fling at Beatrice, "thou wilt never get thee a husband, if thou be so shrewd of thy tongue",<sup>27</sup> and suits her words accordingly. When the men are absent, she forgets herself, she speaks rapidly and freely,<sup>28</sup> she even calls Beatrice a "foole",<sup>29</sup> but, in their company, she grows docile and deems it intriguing and "modest" to let her cousin make answer for her.<sup>30</sup> All her speeches are "ideally" sweet and short; she contrasts them to those of Beatrice: of Don John, the latter says, "I never can see him, but I am heartburn'd an howre after",<sup>31</sup> and Hero delicately replies, "He is of a very melancholy disposition."<sup>32</sup> By virtue of her own inhibitions, Hero hoped to marry; and her docility is truly Elizabethan.

Even a woman apparently ideal, however, might not find a husband; for Elizabethan men were prejudiced against marriage. Why marry when "batcheler sensuality" was an accepted convention?"<sup>33</sup> "In these corrupt daies," wrote Heywood, "almost everie Boy of fifteen or sixteene yeres old, knows what a strumpet is, better by his own practice than I can illustrate to him by all my reading."<sup>34</sup> The harlots, indeed, insinuated themselves "into the most principall places and into the companie of those women . . . esteemed for their goodnesse"<sup>35</sup> so that "this kind of cattle" prevailed even when those that were "honest" were denied.<sup>36</sup> In the proper, marriageable woman, Renaissance men, in theory at least, found nothing to praise but passive qualities, such as, obedience and chastity; her very beauty might be a handicap, for "No where lives a woman true and fair",<sup>37</sup> her chastity, moreover, was a priceless jewel for which the husband was solely responsible both to society and to God<sup>38</sup>—a task difficult and tormenting, for

<sup>24</sup> *Much Ado*, ed. cit., II, i, 284–286.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 50.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 62, 63.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 19, 20.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, III, i, 1–122

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, III, iv, 11.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 50.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 6, 7.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 8.

<sup>33</sup> J. W. Draper, "Desdemona: A Compound of Two Cultures," *Rev. Lit. Comp.*, XIII, 337 et seq.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Heywood, *History Concerning Women* (London, 1624), p. 287.

<sup>35</sup> Barnabe Rich, *The Excellency of Good Women* (London, 1613), p. 37.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> Swetman, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 49.

<sup>38</sup> Powell, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–3.



Though she were true when you met her,  
And last till you write your letter,

Yet she

Will be

False, ere I come, to two or three . . .<sup>39</sup>

A wife was all too likely, furthermore, to bring "destruction to her husbande"<sup>40</sup> through "frowardness"<sup>41</sup> extravagance, or deceit.<sup>42</sup> One author recommended the custom of a trial wife "for so long as she shall remaine, as we use to buy horses, or untill we might change her as we do money",<sup>43</sup> in truth, the average Elizabethan gentleman preferred to a permanent wife some convenient temporary arrangement.

Benedick's resolution then to trust no woman,<sup>44</sup> and his opinion that a man who marries thrusts his "neck into a yoke" and "wears the print of it"<sup>45</sup> merely express the contemporary bachelor attitude; and, for abandoning the single life, the only balm for his conscience was that "the world must be peopled."<sup>46</sup> Shakespeare's change of the villain from a jealous, chivalric lover<sup>47</sup> to the bastard, Don John, who naturally revolts against the family as an institution, and who considers a man "a foole that betrothes himselfe to unquietnesse,"<sup>48</sup> indeed, not only voices the usual opinion, but also gives a more natural motive to the forces that supply complication to the comedy. This unromantic attitude toward marriage, however, reaches its climax in Claudio; his love is unconvincing. Like most young Elizabethans, he is interested only in the financial aspect, and so he makes early inquiry, "Hath Leonato any sonne my Lord?"<sup>49</sup> and, learning that he will be his father-in-law's sole "heire,"<sup>50</sup> he proceeds further with the business. Within a few days, moreover, after Hero's supposed burial, he is willing to marry another maid, for thereby he will receive a "double portion."<sup>51</sup> To the Elizabethans this mercenary love, like Bassanio's wooing of the wealthy Portia, was merely proper prudence.

Christian doctrine pictured woman as morally weak<sup>52</sup> and incapable of preserving her own chastity; and a husband must "present his wife to God as Christ did his church, without spot or wrinkle."<sup>53</sup> Men, therefore, were expected to punish unchaste women: "a soldier," for exam-

<sup>39</sup> Donne, "Go and Catch a Falling Star."

<sup>40</sup> Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9

<sup>43</sup> *A Discourse of the Married and the Single Life* (London, 1621).

<sup>44</sup> *Much Ado*, ed. cit., i, i, 232-239.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, i, i, 195, 196.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, ii, 230.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Sources, pp. 314-316; 328.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, i, iii, 43.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, i, i, 285.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, i, i, 286.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, v, i, 299.

<sup>52</sup> Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>53</sup> *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine and other minor works of Lancelot Andrewes* (Oxford, 1846), p. 186.

ple, "could not afford to overlook this sort of imputation for casting a slur on his manliness and courage."<sup>54</sup> For reasons both selfish and wise, their punishment was usually severe: it offered the offended man a soul-satisfying revenge, for it shifted attention from his weakness to his courage; it was a warning to even the most "froward" wives; and it was a necessary protection of the family integrity. A husband, indeed, "taking his wife in adulterie might lawfully kill her."<sup>55</sup> Generally, a man attempted to "conceal jealousy"<sup>56</sup> or any sentiment about which malicious gossips could taunt him; for he would make himself a figure of public fun, even if he tried to gain absolute proof, and fallen woman, indeed, "got but scant sympathy in either the drama or in the life of the time."<sup>57</sup>

The foregoing details explain Leonato's ready acceptance of Hero's apparent sin. As her father, he feels an overwhelming personal disgrace; her act is so unpardonable that "the wide sea had drops too few to wash her clean again";<sup>58</sup> he says death is "the fairest cover for her shame,"<sup>59</sup> and, indeed, he exclaims that he would have killed her had he not thought that she would shortly die.<sup>60</sup> Claudio's reactions in this crisis likewise are conventional. Had he, as in the sources, quietly told Hero and her father that the nuptial rites could not be celebrated,<sup>61</sup> the Elizabethan audience would have felt that justice had not been done. A gentlemen, in fact a count,<sup>62</sup> had been duped by a seemingly virtuous maiden; a false friend had betrayed him by attempting to unite him with a "common stale";<sup>63</sup> revenge was a sacred obligation. On learning of Hero's fault, Claudio could not require fuller proof and dared not even show the human weakness of sorrow; for he would have been a target for "scambling, out-facing, fashion-monging boys that lie and cog and flout, deprave and slander."<sup>64</sup> Had he no other reason, his duty as a soldier demanded that he punish Hero—a duty rendered greater because her father was Governor of Messina. As a mere youth,<sup>65</sup> moreover—and young men often married as early as fourteen<sup>66</sup>—he could hardly be expected under dis-

<sup>54</sup> J. W. Draper, "*Honest Iago*," *PMLA*, xlv, 731.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 730.

<sup>56</sup> Richard Braithwait, *Essaies* (London, 1640), p. 127.

<sup>57</sup> Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 204; and Painter, *Palace of Pleasure*, especially nos. 58, 81.

<sup>58</sup> *Much Ado*, *ed. cit.*, xv, i, 148, 149.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, i, 122.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, i, 132-135. See *Cymbeline*, III, iv, 20-30.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sources*, pp. 315, 328.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, II, i, 287, *et al.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, i, 68.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, v, i, 93.

<sup>65</sup> Throughout the courtship and defamation, Don Pedro implies his youth by anticipating his very thoughts and by furnishing the courage and the initiative of a maturer mind (*ed. cit.*, I, i, 282-320; III, ii, 116, 117; IV, i, 31); Don John caustically rates him as a "young start-up" (I, iii, 61) and a very "forward March-chick" (I, iii, 52); Benedick casually calls him "Boy" and "young Claudio," and later taunts him as "Lord Lack-Beard" (V, i, 200); Leonato, too, admits his "May of youth and bloom of lustihood" (V, i, 76).

<sup>66</sup> Gouge, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

grace and humiliation to depart from the usual norm of precept and convention. Claudio is not the "worm" that Chambers calls him,<sup>67</sup> but, like his comrades in the play, a well-born Elizabethan reacting true to type in trying circumstances; and the romantic plot of *Much Ado* is, therefore, truly realism. Hero's acceptance of Claudio's punishment and her lack of resentment are also of this realism. After such a public defamation, regardless of her innocence, Hero, even with her father's help, could not make another match, she had no alternative; she was happy to be restored.

The present writer cannot agree with Chambers, who finds in the play "the chiaroscuro of melodrama." The dénouement of Shakespeare's source is merely melodrama; but, just as Shakespeare in the *Taming of the Shrew* changed an old farce into a comedy of manners,<sup>68</sup> so, later in *Much Ado*, he made possible an impossible conclusion by inserting the public repudiation of Hero. To an Elizabethan, the publicity of this repudiation provided a *scene à faire* at once theatric and convincing, presented the outraged heroine in a more sympathetic light, and gave point to the complex devices by which Claudio was later persuaded to return. Thus Shakespeare emended his sources to make them more dramatic, more clearly motivated, and more true to Elizabethan life. Indeed, the Hero-Claudio plot essentially conforms with Elizabethan ideals: Leonato explains the proper decorum for a maiden who wishes to marry; Hero, in the presence of men, makes herself apparently ideal; Don John and the two suitors are most unromantic about marriage, Claudio being chiefly interested in the financial side of it; both Leonato and Claudio deem a most severe punishment necessary for Hero's fault; and she in turn is glad to take the only possibility society offered for her happiness. Should we not, beneath the poetic elevation of the style, recognize the social concepts and actualities that, though they seem unconvincing and romantic to our own age, were to the Elizabethans basic and obvious?

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<sup>67</sup> Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>68</sup> Pauline Shortridge, *The Taming of The Shrew, A Comedy of Manners*, forthcoming.

## 2 AND 3 HENRY VI—WHICH HOLINSHED?

IN a recent article in the *Review of English Studies*<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. B. McKerrow opens the question of the use of the 1577 or the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* as a source for *2 Henry VI* and gives it as his judgment that the *Contention* is based on the first edition.<sup>2</sup> In making a study of this question, I have compared in detail the original editions of both the 1577 and the 1587 versions of the history with the Folio texts of *1, 2, and 3 Henry VI* instead of with the Quartos, since in my opinion the Folios are the earlier.<sup>3</sup> Such an investigation furnishes distinct evidence that the dramatist used the 1587 Holinshed and not the first edition.<sup>4</sup>

In *2 Henry VI*<sup>5</sup> one of the most striking pieces of evidence against the use of the 1577 Holinshed is the omission in that version of the word "housekeeping," which Hall, the drama, and the 1587 Holinshed use to describe Warwick. In the drama Salisbury says that his son by his "housekeeping" has "won the greatest favour of the commons" (I, i, 191-192). Hall says that Warwick "among all sortes of people . . . obteyned great loue [and] muche fauour" by his "plentyfull house keepinge" (p. 232). Under the caption "The earle of Warwike his housekeeping" the 1587 Holinshed writes of Warwick as one "euer had in great fauour of the commons of this land" (p. 678). This phrase is entirely absent from the 1577 Holinshed.

One of the only two noteworthy resemblances which Mr. McKerrow finds between *2 Henry VI* and the 1577 Holinshed concerns the death of Cade in Act iv, Scene x. But this episode may be found, as he him-

<sup>1</sup> "A Note on 'Henry VI, Part II' and 'The Contention of York and Lancaster,'" *RES*, ix (April, 1933), 157-169.

<sup>2</sup> Though in his article Mr. McKerrow is ambiguous on the question of the priority of the two plays, in correspondence with me he has written that "the Folio as a whole represented the play in its original form, the printed *Contention* being merely a bad version of it." With the history of the plays as he has thus outlined it, I am essentially in accord.

<sup>3</sup> Both Miss Madeleine Doran ("Henry VI, Parts II and III," *University of Iowa Humanistic Studies*, iv, 1-88 [August 15, 1928] and Mr. Peter Alexander (*Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III*, 1929) have supported this theory. I shall endeavor, in another paper, to establish this same belief further on the grounds of a closer similarity between the Folio and Holinshed than between the Quartos and Holinshed.

<sup>4</sup> He used also Hall's *Chronicles* constantly and Fabyan's *Chronicles* occasionally.

<sup>5</sup> The treatment of sources in *1 Henry VI* is identical with that in *2 and 3 Henry VI*. For the episode of the installation of Winchester as Cardinal in *1 Henry VI* it is more probable that Hall than that the 1577 Holinshed was used; and twelve separate instances concerning Joan of Arc show the use of the 1587 Holinshed alone. There is no evidence of the use of the 1577 edition in *1 Henry VI*.

self states, in Hall. Since there is evident use of Hall in the dramas but no other example of the use of the 1577 Holinshed, it is reasonable to suppose that the playwright was, here as elsewhere, using Hall. The 1587 Holinshed gives this version of the story:

A gentleman of Kent named Alexander Eden awaited so his time, that he tooke the said Cade in a garden in Sussex: so that there he was slaine at Hothfield, and brought to London in a cart, where he was quartered; his head set on London bridge, and his quarters sent to diuers places to be set up in the shire of Kent.<sup>6</sup>

In the play Cade is slain in a garden in Kent by "Alexander Iden, an esquire of Kent"; his head is struck off and taken to London. The version of Hall and of the 1577 Holinshed is:

One Alexander Iden, esquire of Kent found hym in a garden, and there in his defence, manfully slewe the caitiffe Cade, & brought his ded body to London, whose hed was set on Londō bridge.<sup>7</sup>

It is to be noticed that according to both Hall and the drama Iden *finds* Cade in a garden and slays him in self-defense, whereas the second edition of Holinshed tells that Eden waits for him and kills him in hope of the reward. Hall spells Iden's name as the dramatist does; and both call him "esquire of Kent," while the term used in the 1587 Holinshed is "a gentlemen of Kent." Then, too, Hall does not give the location of the garden but leaves the impression that it is in Kent, while 1587 Holinshed places it in Hothfield, Sussex. The drama puts it in Kent.

The 1577 Holinshed contains no hint of the fight of Peter with his master in Act II, Scene iii. Here again the following passage in Hall may have been used:

This yere, an Armerors seruant of London, appeled his master of treason, whiche offered to bee tried by battaill. At the daie assigned, the frendes of the master, brought hym Malmesey and *Aqua vite*, to comforte: for he poured in so much that when he came into the place in Smithfelde, where he should fight, bothe his witte and strength failed hym: and so, he beyng a tall and a hardye personage, ouerladed with hote drynkes, was vanquished of his seruante, beyng but a coward and a wretche, whose body was drawn to Tiborne, & there hanged and beheaded.<sup>8</sup>

In the drama the stage direction as well as the dialogue follows the history:

Enter at one door [Horner], the Armourer, and his Neighbours, drinking to him so much that he is drunk.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Holinshed (1587), p. 623.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207 f.

<sup>7</sup> Hall, p. 222; Hollinshed (1577), p. 1268.

<sup>9</sup> 2 *Henry VI*, II, iii, 58, s. d.

The second edition of Holinshed is much like Hall:

A certeine armourer was appeached of treason by a seruant of his owne. For prooffe whereof a daie was giuen them to fight in Smithfield, insomuch that in conflict the said armourer was ouercome and slaine; but yet by his misgouerning of himselfe. For on the morrow . . . his neighbours came to him, and gaue him wine and strong drinke in such excessiue sort, that he was therewith distempered, and reeled as he went, and so was slaine without guilt. As for the false seruant, he . . . was iudged to be hanged, and so was, at Tiburne.<sup>10</sup>

While the dramatist may conceivably have used either Hall or the 1587 Holinshed here, the evidence is somewhat stronger for Hall.

Another resemblance between drama and history not found in the 1577 Holinshed is the Queen's charge of Gloucester with the "sale of offices and towns in France." Both Hall and the 1587 Holinshed have the accusation, though it is there made by Gloucester of Winchester:

Neither office, liuelode, nor capteine may be had, without too great good giuen unto him, wherby a great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue beene the causers of; for who that would glue most, his was the price, not considering the merits, seruice, nor sufficiance of persons.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps the best evidence for the 1587 Holinshed is the reference (p. 623) to the Duchess of Gloucester's wax taper, not mentioned in the first edition, but referred to in the stage direction of Act II, Scene iv, of the drama. Again the 1587 Holinshed is the only history that both mentions the taper and makes Stanley's name, not Thomas, but John, as the dramatist does.<sup>12</sup>

The genealogy scene in Act II, Scene ii, is apparently also based on the 1587 Holinshed to the exclusion of the 1577 edition. Mr. McKerrow suggests, indeed, that the dramatist used 330 pages of the 1577 version and four reigns—those of Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry VI—for the source of forty-two lines of his play. But the later and much more concentrated version gives all the necessary information, except for Richard's death (obviously to be found at the end of Richard's reign in the 1587 Holinshed) within thirty-one pages of the reign of Henry VI. It is, then, much more reasonable to suppose that the playwright used the 1587 edition for this scene as for the other parts of the drama. Of course it is possible that he consulted the genealogy under the reign of Edward III; but if so, why not in the identical version of the 1587 edition?

<sup>10</sup> Holinshed (1587), p. 626.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 622, Hall, p. 201.

<sup>12</sup> In an article in *RES* for July, 1933, Mr. McKerrow has corrected his former statement that the 1587 Holinshed has Thomas for John.

Even the first passage of the genealogy concerning Edward III's sons, if examined closely, will be found to be closer to the extract from the second edition only, than to the earlier version given in both editions. The second edition under the reign of Henry VI has:

*Edward the thurd had issue, Edward prince of Wales; William of Hatfield, his second sonne; Lionell the third, duke of Clarence; Iohn of Gant fourth, duke of Lancaster; Edmund of Langleie fift, duke of Yorke; Thomas of Woodstoke sixt, duke of Glocester; and William of Windsor seauenth.*<sup>13</sup>

The version of the drama is:

Edward the Third, my lords, had seven sons:  
The first, Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales;  
The second, William of Hatfield; and the third,  
Lionel Duke of Clarence; next to whom  
Was John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster;  
The fifth was Edmund Langley, Duke of York;  
The sixth was Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester;  
William of Windsor was seventh and last.<sup>14</sup>

Both editions of the Holinshed under the reign of Edward III give:

*He had issue by his wife, queene Philip 7 sonnes, Edward prince of Wales, William of Hatfield that died yuong, Lionell duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langlie earle of Cambridge & after created duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodstoke erle of Buckingham after made duke of Glocester, and an other William which died likewise yuong*<sup>15</sup>

The underlining of identical phraseology shows plainly that the extract from the reign of Henry VI in the second edition is much closer to the drama: to be noticed particularly is the fact that in this passage as in the Folio the sons are numbered and that the seventh son is called "William of Windsor" in both. Moreover, the playwright has done what he later did in *Henry V*—copied as nearly verbatim as is possible in verse the words of the historical genealogy. The extract from Edward III's reign, however, includes significant words omitted in the drama and changes the description of the seventh son, the only point of greater similarity being in the expression "seven sons" in both versions.

Concerning Richard II, too, the relationship is closer in the second edition than in the version from Edward III's reign. The second edition has:

The said Edward prince of Wales, which died in the life time of his father, had issue Richard, which succeeded Edward the third his grandsire.<sup>16</sup>

Shakespeare's version is:

Edward the Black Prince died before his father  
And left behind him Richard, his only son,  
Who after Edward the Third's death reign'd as king<sup>17</sup>

Both editions of Holinshed earlier give an account that is not so close: King Edward, after the deceasse of his sonne prince Edward, created the lord Richard, sonne to the said prince, as heire to him, prince of Wales<sup>18</sup>

In these passages the 1587 edition is closer in syntax and in order of words and of thought to the Folio than the third-quoted passage is. In the last extract it is not stated that Richard became king but merely that he was heir-apparent.

Again closer to the 1587 Holinshed is the discussion of York's immediate ancestry. That editions reads:

Lionell the third sonne of Edward the third, duke of Clarence, had issue Philip his daughter and heire, which was coupled in matrimonie unto Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and had issue Roger Mortimer earle of March hir sonne and heire; which Roger had issue of Edmund erle of March, Roger Mortimer, Anne, Elianor.<sup>19</sup>

The dramatic version is almost identical:

The third son, Duke of Clarence, from whose line  
I claim the crown, had issue, Philippe, a daughter,  
Who married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March;  
Edmund had issue, Roger Earl of March;  
Roger had issue, Edmund, Anne, and Eleanor.<sup>20</sup>

The extract from Edward III's reign does not parallel the Folio so closely:

Roger lord Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and of the ladie Philip eldest daughter and heire unto Lionell duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, was established heire apparant to the crowne. . . . This Roger earle of March had issue Edmund, Roger, Anne, Ales, & Eleanor.<sup>21</sup>

It is important that here again the playwright has followed closely the order of the first-quoted passage: (1) Lionel, (2) Philippe and Edmund, (3) Roger, (4) the four children of Roger. The third-quoted extract uses

<sup>17</sup> 2 Henry VI, II, ii, 18-20.

<sup>18</sup> Holinshed (1577), p. 997; (1587), p. 411.

<sup>19</sup> Holinshed (1587), p. 657. The italics are mine.

<sup>20</sup> 2 Henry VI, II, ii, 34-38.

<sup>21</sup> Holinshed (1577), p. 1050; (1587), p. 448. The *Alice* of this point in the *Contention* may thus have come as easily from the second as from the first edition of Holinshed. The italics are mine.



the following order: (1) Roger, (2) Philippe and Edmund, (3) Lionel, (4) the five children of Roger.

The last similarity between the dramatic and historical genealogies concerns a repetition of the entire ancestry both by the 1587 *Holinshed* and by the playwright but not by the earlier versions of the *Chronicles*. The second edition tells of York's mother and father and then enumerates again the Duke's ancestors, beginning with his parents and ending with Edward III:

And the said Anne coupled in matrimonie to Richard earle of Cambridge, the sonne of Edmund of Langleie, the fift sonne of Edward the third, and had issue Richard Plantagenet, commonlie called duke of York. . . . To the which Richard duke of Yorke, as sonne to Anne daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire to the said Lionell, the third sonne of king Edward the third, the right, title, dignitie roiall, and estate of the crownes of the realmes of England and France, and the lordship of Ireland pertaineth and belongeth afore anie issue of the said Iohn of Gant, the fourth sonne of the same king Edward.<sup>22</sup>

The drama has exactly the same repetition in exactly the same order, including even the brief summary at the end:

His eldest sister, Anne,  
My mother, being heir unto the crown,  
Married Richard Earl of Cambridge, who was son  
To Edmund Langley, Edward the Third's fifth son.  
By her I claim the kingdom. She was heir  
To Roger Earl of March, who was the son  
Of Edmund Mortimer, who married Philippe,  
Sole daughter unto Lionel Duke of Clarence;  
So, if the issue of the elder son  
Succeed before the younger, I am king . . .  
Henry doth claim the crown from John of Gaunt,  
The fourth son; York claims it from the third.  
Till Lionel's issue fails, his should not reign.<sup>23</sup>

The earlier version does not have this significant repetition but reads:

Anne the eldest of the daughters was married to Richard earle of Cambridge, sonne unto Edmund of Langlie . . . : the which Richard had issue by the same Anne, a son called Richard, that was after duke of Yorke.<sup>24</sup>

*2 Henry VI* then, seems to have been based mostly on Hall and the 1587 *Holinshed*. Of course the larger proportion of the material in this play is from *Holinshed* where the two editions are identical; but there are six important examples of the use of the second edition alone, while there are none to point to the use of the 1577 *Holinshed*.

<sup>22</sup> *Holinshed* (1587), pp. 657 f.

<sup>23</sup> *2 Henry VI*, II, ii, 43–56.

<sup>24</sup> *Holinshed* (1577), p. 1050; (1587), p. 448.

In *3 Henry VI* the dramatist's treatment of sources is much the same. Henry's description of the battle at first seems to have a rather definite source in the 1577 Holinshed, but here again Hall may just as well have been used. The drama has:

Now sways it this way, like a mighty sea  
Forc'd by the tide to combat with the wind;  
Now sways it that way, like the self-same sea  
Forc'd to retire by fury of the wind.  
Sometime the flood prevails, and then the wind;  
Now one the better, then another best.<sup>25</sup>

The 1587 Holinshed states the same fact:

This deadlie conflict continued ten houres in doubtfull state of uictorie, uncerteinlie heauing and setting on both sides.<sup>26</sup>

Hall and the first edition of Holinshed add the important words "the one part some time flowing, and some time ebbing"<sup>27</sup>—an expression which parallels the dramatic figure more closely.

There are also several instances in which we may be fairly sure that the playwright used the second edition of Holinshed. Henry's oath to entail the crown to Richard is reported in the history:

[Henry] is contented, agreed, and consenteth, that he be had, reputed, and taken for king of England and France, with the roiall estate, dignitie, and preheminance belonging thereunto, and lord of Ireland during his naturall life. And for that time, the said duke, without hurt or preiudice of his said right, and title, shall take, worship, and honour him for his souereigne lord.<sup>28</sup>

The diction of the drama is somewhat similar:

I here entail  
The crown to thee and to thine heirs for ever,  
Conditionally, that here thou take an oath  
To cease this civil war, and, whilst I live,  
To honour me as thy king and sovereign,  
And neither by treason nor hostility  
To seek to put me down and reign thyself.<sup>29</sup>

In Act III the drama is like the second edition in Henry's defense of his title:

I was anointed king at nine months old;  
My father and my grandfather were kings;  
And you were sworn true subjects unto me.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *3 Henry VI*, II, v, 5-10.

<sup>27</sup> Hall, p. 256; Holinshed (1577), p. 1311.

<sup>29</sup> *3 Henry VI*, I, i, 194-200.

<sup>26</sup> Holinshed (1577), p. 1311; (1587), p. 665.

<sup>28</sup> Holinshed (1587), p. 658.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, III, i, 76-78.

Although both editions of *Holinshed* record that Henry was proclaimed king at the age of nine months, it is only in the second edition that we find a statement made by Henry shortly before his death:

My father was king of England, quietlie inioieng the crowne all his reigne, and his father my grandsire was also king of England, and I euen a child in my cradell was proclaimed and crowned king without anie interruption . . . ; all the states dooing homage unto me, as to my antecessors <sup>31</sup>

Thus it is apparent that the dramatist, though using Hall again and again, is still using the 1587 *Holinshed* to the exclusion of the 1577 edition. In 3 *Henry VI* there are three passages which must have been based on the 1587 *Holinshed* alone, and none which must have been based on the 1577 *Holinshed*.

Though both editions of *Holinshed* are usually parallel and therefore leave only incidentally clues as to which edition was used, we must conclude from the many instances in which Hall and the 1587 *Holinshed* are unquestionably the source that the dramatist was mainly using these two originals.

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<sup>31</sup> *Holinshed* (1587), p. 691.

MIDDLETON'S ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE *MERRIE  
CONCEITED JESTS OF GEORGE PEELE*

THOMAS MIDDLETON, dramatist (1580–1627),<sup>1</sup> was not by any means the literary discoverer of the rogue's fascination. Even the moral Harman<sup>2</sup> had lost himself, at times, in the romantic appeal of the vagrants he pictured, and Greene, after a perfunctory moral preface to his series of Conny-catching Pamphlets (1591–92), had given himself more and more unreservedly to revealing the adventurous life of rogues.<sup>3</sup>

The following study results from a much longer one<sup>4</sup> undertaken to determine what part of the prolific sixteenth and early seventeenth century literature of roguery Middleton knew and used as source matter. The works investigated included, in the non-dramatic field, social satire, jest-book, translation, "anatomy," rogue pamphlet, ballad, jig, criminal biography, "character," folk-tale; and of these the *Merrie Conceited Jests of George Peele* reveals itself as one of the most definitely provable sources for certain of Middleton's materials. It permits one to catch the playwright, as he can seldom be caught, following his source closely. Two plays in the Middletonian canon which drew upon the work are *A Mad World, My Masters* and *Your Five Gallants*; gaining acceptance as Middleton's, a third drama, *The Puritan*, has long been known for its close paralleling of sections of the *Merrie Conceited Jests*.

All three of these plays were entered in the Stationers' Register within two years: *The Puritan* under the date of "6 Augusti," 1607; *Your Five Gallants* (as "the fyve Wittie Gallantes") under "22 Marcij," 1608 (i.e., 1607–08); and *A Mad World, My Masters* under "4 octobris," 1608. All three were published in quarto: *The Puritan* in 1607, *Your Five Gallants* without date on its title-page, and *A Mad World, My Masters* in 1608. No evidence contradicts the natural assumption that *Your Five Gallants* appeared also in 1607 or 1608. Many facts would point to the composition, likewise, of the three plays within a few months of one another.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For information upon other bearers of the same name, see Mark Eccles, "Middleton's Birth and Education," *RES*, VII (October, 1931), 431–441.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Harman, writer of *A Caveat or Warening, for Common Cursetors*, reprinted by Edward Viles and F. J. Furnivall in *The Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakespeare's Youth* (New York, 1907), p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> The two writers dealt, however, with almost distinct types. Harman rarely went beyond description of vagrants to be found in the country, Greene rarely discussed figures existent outside of London.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Non-Dramatic Sources for the Rogues in Middleton's Plays* (December, 1932), typescript in The University of Chicago Libraries.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the opinions hazarded by certain critics on the dates of composition: *The*

As to the author, the first quarto title-pages of the dramas bear information as follows: "W. S." wrote *The Puritan*, "T. Middleton," *Your Five Gallants*; and "T. M.," *A Mad World, My Masters*. This "T. M." was first identified with Middleton by the old cataloguers, Kirkman and Archer. E. H. C. Oliphant has ably discussed<sup>6</sup> the value of such attributions, looking upon Kirkman's opinion as that which "counts for most," and regarding his decision in this case as "Probably correct."<sup>7</sup>

The "W. S." of *The Puritan* has, however, led to some conjecture. It appears obvious that the publisher sought to sell this play by implying that Shakespeare wrote it,—a fact which has necessitated its discussion by C. F. Tucker Brooke in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*. Bullen was the first to attribute the play to Middleton, and Brooke has advanced his opinion against the theory only because "the second scene of Act I, with its college cant and reminiscence, is the work of an Oxford man,"—a "certainty first pointed out by Dr. Farmer."<sup>8</sup> This fact no longer affords an insuperable difficulty, for Mark Eccles has proved<sup>9</sup> that Middleton was an Oxonian. There remains no other argument in the way of accepting *The Puritan* as Middleton's. The attribution is one to which E. K. Chambers,<sup>10</sup> W. D. Dunkel,<sup>11</sup> and Eccles conspicuously among modern scholars have given support. The material in this paper tends to support this belief.

The *Merrie Conceited Jests of George Peele*, whose priority to *this drama*, as regards printing, has never been established, was published in the same year, 1607. The similarities in incident are as follows: the jests at the expense of the barber are used in III, v (slightly altered) and vi, of the play; the magic trick, in I, iv; the inn trick, in II, ii;<sup>12</sup> "A Jest of George going to Oxford," in I, iv, and IV, ii, with slight changes.<sup>13</sup> The

*Puritan*, 1607? (Bullen), 1606 (Schelling); *Your Five Gallants*, between 1606 and March 22, 1607-08 (Bullen), 1607 (Chambers), and *A Mad World, My Masters*, between 1606 and October 12, 1608 (Bullen), 1606 (Schelling), and 1604 < > 1606? (Chambers). The conjectures are voiced by A. H. Bullen in *The Works of Thomas Middleton* (London, 1885), Introduction; E. K. Chambers in *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), III, 438-442, *s.v.* the plays named, and F. E. Schelling in *Elizabethan Drama 1558-1642* (New York, 1908), *s.v.* the respective dramas.

<sup>6</sup> In "Problems of Authorship in Elizabethan Dramatic Literature," *MP*, VIII (1910-11), 417

<sup>7</sup> *A Mad World, My Masters* has long been accepted as a part of the Middletonian canon, no one questioning the assignment.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxxi.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 437-439.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 442.

<sup>11</sup> "The Authorship of *The Puritan*," *PMLA*, XLV (September, 1930), 804-808.

<sup>12</sup> Pointed out by F. W. Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery* (New York, 1907), p. 64, n. 1. To some of these, attention had already been called by W. C. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Jest-Books* (London, 1864), III, notes.

<sup>13</sup> Hazlitt, *loc. cit.*

jest-book was, like others, largely made up of other jest-books, but differed from most earlier collections of the sort in that the chief figure is not inane or clownish but is the gay conny-catcher, of gentleman class, of keen alertness, and full of appreciation of his own skill in avoiding creditors and gulling victims. The rogues depicted by the play are not merely George Pyeboord, who corresponds to George Peele, but include Peter Skirmish, an old soldier; Captain Idle, a highwayman; and Corporal Oath, a "Vaine-glorious fellow."<sup>14</sup> The Captain acts the Conjurer<sup>15</sup> in the play, never appearing in the rôle of highwayman. Skirmish and Oath are minor figures. George is the brains of the group, the true conny-catcher, making plans, playing jokes—always with an ulterior purpose—and shifting disguises. His escapades form over half of the play: I, ii and iv; II, i, iii, III, iii, iv, v; IV, ii, iii; V, i, iv—eleven out of eighteen scenes. But George Pyeboord is such a tame figure when weighed against the brilliant (by comparison), many-faceted character of the hero of the *Merrie Conceited Jests* that I cannot believe he could have suggested the "George Peele" of that work. Rather, it seems far more reasonable to suppose that the latter existed before the drama but proved too difficult of imitation in the hands of an inexperienced playwright. For *The Puritan* is certainly the least *expert* of the plays attributed to Middleton and suggests that he was yet experimenting in the art of dramatic composition.<sup>16</sup> I believe, then, (1) that the *Jests* existed prior to the play; (2) for reasons to be set forth hereafter, that the published, rather than the MS. form of the *Jests* was the source for the author of *The Puritan*; and (3) that that author was very likely Middleton. Certainly it can be proved that Middleton knew the collection called the *Merrie Conceited Jests* and that he drew upon it for suggestion in *A Mad World, My Masters* and closely followed it in parts of *Your Five Gallants*.

In the collection under discussion occurs a jest where George's four friends pass themselves off as his servants, inventing an intricate scheme to steal various objects and escape—a plan very similar to, though by no means identical with, the schemes of Folliwit and his companions, Lieutenant Mawworm and Ancient Hoboy, in *A Mad World, My Masters*.

<sup>14</sup> The opening stage directions to I, iii.

<sup>15</sup> He here appears in place of George, who, in the source, acts the magician. See Number XI, "A Jest of George Riding to Oxford."

<sup>16</sup> In view of the facts that this work and *The Family of Love* both satirize Puritans (one can detect many of the ideas behind the satire of *The Family of Love* in embryo, as it were, in *The Puritan*), that both bear the date of 1607 (the latter in SR, "12 Octobris"), and that the latter's prologue says "opinion hath not blaz'd" the author's "fame," one is led to speculate upon the possibility that *The Puritan* just antedates *The Family of Love*, and was printed as by "W. S." because the real author was still, as he tells us, a nonentity.

The jest<sup>17</sup> follows:

[So that the four friends] should seeme as servants to *George Peele* and the better to colour it [it was decided] they should goe change their cloakes, the one like the other, so neere as they could possible. the which, at *Beelzebub's* brother, the Broker's, they might quickly doe: This was soone accomplished.<sup>18</sup>

They repaired to the Three Pigeons inn at Brentford, where they spent all the friends had between them—£5. George then sent a man for an additional piece of baggage, for "I intend not to goe home this two dayes." The man borrowed a horse on which to go, never intending to return. Then George said he expected friends from London and hence wished a good supper prepared.

Now you [the reader] must imagine there was not a peny owing in the house, for he had paid as liberall as *Caesar*, as far as *Caesar's* wealth went. For indeed most of the money was one *Caesar's* an honest man yet living in London.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile, one of the servants besought the hostess to beg his master for permission to go to see a sweetheart of his in Kingstone. She did and provided him with a horse for the trip. *He* escaped. George was now "accompanied with none but one *Anthony Nit*, a Barber, who Din'd and Sup't with him continually, of whom he had borrowed a Lute to passe away the melancholy afternoone." George asked the man to supper, the barber departing till then. Peele next complained how raw and cold it was and borrowed a cloak of the Hostess—"her Husbands holiday Gowne"; with it on, he walked "into the Meddowes" to "practise upon his Lute," never returning, of course. The other two servants escaped while Host and Hostess were busy. In London, "they all met, and sold the Horse and the Mare, the Gowne and the Lute."<sup>20</sup>

For a similar tale, consider the play. Its hero, Folliwit, stands midway between the rogue who yields to occasion and the professional, able to make the most of the passing moment, skilled as if by constant practice, employing disguise in a professional manner—like "George Peele." Folliwit lives in a perfect whirl of rascality. He is seeking to secure for present use some of the money he knows his grandfather has willed to him. Hence he disguises himself and his companions, himself as Lord

<sup>17</sup> Number 1 in the collection. Its title reads: "The Jest of George Peele with Four of His Companions at Brainford" <sup>18</sup> Cf. *A Mad World, My Masters*, I, i, 79–80 and II, i.

<sup>19</sup> Could this be a reference to Robert Keysar or Caesar, goldsmith and manager of the Children of the Revels, who, in Trinity Term 1609, brought suit against Thomas Middleton for a debt? See H. N. Hillebrand, "Thomas Middleton's 'The Viper's Brood,'" *MLN* (January, 1927), pp. 36 ff.

<sup>20</sup> The thieving of the play is accomplished by an entirely different method (see II, iv and v; III, iii; and so on) but the tone is identical—one of impudent rascality.

Owemuch and his fellows as servants. They do not relish this makeup, but, for the sake of the spoils, give in. He is welcomed by Sir Bounteous Progress, his grandfather, who has heard a great deal of Lord Owemuch and who is so fearful of being thought stingy that he heaps courtesies upon them. After everyone has retired for the night, they disguise themselves as robbers, bind all the servants and then Sir Bounteous. They force him to give them all the contents of his cabinets. He begs that they shall not touch Lord Owemuch, but is informed that the lord has already been bound and rifled. He is horrified that a guest should receive such treatment in his house. The robbers, having bound him, resume their first disguise. One, as the footman, can bind all the others and himself remain unbound since

The footman, of all other, will be supposed to 'scape, for he comes to no bed all night, but lies in's clothes, to be first ready i' the morning; the horse and he lies in litter together, that's the right fashion of your bonny footman: and his freedom will make the better for our purpose, for we must have one i' the morning to unbind the knight, that we may have our sport within ourselves.<sup>21</sup>

In the morning Sir Bounteous pays the servant of Lord Owemuch for what has been supposedly stolen from the guest.

In a later part of the play, Folliwit disguises as Frank Gullman, the lady-love of Sir Bounteous, and, while waiting in a room of the knight's house, steals jewels and escapes. His last escapade is to appear at the house of Sir Bounteous, this time disguised as one of the strolling players belonging to Lord Owemuch's company. Lieutenant Mawworm and Ancient Hoboy, his accomplices throughout, are likewise his assistants here. They ask to present *The Slip*, a play, before Sir Bounteous and his guests, and borrow for use as properties "a chain for a justice's hat," a jewel, and Sir Bounteous's watch. While Folliwit speaks the prologue, the rest of his fellows flee with the loot. They are arrested and brought back by the constable, but Folliwit so plays his part that the onlookers think the whole thing part of the play. Folliwit can truly be called a "cheerful knave."

The likenesses between the play and the *Jests* are: (1) the similarity between the heroes' characters is great; (2) the hero's assistants put on the disguise of servants;<sup>22</sup> and (3) a play is presented only to permit

<sup>21</sup> II, v, 76-83.

<sup>22</sup> Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, Chap. VII, "Rank Riders," has a somewhat similar "blue coats" incident, but the work appears to have been written after *The Belman's* success in 1608; that necessarily was after March 14, 1608 (when *The Belman* was entered in the SR), rather late for Middleton unless *A Mad World, My Masters* was written after a reading of the MS. of *Lanthorne and Candlelight*. The SR entry of the play was on October 4, 1608, that of *Lanthorne and Candlelight* not until October 25, 1608. The postulation of relationship is hardly worth while.



thieveries. The last incident occurs in "The Jest of George Peele at Bristow," Number 6 of the collection, which tells of George's arranging for a play, collecting an audience, taking the gate receipts and then, in a borrowed silk robe, giving a prologue which, at his exit (and escape), keeps the audience until he has at least got some distance away. He and Folliwit resemble one another in their hearty enjoyment of the gulling they do. Neither fails to profit by his mischief, yet each proceeds on the slimmest margin in accomplishing his frauds. Brazenness carries them to success.

The *Merrie Conceited Jests* is the only work of the sixteenth or seventeenth century among all those which I have investigated which affords resemblance sufficient to suggest it as a source for Middleton in *A Mad World, My Masters*. The similarities are, however, more general than particular, so that conclusive proof is yet to seek that Middleton knew the jests of this collection. For such proof, one may turn to *Your Five Gallants*.

Almost none but rascals form the *dramatis personae* of this drama, yet Goldstone and Pursenet are by far the most adept of the company. Their dexterity is so great as to justify one in calling it finesse, especially in Goldstone. Both are assisted by "light-fingered" servants. Fulk acts as serving-man to Goldstone and, conniving with his master, manages to game with his betters-in-rank,<sup>23</sup> leaving them penniless by the end of the evening, for he has used false dice. His gain is about eighty angels, to be shared with his master. Goldstone by now is so triumphant that he says to Fulk, "We'll join powers anon, and see how strong we are in the whole number [of coins]. Mass, yon gilt goblet stands so full in mine eye . . . it comes like cheese after a great feast."<sup>24</sup> His inventive powers are instantly set in motion and he wards against the Vintner's presence by sending him for soft wax. Then he hides the goblet, while Fulk screens him a little. Next he proposes that the company disperse. But two Drawers with the Vintner discover that the goblet is gone. The tavern-keeper, tactful as he knows how to be, says:

All's paid, and your worships are welcome, only there's a goblet missing, gentlemen, and cannot be found about house.

*Gol.* How, a goblet? . . . Came there no stranger here?

*Vin.* No, sir.

*Gol.* 'Tis a marvellous matter, that a goblet should be gone, and none but we in the room; the loss is near all, here as we are; keep the door, vintner.<sup>25</sup>

Pursenet meanwhile becomes intensely concerned; aside to the Boy, he says:

<sup>23</sup> The scene occurs in II, iii.

<sup>24</sup> II, iii, 320-323.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 349-352, 357, 359-361.

'Slife, you have not stole the goblet, boy, have you?

Boy. Not I, sir.

Pur. I was afraid.—[Then aloud, boldly] . . . let each man search his fellow. . . .

Gol. Seek about floor.—What was the goblet worth, vintner?<sup>26</sup>

Goldstone proposes that each person present contribute an angel, else "it may grow to a gangrene in our credits, and be incurable." They agree gladly, whereupon he attempts to mollify the Vintner with assurances that the event "has dismayed the gentlemen much" and "not three times thrice the worth of the goblet shall hang between them and thee, both in their continual custom and all their acquaintances'.<sup>27</sup> The money is paid: all go out—Goldstone and Fulk last, snatching the goblet from its hiding-place.

Compare "How George Peele Served Half a Score Citizens," the tenth of the *Merrie Conceited Jestes*. It has a situation in which a group of men at a tavern (?) are forced to share payment for a supper to which George had invited them. George had had a good meal at their expense and had escaped. The situation is not identical with Middleton's but is based upon the scheme of having a company pay for the trickery of one who alone profits, as Goldstone did when he stole the gilt goblet. There is, however, a yet more striking parallel between Middleton and the *Jestes* in connection with this same incident. One seldom has the good fortune to catch Middleton so perfectly as here. In the "Jest of George Riding to Oxford," Number 11, a tale prominent in *The Puritan* also, one finds the hero seeking diligently for a rapier he had hidden from its owner.

"This is strange," quoth George, "it should be gone in this fashion, none being here but ourselves, and the fellows of the house"; who were examined, but no rapier could be heard of: all the company much grieved; but George, in a pitiful chafe, swore it should cost him forty shillings but he would know what was become of it, if art could do it.

The close likeness of this passage to Middleton's wording, quoted earlier, is too striking to be accidental. Compare the following details from the play: (1) Goldstone's "Came there no stranger here? . . . 'Tis a marvelous matter, that a goblet should be gone and none but we in the room"; (2) the gallants search one another in vain; (3) the event "has dismayed the gentlemen much," Goldstone assures the Vintner; (4) it is Goldstone, *the thief*, who is the most persistent in search for the lost article. Since Middleton undoubtedly used the *Jestes* as source in this case, and since the eleventh jest was laid under particular contribution in this and *The Puritan*, there is, it may be noted in passing, still less reason to deny his authorship of the latter drama.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 369-373, 378-379.

<sup>27</sup> II, iii, 385-386, 391, 395-398.

In III, v of *Your Five Gallants*, Bungler catches the Boy trying to pick his pocket. Pursenet is horrified: "Where learnt you that manners? what company have you kept a' late, that you are so transformed into a rogue?"<sup>28</sup> He represents the boy as a degenerate in a noble family. Yet he threatens Bridewell and elaborates on its horrors until Bungler, feeling a mere boy does not deserve such severity, becomes pleader in his behalf: "Come, I'll be his surety for onco."<sup>29</sup> Pursenet appears unwilling, but is persuaded at last; then in an aside to the boy, he says: "You put me to my set speech once a quarter."<sup>30</sup>

The stratagem of getting injured persons to plead for one who has victimized them appears in the *Merrie Conceited Jests* as Number 4, "How George Helped His Friend to a Supper." George there belabored his friend with ill words as Goldstone sometimes did Fulk,<sup>31</sup> and Pursenet, the Boy. George threw food from the table, at the friend, and at length threatened to send his dagger after it. But "the gentlemen stayed him," and George, "after a little fretting," sat quietly, unsuspected by those around him. Goldstone and Pursenet likewise offered to prove dangerous in their feigned anger. Both provoked pity in those who were the real sufferers from cheats, and both managed to appear sincere.

Inasmuch as three plays thus far have been shown to be indebted to the *Jests*, shall one believe all three were written in 1607 *after* the publication of the collection? The conclusive evidence seems to be the fact that the *Jests* were licensed December 14, 1605, yet none of the plays by Middleton drawing upon the work were licensed before 1607; all three of those which do show its influence were entered within a few months of each other, as has been shown above,<sup>32</sup> in 1607 and 1608. The published form of the *Jests* appeared in 1607. Though date of entry does not prove date of composition, neither does it disprove it, and I believe Middleton composed the three plays under discussion near together, while his source was yet fresh in his mind, and that the source, as regards the *Jests*, was the published form of that work.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> III, v, 97-100.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 131.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 151.

<sup>31</sup> Especially in II, iii, where Fulk attempted to join the game from which he eventually emerged with so much gain (see p. 759 above).

<sup>32</sup> See p. 753 above

<sup>33</sup> The argument here tends to strengthen that advanced previously (p. 755) on a different basis.

THE CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE OF  
MIDDLETON'S *GAME AT CHESSE*

THOMAS MIDDLETON'S *Game at Chesse* (1624), expressing the national hatred of Spaniard and Jesuit alike, was played nine days straight before houses packed to suffocation for the first consecutive long run in English theatrical history.<sup>1</sup> With England aroused over the religious wars of the Continent and the return of Prince Charles from his unsuccessful visit to Madrid in quest of the Spanish Princess, the play appeared as a satirical allegory in the form of a game of chess, in which the English have the White and the Spaniards and Jesuits the Black men. Black secures the treacherous Fat Bishop and the White King's Pawn. Overthrow of the English Church and State seems imminent. The White Knight and the White Duke visit the Black House (Madrid), where their capture is attempted; but they checkmate the Black King and overthrow the Black forces. Its most recent editor has said that "more is known about *A Game at Chesse* than about any other pre-Restoration play."<sup>2</sup> Even so, some promising approaches to a fuller understanding have been overlooked.

The title-page of the first two quartos contains a double picture<sup>3</sup> divided by a line, above which eight figures are seated about a chess-table and below which stand three larger figures. As one of the eleven is duplicated, there are ten different personages, each labelled according to his part in the game. Two of the larger figures, the Fat Bishop and the Black Knight, are so clearly distinguished that writers have identified them as the Bishop of Spalato and the former Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, and have observed that the Black Knight is drawn from a particular engraving of Gondomar by Velasquez. Such minute realism is to be expected from everything we know of the play. As a professional writer of City pageants, Middleton was expert in the use of allegorical designs which the popular mind would grasp.<sup>4</sup> The assigned reason for suppressing the play was that it had brought modern Christian kings upon the stage: not an offense against the abstract idea of kingship, but actual impersonation. An official document states that the play represented the King of England, the King of Spain, the Count Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalato, and others.<sup>5</sup> The actor who played the Black

<sup>1</sup> *A Game at Chesse*, edited by R. C. Bald (Cambridge, 1929), p. 19.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> See reproductions in editions of Dyce and Bald. That in Bullen's edition is less distinct.

<sup>4</sup> R. C. Bald, "Middleton's Civic Employments," *MP*, xxxi, No. 1, 65-78.

<sup>5</sup> Conway's letter to the Privy Council, Aug. 12, 1624 (*State Papers [Dom.]*, James I, Vol. 171, No. 39).

Knight made up perfectly, wore a cast suit of Gondomar's, and rode in the litter<sup>6</sup> which Gondomar used because of his fistula. Descriptive lines throughout the play indicate attention to the personal appearance of the other characters.

And yet, in the attempts to identify the personages of the allegory, no one has observed that *the eight other figures are likewise differentiated*, as if to represent individuals. The two Kings are conspicuously contrasted: the White King as a rather elderly man bearded like the royal head on the gold sovereigns called "jacobuses,"<sup>7</sup> and the Black King as a boyish fellow—the only beardless man in the group—with the heavy jaw of the Habsburgs and the long shock of wavy hair behind his ear which appears in all portraits of Philip IV.<sup>8</sup> The two Queens are equally unlike. The middle-aged White Queen, with the high forehead and prominently beaked nose of Anne,<sup>9</sup> wearing the pleated ruff and high-cut bodice of an earlier style of dress,<sup>10</sup> is sharply contrasted with the young Black Queen, with her more delicate features, wearing the fan-shaped ruff and the low square-cut bodice of the new style which had spread from France,<sup>11</sup> the native home of Isabella of Bourbon.<sup>12</sup> These four figures, despite their minute size, afford unmistakable suggestions of the sovereigns of England and Spain. The four other figures do not offer like contrasts, but they seem to me to be recognizable if examined carefully. The White Bishop is distinctly like Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>13</sup> The Black Duke resembles Olivares<sup>14</sup> in the cut of his beard and the heavy outlines of his body. The White Duke has the

<sup>6</sup> Chamberlain's letter to Carleton, Aug. 21, 1624 (*State Papers [Dom.]*, James I, Vol. 171, No. 66).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the pictures of jacobuses in *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916), I, 340.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. pictures of Philip IV in *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, LXVII, 626, 634; XXIII, 602.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the picture of Anne in Sir John Skelton, *Charles I* (London, 1898), p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> J. R. Planché, *British Costumes* (London, 1849), p. 280: "The portrait of Anne of Denmark, queen of James I, exactly resembles, in the general character of the dress, that of Queen Elizabeth, painted by Holbein." Cf. also Mary Evans, *Costume throughout the Ages* (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 148.

<sup>11</sup> Between 1610 and 1630 there was a development from the pleated ruff to the fan-shaped ruff, the latter soon giving way to the falling collar. Cf. Rubens' portraits of his wives, Isabella Brant (1610) and Helene Fourment (1630), in *Die Mode*, by Max von Boehm (Munich, 1913), pp. 5, 50. Cf. also Carl Köhler and Emma Von Sichart, *A History of Costume*, trans. by A. K. Dallas (New York, 1928), pp. 286, 287, 317; H. Knackfuss, *Van Dyke*, trans. by Campbell Dodgson (Leipzig, 1899), p. 52; Evans, *op. cit.*, Fig. 44.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the picture of Isabella in *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, LXVII, 652, and the portrait attributed to Velasquez in the Chicago Art Institute (on loan from Mr. Max Epstein).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the picture of Abbot in Edmund Lodge, *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* (London, 1850), III, 285.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the picture of Olivares in *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, LXVII, 640.

strikingly triangular beard of Buckingham.<sup>15</sup> The White Knight has the same face, with the delicate profile and the large mournful eyes, which Van Dyke immortalized in portraits of Charles.

It has been conjectured that the quartos were surreptitiously printed;<sup>16</sup> difficulties may have attended the publication as well as the acting of the play. Rather curiously, the title-page of the third quarto (an awkward adaptation which was engraved in Holland, printed separately, and attached to a butt left for the purpose)<sup>17</sup> enlarges the figures of Gondomar and the Bishop of Spalato—which would have given no offense to the authorities—but *omits all other likenesses*. Whether or not Middleton had any direct concern with the quartos, the figures of the earlier title-pages resembled ten individuals, four of whom were explicitly named in a contemporary account of the dramatic performance.<sup>18</sup> If, as seems probable, the original title-page was engraved in England by a man who was acquainted with the popular interpretation of the play, it affords contemporary evidence for the identification of characters.

For the second approach, let us consider the introductory poem, "The Picture Plainly Explained." Bald points out that it is found in Quartos I and II, and adds, "Whether or not Middleton was the author it is impossible to say."<sup>19</sup> Whoever wrote the poem knew nothing of chess; he made three unpardonable blunders, twice saying that a Knight checks another Knight, and once saying that the White Knight checkmates the Black Knight by "discovery." *Then as now, no Knight could be checked or checkmated*, and of the attacking forces *the Knight was the only piece which could not give check by discovery*. It is incredible that the author of this poem knew the rudiments of chess. He was equally ignorant of the crisis of the play. From the simplified scene and the abbreviated speech, "Check by discovery," on the title-page (not in themselves wrong, although likely to be misleading), he assumed that the White Knight checkmates the Black Knight. In the play nothing of the sort happens. When the Black Knight exposes his own treachery, the White Knight gives him the lie; then, turning to the *Black King* and speaking for the White Duke and himself, he announces that

. . . wee giue thee Checkmate by  
Discouerye, King, the Noblest Mate of all.<sup>20</sup>

This is perfectly sound chess; a Rook [Duke] and a Knight together can checkmate a King by discovery. The author of this passage would not

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the picture of Buckingham in Lodge, *op. cit.*, III, 223, and the group of Buckingham and his family in the National Portrait Gallery.

<sup>16</sup> Bald, *A Game at Chesse*, p. 32.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 30, 31.

<sup>18</sup> *Supra*, Note 5.

<sup>19</sup> Bald, *A Game at Chesse*, p. 121.

<sup>20</sup> v, iii, 177-178 (ed. Bald).

have contradicted himself and the rules of chess by the absurd statement that one Knight checkmates another. The introductory poem may have been by any bookseller's hack; not by Thomas Middleton.

For our third approach, let us consider why a game of chess was chosen for the allegory. Ward remarks that the allegory "follows a line of fancy not wholly unknown to the Elizabethan drama," but he cites no parallel except the remote one of *A Game of the Cards* forty-three years before.<sup>21</sup> If Middleton desired an allegorical game, why not cards, as in the realistic scene of English life in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*?<sup>22</sup> That scene derived its peculiar force from the homely familiarity of the sight of an English family engaged at cards, as well as from the fact that the audience as a whole must have understood the detailed allusions which were introduced. Why did Middleton attack the Spaniards and Jesuits by the symbolism of anything so unfamiliar to the average Englishman in 1624 as the Royal Game?

The clue to this is the Londoners' idea of chess. As late as 1732, in a play by Fielding, we find Lady Charlotte Gaywit exclaiming, "I wish my whole life was one party at Quadrille." Captain Bellamant replies, "As a Spaniard's is a game at Chess, egad."<sup>23</sup> The King's Men, who acted *A Game at Chesse*, had staged three other plays which represented Italians or Spaniards engaged in chess games: *The Tempest*<sup>24</sup> (c. 1611); *The Spanish Curate*<sup>25</sup> (1622); and Middleton's *Women Beware Women*<sup>26</sup> (1622). For a century before Middleton's time and a century afterwards, the best chess-players were Spaniards or Italian subjects of the Spanish King. Still further, chess was the game of the Roman Catholic clergy; many of them were eminent players, and the best players in the world were under their patronage. Many chess experts, such as Ruy Lopez, were rewarded with benefices in the Church.<sup>27</sup>

The greatest chess-player of the seventeenth century<sup>28</sup> resided in England from 1622 to 1624.<sup>29</sup> An Italian subject of the Spanish King,<sup>30</sup> and a Jesuit<sup>31</sup> who had grown up under the intimate patronage of a cardinal and other prelates,<sup>32</sup> Greco left England, never to return, in the year of

<sup>21</sup> A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (London, 1899), II, 530.

<sup>22</sup> III, II.

<sup>23</sup> *The Modern Husband* (ed. Leslie Stephen), III, VI.

<sup>24</sup> V, I.

<sup>25</sup> III, IV.

<sup>26</sup> II, II. As in *A Game at Chesse*, the older name Duke is substituted for Rook to emphasize the personal allusion.

<sup>27</sup> H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 817-820.

<sup>28</sup> Louis Hoffman, *The Games of Greco* (London, 1900), Preface: "Greco was the Morphy of the seventeenth century, and it may safely be said that in brilliancy and fertility of invention he has never been surpassed."

<sup>29</sup> Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 828.

<sup>30</sup> He was born in Calabria, and was commonly called "the Calabrese."

<sup>31</sup> He left his fortune to the Jesuits (Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 828).

<sup>32</sup> *Loc. cit.*

Middleton's play. At least six copies of Greco's manuscript book of games were left in the hands of courtiers.<sup>33</sup> One copy is known to have been a favorite possession of Charles I.<sup>34</sup> As late as 1656 a chess-book<sup>35</sup> flaunted on its title-page a picture of Charles, claiming that chess was "The recreation of the late King, with many of the Nobility," and announcing that its text was "The study of Biochimo [*i.e.*, Greco] the famous Italian."<sup>36</sup> The English courtiers were enthusiastic about chess, but they were miserable players. In their popular manual, Saul's *Famous Game of Chesse-Play* (1614), the only opening discussed at length is a childish one involving the attempted capture of the Queen in six moves, which Saul says "one author affirmeth that no man possibly can prevent."<sup>37</sup> It is unlikely that Greco ever lost a game in England. As chess was played for stakes,<sup>38</sup> it would be very easy for the courtiers to remember him when they saw an allegorical game in which Jesuits and Spaniards set out to overthrow the English.

The main features of the game are perfectly intelligible. The opening is the Queen's Gambit Declined, Black having first move as so often in seventeenth-century chess.<sup>39</sup> Thereafter all development takes place on the Queen's side. The ending is a double checkmate given jointly by the Knight and Rook (Duke). The Knight, in moving to one side to deliver his own check, "discovers" the check by the Rook, and leaves the Black King trapped. The opening is one of Greco's games,<sup>40</sup> and the ending is peculiarly characteristic of his brilliant style of play. A double check by the Knight and another piece, with both pieces liable to capture and yet invulnerable in their joint attack, is one of his favorite ways of concluding a victory.<sup>41</sup> As this is exactly the situation when the White Knight and the White Duke (Rook) give checkmate, at the very instant they are threatened with capture, it is tempting to suppose that Middleton

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 829.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 830.

<sup>35</sup> *The Royall Game of Chesse-Play*, edited by Francis Beale.

<sup>36</sup> Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

<sup>37</sup> Saul, *op. cit.*, Chap. xviii.

<sup>38</sup> Saul speaks particularly of the stakes. Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. x, says that Greco left Paris richer by 5000 crowns.

<sup>39</sup> The players chose their colors. Black received first move if he touched the hand in which his opponent held the Black King's Pawn. (Cf. the title-page of Saul, *op. cit.*)—I am indebted to Dr. Percy W. Long for an exceedingly interesting suggestion: "Note that this opening *Queen's Gambit Declined* is allegorical of the Spanish marriage." Such an allusion would be too subtle for the average spectator, but it would be all the more amusing to the few who perceived it and to such a lover of chess as Middleton seems to have been.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55: "A brilliant example of Greco's combinations, and his expert adaptation of means to end. At move 10 White's Q and Kt are both *en prise*, but the double check preserves them from all danger, and the next move gives the coup de grâce." For somewhat similar double checks leading to mates, cf. pp. 34, 60, 66, 68, 89, 112, 161.



had seen Greco playing in the ordinaries about London, and that he retorted upon the Jesuits the master trick of their own champion. The White Knight was quoting from Saul's handbook,<sup>42</sup> but he was playing a strategy far beyond Saul's power, when he announced checkmate "by discovery, the noblest mate of all."

Several details of the allegory are worthy of note: (1) Black is assigned to the Jesuit faction, probably because of the dress of the clergy and the popular symbolism of white and black for good and evil. The scene in which the traitors are found to be Black underneath must have been theatrically effective. (2) It is not uncommon for chessmen to resemble sovereigns of the period. White Queens of nineteenth-century sets sometimes have the face of Victoria. When Middleton represented James as the White King he was perhaps showing on the stage what he had seen on the chess-board. (3) Metaphors from chess were often used in the language of the Court. Bacon would almost seem to describe the treachery of the White King's Pawn when he wrote, "I know at Chesse a Pawn before the King is ever much plaid upon."<sup>43</sup> (4) The White King's Pawn, Middlesex,<sup>44</sup> is probably referred to in the symbolism of the chess-board. A checkered board, or counter, the common means of reckoning until the end of the sixteenth century or later,<sup>45</sup> was not only the best-known fixture of a merchant's establishment; it was the recognized symbol of the Exchequer,<sup>46</sup> from the checkered cloth which was always laid on the table of the Court of the Exchequer,<sup>47</sup> and from the ancient system of Exchequer reckoning on the checkered cloth by what was called "The Game of Chess."<sup>48</sup> Middlesex, as head of the Exchequer and as a former London apprentice whose success in business had advanced him to the nobility,<sup>49</sup> was peculiarly open to the familiar symbolism of the counting-board. When his treachery as White King's Pawn is announced, the King reminds him of his mercantile origin,<sup>50</sup> echoing a speech before Parliament in which James had boasted of the royal pre-

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Saul's classification of the mates: "A Mate by discouery, the worthiest of all."

<sup>43</sup> Quoted by Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 839, from the *Apologie*.

<sup>44</sup> Bald, *A Game at Chesse*, pp. 11-12, establishes this identification.

<sup>45</sup> Hubert, Hall, *The Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer* (New York and London, 1891), p. 131, cites one example dating as late as 1676. Frequent references to counter-casting occur in 17th-century drama; e.g., *Othello*, I, i, 31; *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 38.

<sup>46</sup> Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The checkered board must have been a familiar symbol, used for such things as tavern signs, e.g., Pepys refers repeatedly to the "Exchequer" or "Chequers" at Charing Cross.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Madox, *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England*, (second edition, London, 1769), I, 160.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 160, Note 1; Hall, *op. cit.*, 114-134.

<sup>49</sup> Lodge, *op. cit.*, IV, 170-173. Cf. p. 170: "a merchant he remained until he had nearly reached the fortieth year of his age."

<sup>50</sup> III, i, 301-305 (ed. Bald).

rogative to raise a Pawn to high position and to degrade whom he chose.<sup>51</sup> Middlesex had been convicted of corruption in May;<sup>52</sup> his disgrace was the most immediately contemporary event alluded to. If the stage was set as a chess-board,<sup>53</sup> the fallen Treasurer might have been associated with the symbol of his lowly beginnings and of his later high office.

For our last approach, let us consider why the production of the play was ever allowed. There was nothing irregular about the licensing; Herbert must have known that this was perilous stuff, and he would hardly have passed it without the approval of some of his superiors. Until recent years no one has remarked on the fact that the play was licensed in June but not shown until the Court was away from Westminster on a Progress. According to contemporary observers, the actors knew the play would not be allowed to run long.<sup>54</sup> The absence of the Court and the date of performance may have been synchronized by intention; after Herbert had licensed the play, there was no one at hand to stop it.

The immediate protest came from Colonna, the Spanish ambassador, but the playwright had overshot his mark by bringing James on the stage.<sup>55</sup> Although the White King has a few big speeches and is addressed in the same strain of adulation to which the English Solomon was accustomed,<sup>56</sup> he appears as an easy dupe. The Venetian ambassador wrote to the Doge and Senate that "The Spaniards are touched from their tricks being discovered, but the king's reputation is much more deeply affected by representing the case with which he was deceived."<sup>57</sup> The State Papers indicate that James was irritated because he was presented on the stage and because his own ministers were in a conspiracy of silence, so that he heard of the play first through the Spanish ambassador;<sup>58</sup> that he was humored into receiving the play as an attack on the Spanish and not on himself;<sup>59</sup> and that he was influenced to leave the final decision to the Council, who let the actors off easily.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Quoted by Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 839.

<sup>52</sup> Bald, *A Game at Chess*, p. 19.

<sup>53</sup> A chess-board figures prominently on the title-page of Quarto III as well as on that of Quartos I and II.

<sup>54</sup> Lowe's letter to Ingram, Aug. 7, 1624 (*Historical MSS Commission, Report on MSS. in Various Collections*, VII, 27); Nethersole's letter to Carleton, Aug. 14, 1624 (*State Papers [Dom.]*, James I, Vol. 171, No. 49).

<sup>55</sup> Chamberlain's letter to Carleton, Aug. 21, 1624 (*State Papers [Dom.]*, James I, Vol. 171, No. 66).

<sup>56</sup> "Spoke like heuens Substitute" (III, i, 315, ed. Bald).

<sup>57</sup> Valaresso's letter to the Doge and Senate, Aug. 20/30, 1624 (*Cal. of S. P. [Ven.]*, 1623-25, No. 577).

<sup>58</sup> Conway's letter to the Privy Council, Aug. 12, 1624 (*State Papers [Dom.]*, James I, Vol. 171, No. 39).

<sup>59</sup> Conway's letter to the Privy Council, Aug. 27, 1624 (*State Papers [Dom.]*, James I, Vol. 171, No. 75).

<sup>60</sup> Pembroke's letter to the President of the Council, Aug. 27, 1624 (*B. M. Egerton MS.* 2623 f. 28).

Who in high authority would have countenanced such a play in August, 1624? Buckingham, advocating war with Spain, had been resisted in the Council by Middlesex alone,<sup>61</sup> and had secured his impeachment over the King's protest.<sup>62</sup> As the play hints broadly, Middlesex had previously married Buckingham's cousin and had received royal favor through the Duke's influence.<sup>63</sup> There was a persistent rumor that Gondomar, who had coaxed Charles and Buckingham to Madrid, was to return as Spanish ambassador.<sup>64</sup> At the moment there were probably no men in the world whom Buckingham hated more than he did Middlesex and Gondomar. Wright<sup>65</sup> and Wilson<sup>66</sup> hold that the play was propaganda for Buckingham. Bald contends that two speeches present the Duke satirically, and that a contemporary allusion shows that he was offended by the play.<sup>67</sup> This allusion refers to James,<sup>68</sup> not to Buckingham; and the lines in which the White Duke and the White Knight confess their vices<sup>69</sup> are meant only to mislead the Black forces. The clue to this is the White Knight's preliminary remark,

What a payne it is  
For Truth to fayne a litle.<sup>70</sup>

The White Duke, extravagantly praised by the White King and the White Knight,<sup>71</sup> is associated with the White Knight as joint-hero of the play. If Buckingham was offended, it is hard to imagine whom the play could have pleased. Nor is Wright convincing in his argument that "the Spanish marriage was now practically a closed affair."<sup>72</sup> No doubt the Palatinate was in the public mind at the time, but in the play allusions to it are obscure. Contemporary letters<sup>73</sup> show that popular interest lay in Gondomar and the fiasco of the Spanish marriage. Whoever furthered the production of the play, whether Buckingham or another, was willing to raise the wind among the Londoners to injure Middlesex, to prevent Gondomar's return to England, and to kindle national animosity against the Spanish nation. It is not too much to claim for the play that its success confirmed the judgment of its political sponsor.

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<sup>61</sup> Bald, *A Game at Chesse*, p. 12.

<sup>62</sup> Lodge, *op. cit.*, iv, 176.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 171; *A Game at Chesse*, iii, i, 301-306.

<sup>64</sup> F. H. Lyon, *Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar* (Oxford, 1910), p. 112.

<sup>65</sup> *Times Lit. Supplement*, Feb. 16, 1928, p. 112.

<sup>66</sup> *The Library*, Fourth Series, xi, 110-111.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, xii, 247-248.

<sup>68</sup> *Supra*, Note 55.

<sup>69</sup> v, iii, 63-64, 84-85, 116, 130-136.

<sup>70</sup> iv, ii, 17-18.

<sup>71</sup> ii, 265; iii, i, 178-180, 187-190; iv, ii, 1; iv, ii, 103-104; iv, iii, 186-187.

<sup>72</sup> *Supra*, Note 65.

<sup>73</sup> *Supra*, Notes 6, 54, 57, 59.

BISHOP PERCY, THOMAS WARTON, AND CHATTERTON'S  
ROWLEY POEMS (1773-1790)

(Unpublished Letters)<sup>1</sup>

IN 1768 the first batch of certain supposed transcripts from ancient original manuscripts was shown to Messrs. Catcott and Barrett of Bristol and offered for publication by Thomas Chatterton, who alleged that he had copied them from original documents in the muniment room of the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe. He declared them to be mostly the compositions of one Thomas Rowley, a secular priest of the fifteenth century. Towards the end of 1768 Chatterton communicated with James Dodsley, the famous London bookseller, in the hope of publishing his manuscripts, but Dodsley, after a little hesitation, refused to take up the matter. Then Chatterton attempted to secure Horace Walpole's patronage, (March 1769), and for a moment succeeded; but Walpole, after a little further reflection realized the imposture. In 1770 after some fruitless correspondence with Walpole, Chatterton set out for London in person, to try his fortune; the end came very soon, August 24.

After his death the Bristol manuscripts in the keeping of Messrs. Catcott and Barrett, became a favorite topic of conversation in the literary circles of London.<sup>2</sup> Such eminent *littérateurs* as Gray, Mason, and Walpole had already satisfied themselves that the manuscripts were forgeries, and though Dr. Johnson had sufficient curiosity to visit Catcott and Barrett to inspect the manuscripts in 1776, he did not hesitate to join in the general verdict.<sup>3</sup> Goldsmith alone amongst the London *littérateurs* championed Rowley.

Sometime in 1772-73 Lord Dacre visited Bristol, and was allowed to borrow for expert examination two "original" Rowley manuscripts in parchment—the "Songe to Ælla" and the "Yellow Roll."<sup>4</sup> As a result of the publication of the "Reliques" (1765) Percy, now regarded as an authority on such matters, was consulted, and ultimately sent his Re-

<sup>1</sup> In the *Life of Thomas Chatterton*, by E. H. W. Meyerstein (1930), chapter XIX, the reader will find the narrative of Percy's adventure into the controversy lightly sketched. But as the author is writing the life of Chatterton and not of Percy, he naturally treats the matter with minimum attention to Percy. One or two recent essays have touched on this topic, but so far no serious attempt has been made to print *all* the documents *in full*, and to follow up *all* the clues in this story of detection and mystery.

<sup>2</sup> At a meeting of the Literary Club, March 26, 1773, "Lord Charlemont read the Bristol Poetry" (Percy's *Diary*).

<sup>3</sup> Boswell's *Johnson* (ed. Hill), III, 50.

<sup>4</sup> See Catcott MSS. (Bristol Public Library).

port on these two manuscripts to Dacre on Sept 6, 1773, pronouncing them to be modern fabrications. This was not his first sight of Rowleiana, for he had perused many specimens before 1773:<sup>5</sup>

Dr. Percy presents his best respects to Dr. Ducarel, and is extremely obliged to him for a sight of the curious letter and specimen with which he favoured him. Dr. Percy has seen many former specimens of the same verses, and heard a great deal of the history of the discovery; which, when he has the pleasure to see Dr. Ducarel, he will relate at large; at present he can only say, that their *genuineness* is rather *doubled* till the original MS. can be produced.

He had just returned to Alnwick (August 14, 1773) from his very short tour in Scotland, and was now residing at the Castle, as chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland. Here he studied the manuscripts showing them to Robert Chambers, who happened to be at hand. Chambers was visiting relations in Newcastle before leaving for India and in his journey north had accompanied Dr. Johnson, who was en route for the Hebrides (August 1773). "Mr. Chambers also was much interested in the Question respecting the Genuineness of the Bristoll Poetry and gave with me a second very minute examination of the Specimens."<sup>6</sup> Fearing to trust the precious documents to the post, Percy asked Chambers, who was setting out to London, to deliver them to Lord Dacre by hand:<sup>7</sup>

P. S. As I was fearful lest the Specimens sh<sup>d</sup>. come to any accident by being sent by the Post, I have sent them directed to your Lordship by the hands of a faithful friend: which is M<sup>r</sup>. Justice Chambers. . . . I had observed that some of our letters that came by the Post, were so wet, that if they had touched these Specimens they must have suffered very much: and M<sup>r</sup>. Chambers, who was here upon a visit, being to set out in a short time for London, and being a Gentleman of the most respectable character, I thought your Lordship would not disapprove of my sending them by him, as he very willingly took the charge and engaged to be responsible for their safe delivery at your Lordship's house in Bruton St.

Unfortunately, when Chambers reached London he failed to find the manuscripts amongst his luggage, could not deliver his packet at Bruton Street, and thus placed Percy in a most unpleasant situation. Soon after, Chambers left for India to take up a judgeship, and so far dismissed the subject from his mind as to neglect answering Percy's two letters of anxious enquiry until 1789.

<sup>5</sup> Nichols' *Illustrations of 18th Century Literary History*, iv, 573. Letter dated Jan. 13, 1772, Northumberland House.

<sup>6</sup> Percy's letter to Lord Dacre, Sept. 6, 1773, printed in full below.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

During my residence in this country [1774-1789] I have been honoured with two letters from you, . . . though I must own that your Lordship, having received no answer to the last of the two, has had reason to suspect me of insensibility and ingratitude.

Percy wrote to Chambers first of all on October 15, 1773;<sup>8</sup> but this letter is not extant. Then he wrote again on March 9, 1778:

I should be particularly happy if accidentally dipping into some of your books you should have found the two pieces of parchment attributed to Rowley (the supposed Bristoll-Poet). His pretended poems have run through two editions, and are received as genuine by a large party of pseudo-antiquaries, and critics: who make a great clamour about the disappearance of these two parchments: and it would be a most fortunate circumstance, if they could at last be produced, with all the evidence they carry of fraud and imposture.<sup>9</sup> At no distance of time would they be the less valuable or decisive.<sup>10</sup>

In 1782, apparently, Percy had good reason to bemoan the loss of the documents:<sup>11</sup>

However the illiteral *Fantors* of the Rowleian Side of the Question have gladly caught hold of the disappearance of the Scraps, to insinuate that they were wilfully destroyed to conceal the evidence they afforded to their hypothesis: this was boldly urged ag.<sup>st</sup> me by name in a pamphlet published in 1782, and that Pamphlet was even sent after me into my Diocese here.

Whilst acknowledging the gift of T. J. Mathias' "Essay on the evidence—relating to the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley" (1783) from the author on June 6, 1783,<sup>12</sup> he tells his friend the whole story, bemoaning the injustice done to him by the Rowleians:

Though the Bishop never wrote a line on the subject of the Rowleian controversy nor has ever given his opinion publicly, nor probably ever may, on this difficult question, yet he has had the honour to be abused as much respecting it, as if he had stood foremost in the controversy. In particular it has been insinuated that he suppressed or destroyed the two parchment specimens sent him by Lord Dacre or, at least, that there has been something very mysterious in his account of that transaction &c."

At last on November 9, 1789, Chambers answered Percy's letters, and suggested various ways in which he might have lost the manu-

<sup>8</sup> Letter to Percy, 1789. See below. Cf. Johnson's *Letters* (ed. Hill), I, 285.

<sup>9</sup> Some of the Rowleians made great capital out of the disappearance of the supposed "original" parchments, by challenging their antagonists to find them and prove Chatterton's originals false. Cf. "Observations" on Rowley Poems, by Hickford and Fell, 1782.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted by Sir Ernest Clarke in his *New Lights on Chatterton* (1914), p. 10, from the original in possession of a descendant of Chambers.

<sup>11</sup> Percy's letter to Chambers, Apr. 29, 1790. (See below for whole letter.)

<sup>12</sup> Nichols' *Illustrs.* VIII, 213.

scripts; however, they were not forthcoming in 1789. Strangely enough, the documents in question were not actually found and made known to the world till 1916 when Sir Ernest Clarke read his well-known paper, "New Lights on Chatterton" to the Bibliographical Society and published collotypes of the newly discovered "Songe to Ælla" and the "Yellow Roll." These manuscripts are now in the possession of Sir William Rose Smith. In 1926 came to light the final letter written by Percy to Chambers, April 29, 1790,<sup>13</sup> acknowledging the letter from Calcutta in 1789, with its explanation of Chambers' part in the affair, and the exoneration of Percy from all wilful intent or carelessness. How glad Percy was to be able to produce this authoritative vindication of his conduct and how eager he was to reassure the literary world, even as late as 1790, when the controversy had petered out in sheer exhaustion, is evident from more than one source. Michael Lort wrote to Percy:

Sir Robert Chambers' letter I immediately communicated to Mr. H. Walpole,<sup>14</sup> Sir Wm. Scott, and Mr. Steevens; and have just now received it back from Cambridge, whither I had sent it by a safe hand to Dr. Glynn. He gave no opinion on it to my friend but said he should deposit all the letters he had relative to the Rowleian Controversy in the British Museum. The three former are, I know, very well satisfied, as indeed every unprejudiced person must be who reads Sir Robert's letter, which Mr. Steevens recommends to be published in the European Magazine, that part at least that relates to Chatterton.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the readiness on the part of the literary world to accept this evidence accounts for the extremely forbearing tone of Percy's reply to Chambers, who had caused his friend considerable inconvenience.

Appended is the full text of three of the letters which give us the material for our narrative, now published, we believe, for the first time. *Percy's Letter to Lord Dacre, containing a full report on the Rowley Parchments* is transcribed from Add. MS. 32,329, f. 72 etc., in the British Museum, together with the alterations made later by Percy when he got back his letter, of which, as he tells us, he had kept no copy. That Percy later collected his own letters from correspondents and revised them, there is ample evidence in the Percy manuscripts extant. Clarke in his paper before the Bibliographical Society was content with re-

<sup>13</sup> See below for whole letter.

<sup>14</sup> "I am much obliged to you, dear Sir, for this communication, which is a complete vindication of the Bishop of Dromore. As to Rowley, when Dr. Glynn is gone, he will be as much abandoned as King Arthur." Walpoles' letter to Dr. Lort, June 5, 1790.

<sup>15</sup> Letter from M. Lort to Percy, June 16, 1790, in Nichols' *Illustrs.* vii, 510.—Nichols adds a note to the effect that Chambers' letter was not, after all, published in the European Magazine.

producing (pp. 13–15) a transcript of this letter, which contains roughly only half the original, made by Catcott in 1777, and now preserved, in a volume of similar transcripts made by him, in the Bristol Public Library. “The whereabouts of the original of this report I have not been able yet to trace,” says Clarke in 1914 (p. 13). Miss A. C. C. Gausson in her biography, *Percy: Prelate and Poet* (1908), p. 153, gives only a brief summary of the report.

In order to appreciate the points at issue in the following discussion, the reader should have clearly in mind the contents of the two parchments: the Larger manuscript the “Yellow Roll” contained “The Auntiant Forme of Monies,” and “Englandes Glorye revyved in Maystre Canynge,” all in prose; the smaller manuscript contained Rowley’s Verses to Lydgate, Song to Ælla, and Lydgate’s Answer, all in verse.

(All in Percy’s hand)

[f. 72v]

Alnwick Castle, Sep<sup>r</sup>. 6. 1773

To Lord Dacre.

from T. P. (Later annotation)

My Lord,

I rec<sup>d</sup>. the honour of your Lordship’s most obliging letter accompanied with the Specimens of the Writing on Parchment attributed to Rowlie. I am extremely thankful for this ocular Inspection, which is quite decisive of the Question so far as it depends on the genuineness of these writings; for these are undoubtedly spurious and modern.—By good fortune I had with me at this place a Friend, who is one of the best Judges in England of old Writings, having had for many years the Custody of all the ancient Records & Charters, &c of the Northumberland Family, and been all his life conversant with English Manuscripts, &c of every age; who is critically exact in distinguishing the peculiar modes of writing & the several Alphabets which prevailed in every Æra; and who, having never heard of the Controversy concerning the Bristoll Poetry was quite impartial; this [verso] gentleman is Thomas Butler Esqr. Clerk of the Peace for the County of Middlesex & principal agent to the Duke of Northumberland. To him I showed the Specimens Your Lordship sent me, and he immediately pronounced them *Spurious*. Not only so, but he declared them to be most bungling attempts to imitate old Writing that he ever saw: in which I cannot but intirely agree with him. For the Characters uniformly resemble the writing of no Æra whatever, nor are in any degree uniform and consistent with themselves: but are evidently written by a modern Pen, which has endeavoured to render the letters as uncouth and obscure as possible, and yet is frequently betrayed into Escapes which are in the most modern Characters. As for instance. in the larger MS. *Tho*. in the first line and *The* in the second, could only have been written since our current hand was adapted and altered to the Roman & Italian Alphabets in books: before that time when the



handwriting was formed after the Gothic Alphabet, the writing would have been written *po* and more currently, *pe*. This continued generally to prevail so late as the middle of the last century [i. 73r]. Similar Instances occur in every line; & it is even diverting to observe how in the Prose Writing<sup>16</sup> as the writer went on, he altered & changed the form of his letters; so that the lines towards the bottom are tenfold more uncouth and obscure, than those towards the top; & are not reducible to the same Alphabets: We remarked some of the letters to have been written in 4 or 5 different manners, so that the Writer evidently went upon no principles, had previously formed to himself no Alphabet, had a very imperfect random guess at the old Alphabets & was incapable of imitating any of them truly.—Even the poetical Specimen,<sup>17</sup> tho' infinitely more uncouth & more obscurely written than the Prose,<sup>18</sup> does not come nearer the genuine old alphabets, in proportion as it differs from the modern characters; it is merely rendered obscure by a fanciful uncouth alphabet of the writer's own invention, reducible to no principle of genuine ancient writing.—With regard to the Parchment itself,<sup>19</sup> it is evidently stained yellow on the back with Oker, to look like old parchment; but the fraud is so unskilfully performed, that you may see stains & besmearings on the other side; and if you rub the back with a wet white handkerchief it will be stained with the oker. [verso] He hath also contrived an Ink (than which nothing is more easy) that should be very faint and yellow; which being washed with an Infusion of Galls would naturally become blacker.—This is the whole secret of the Writing Part, which exhibits in every respect the most glaring & undoubted Fraud.—and the contents contain no less Proofs of the Forgery, for they assert gross and ridiculous falshoods, such as there having been ancient Moneys current in England coined with the Arms of Bristoll on the reverse, etc. etc. etc.—I cannot conclude without pointing out one further proof that the writing is not ancient, which strikes one towards the beginning of the Prose Specimens,<sup>20</sup> that is the writer's having been so imprudent as to distinguish one or two of his Quotations by an inverted comma at the beginning & the end of the sentence—"thus"—which is not to be found in any genuine Writing whatever of any age; much less in the time when these Writings are pretended to have been written; when instead of the Comma (,) our writers used an oblique stroke thus / to divide the sentence.—Upon the whole I must again repeat, that so far as depends on the evidence of these Specimens,<sup>21</sup> the writings attributed to Mr. Tho<sup>s</sup>. Rowlie may finally be pronounced to be forged and spurious. I have the honour to be with the greatest Respect.

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obliged Servant.

Tho. Percy.

<sup>16</sup> "Larger manuscript" crossed out. See below.

<sup>17</sup> "Smaller manuscript" crossed out.

<sup>18</sup> "Larger" crossed out.

<sup>19</sup> As first written, "Parchments themselves": Percy must have made these corrections after receiving Chambers' letter of Nov. 9, 1789, and getting back his own letter to Dacre. See note at end.

<sup>20</sup> "Larger manuscript" crossed out. See above.

<sup>21</sup> "Parchments" crossed out.

[f. 74r.] P.S.

As I was fearful lest the Specimens<sup>22</sup> sh<sup>d</sup> come to any accident by being sent by the Post, I have sent then directed to Your Lordship by the hands of a faithful friend; which is Mr. Justice Chambers lately appointed one of the Judges to the East Indies; Under the same Injunction as I received the same; Not to suffer a line to be copied.—I had observed that some of our letters that came by the Post, were so wet, that if they had touched these Specimens<sup>23</sup> they must have suffered very much: and Mr. Chambers who was here upon a visit, being to set out in a short time for London, and being a gentleman of the most respectable character I thought your Lordship would not disapprove of my sending them by him, as he very willingly took the charge and engaged to be responsible for their safe delivery at your Lordship's house in Bruton St. Mr. Chambers also was much interested in the Question respecting the Genuineness of the Bristoll Poetry & gave with me a second very minute examination of the Specimens,<sup>24</sup> the result of which was a full conviction of their being spurious. [verso] As he took them away from me last week in order to keep them safe till his return to London, and as I would not allow myself to copy a line the arguments I have urged are given from Memory, but could have been rendered stronger if I had had the Precaution to draw up my letter with the Specimens<sup>25</sup> lying before me, for then I could have pointed out the deviations in every letter both from the old alphabets, and from the writers own adopted Characters in other places. I could also more particularly have showed the gross falshoods expressed in the contents of the Writing itself. But the forgery [is] so very glaring & manifest, that no one much conversant with genuine old MSS. will hesitate a moment in pronouncing these to be spurious.

With regard to Mr. Baret I leave to your Lordship to communicate to him in whatever manner you think proper the above Sentence passed on these Specimens.<sup>26</sup> As he seems a man of a liberal ingenuous Mind, & open to conviction, I flatter myself upon recollection [f. 75r] he will be glad to have had the forgery detected before he had reposed too securely upon these Writings.—After all tho' I think from the style of the *Composition*, arises as Strong Evidence that the Poetry cannot be ancient, as does even from the forged spurious *Writing*, itself, yet still it may be highly deserving of Publication, not only on account of the Poetical Merit of the Poems, but also to show what human Invention is capable of performing: And I am persuaded that if all the undoubted Pieces of Chatterton were collected into a Volume, they would prove him not only capable of writing these Poems attributed to Rowlie, but considering his early youth and the disadvantage of his Education, to have been one of the greatest geniuses that ever existed in the World.—For my own part, I would subscribe to such a publication with as much pleasure as if the Pieces could be proved to be Rowlie's own: and would lend all the assistance in my power to promote the sale & formation<sup>27</sup> of such a work.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> "Execution" crossed out, at first writing.

[verso] *As I have kept no copy of this letter,*<sup>28</sup> w<sup>th</sup> contains the Proofs that occurred to me of the forgery & I could wish at some future time to transcribe them for my own Use, I should be much obliged to your Lordship, if you w<sup>d</sup>. be pleased to preserve this letter, & if you communicate it to Mr. Baret, obtain the favour of him to return it back when perused.

I should also beg the favour of your Lordship to show it to my Lord Camden if you please: and together with my most respectful compliments to his Lordship, have the goodness to present my excuses for not being able to pay my Respects at Chislehurst before I left Town as I had intended. The Duke of Northumberland's Removal into the North was earlier than I was aware of, & did not allow me time to have the honour of waiting on his Lordship; but when I [go] to London in the winter I shall at all times be happy to attend on him in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Here follows from Add. MS. 32,329, f. 124 etc. (Brit. Mus.), Sir Robert Chambers' reply of 1789, a document which we have every reason to believe is the original letter, in Chambers' own handwriting (cf. his "hand" in Add MS. 16,264). Yet Clarke, (p. 16), claims to have obtained his copy, from which he does not quote a line, from the Percy Collection in possession of "the great granddaughter of the Bishop of Dromore." Incidentally, Clarke, using the copy in this private Percy collection, fails to make the point that both correspondents were evidently very doubtful as to whether there were *one* or *two* parchments lost. As will have been seen, in revising his letter to Lord Dacre Percy takes great trouble to correct himself on this point—quite unnecessarily and incorrectly, as it happened. Miss Gaussen, in her biography, reproduced (pp. 154–5) a much-shortened version of this letter. Perhaps, like Clarke, she was working from the same copy.

*Sir Rob<sup>t</sup>. Chambers to Bp. Percy.*  
[f.124r]

My Dear Lord,

During my residence in this country, in which I have now spent fifteen years, I have been honoured with *two* letters from you, each of which gave me great pleasure as a token of remembrance from a much respected friend; though I must own that your Lordship, having received no answer to the last of the two, has had reason to suspect me of insensibility and ingratitude. I have not however been quite so much to blame as I must hitherto have appeared to be.

That letter, which was dated in 1778, was intended to introduce Mr. Woodington to me in case he should ever come to Calcutta, and though such an event was not very probable, the young gentleman kept the letter by him at Bombay; thinking [verso] I suppose that the chance of war might possibly send him hither, with a detachment of Bombay troops. At length in the year 1785, it was de-

<sup>28</sup> The italics here are my own.

livered to me by a Mr. Treves, who, having come from Europe over land, had stopt at Bombay in his way to Bengal. Had Mr. Woodington come hither himself, I should have been happy to have cultivated an acquaintance with a relation of yours, and to have done him any little service that might have been in my power. When I received the letter I was sick, and no ship was despatched to England for some months after Mr. Treves's arrival—accidents which may in some measure account for, though they cannot entirely excuse, my subsequent negligence.

I now beg leave to approach your Lordship in the oriental mode, with a peace offering in my hand. I have directed my London bookseller (Mr. B. White in Fleet Street) to forward to your Lordship, in my name, the first volume of Transactions lately published here by the Asiatick Society, with the title of Asiatick Researches. Your Lordship will not be displeased to find among [f. 125] them, several curious disquisitions by our old friend Sir William Jones (who is as indefatigable as ever in his oriental studies, at the same time that he is an able and learned Judge), and one by my youngest brother Mr. William Chambers, whom you have heard me mention formerly when he was a very young servant of the India Company at Madras.

Your letter of 1778 surprised me by mentioning *two* pieces of parchment attributed to Rowley, the supposed Bristol Poet, as having been in my possession. To the best of my remembrance I never had but *one* such parchment, though it contained *two* very different compositions; for on one side of it was written (if my memory is not erroneous) a list of rarities, not many in number belonging to *Mastre Canynge*, and on the other a copy of very indifferent verses. The size of the parchment, as I bear it in my mind, was considerably less than that of the page I am writing [i.e., big quarto] and it was, I think, narrower at the bottom than at the top. You may perhaps recollect [verso] that when you delivered it to me at Alnwick Castle, I folded it and put it with ease into a pocket letter case which I happened to have about me.

Though I have mentioned these circumstances with diffidence, I have no reason for doubting the accuracy of my memory with regard to them, unless it be that I am conscious of not having paid much attention to that parchment, because I thought it did not deserve much. The verses were in my opinion far inferior to *some* of those which have since been published under the name of Rowley;—the list of rarities appeared to me, on my perusal of it, to be such as any man might have composed who was moderately acquainted with the state of physical knowledge and of the mechanick arts in the time of the supposed writer, and with the manners, whims and superstitions of that age:—the characters used in the writing did not appear to me to be of the same age with each other, some of them had, I believe, been obsolete for several centuries before some of [f. 126] the rest came into use:—and lastly the pigment that had been employed to stain the parchment, in order to give it the appearance of antiquity, was literally speaking both visible and palpable: It came off with a moistened finger, and you, I remember, supposed it to be yellow ochre.

The falsification being thus clumsy and unskilful, and in Your Lordship's

opinion, as well as mine, indisputable, I cannot think that there was much intrinsick worth in that scrap of writing, but it might have had an accidental value as an evidence of guilt in the unhappy Youth who produced it, and as a criterion by which some judgement might be formed of the authenticity of other writings which he produced, not indeed as originals but as copies, of which he had destroyed the originals; and on that account I am sorry for the sake of truth that it is lost, and still more sorry that it has been lost by me:—Insomuch that although I am no *Nabob*, I would willingly give an hundred pounds [verso] to recover it.

Of the manner in which it was lost I can only form vague conjectures.—It might possibly be stolen, but I have no reason to think that it was;—it might be carried away from my chambers in the Temple by some attorney's clerk who, seeing it on my table with papers that belonged to his master, might snatch it up in haste by mistake for a *Bailpiece* which it somewhat resembled in size and shape;—or it might be lost at sea, in a portfolio which my servant, in a sudden roll of the ship, let fall from my cabin window, being obliged to employ both his hands in saving himself: The last is, I think, the most probable conjecture, because that port-folio was filled with letters and miscellaneous papers, which I had not had time to look at before I embarked, and which I intended to have examined during my voyage. All that I can venture however to say with confidence is that there is no chance [f. 127r] now of finding it among my books and papers, which have been often clean'd and often removed, and on such occasions have always been inspected in search of the lost parchment, though with little or no hope of finding it.

In the account which I have now given your Lordship of the writing which I had the misfortune to lose, it would have been improper to omit a declaration of my own opinion—that it was a counterfeit. On the more general and more doubtful question, whether any of the verses published under the name of Rowley be really ancient, it would be presumption in me to offer any opinion of my own to a critick and antiquary of your Lordship's skill and experience. I will however venture hastily to put down one or two observations that just now occur to me.

It is admitted, I think, by all, that some of the verses which have been printed [verso] as the compositions of *Rowley and others of the 15<sup>th</sup> century* were really written by Chatterton. He confessed to Mr. Barrett that one of the two poems entitled *Battle of Hastings* was written by himself; and an examination of the internal evidence has obliged even Chatterton's advocates to allow that other poems must in part at least belong to him, which have been given to the world as Rowley's.

It is also admitted that Chatterton has inserted words of his own that are utterly unintelligible;—which Mr. Catcott supposes him to have done only in places where he could not make out the original reading of Rowley's MS.; but others will think and perhaps with more reason, that he hoped thereby to give to compositions of his own an appearance of antiquity to those who were not well versed in old English.

Of the authenticity of the few parchments that are in Mr. Baret's possession, those must judge who have seen them, and who are at the [f. 128r] same time able to judge. If your Lordship had examined them and had determined any of them to be genuine, it would afford a ground for supposing that, among the old title deeds found in the church at Bristol (of which you may remember that poor Goldsmith showed one or two to his friends) Chatterton might have found other poetical writings also, from which he might have taken the substance of some of the poems that he gave out as ancient; but then, as he has not produced the originals, I should think myself obliged to believe that in copying he had altered and added to them, whatever his fancy suggested, or his ear accustomed to modern versification required. I should believe also in that case that his motives for destroying the originals was to conceal his falsifications of the copies and the many falsehoods he had told about them.

One remark more is obvious and with that I shall conclude. If any of the poems [verso] whose originals do not appear, be really ancient in substance, or in part, it is impossible for any man to distinguish with precision, in every instance, that which is genuine from that which is counterfeit; and therefore these poems cannot be of any use to the philologist, historian, or antiquary, neither can they afford any proof of the state of our versification in the 15th century.

I have the honour to be, with the sincerest respect and attachment, My Lord,  
 Your Lordship's  
 most faithful and affectionate servant,  
 Rob<sup>t</sup>. Chambers.

Calcutta,

9 Nov: 1789.

To the Right Reverend

Thomas Lord Bishop of Dromore, &c. &c. &c.

Then (f. 129r.) follows a page of notes pencilled in Percy's hand.

Mem. From all the mention of *Specimens* in my letter to Lord Dacre Sep<sup>r</sup>. 6, 1773, I thought there had been 2 pieces of Parchment, & so mentioned them to Sir Robert Chambers in my letter to him. Whereas he thinks the 2 Specimens were both written on one Piece of Parchment. If so, the Prose must have been written on One side and the Verse on the Other. In other Respects we both agree.

My letter to Lord Dacre was written while I thought the Specimens safe on their way to him. It therefore shows my Opinion and Observations, when I thought they w<sup>d</sup>. be confronted with the original Writing itself.

T. D.

The text of the third unpublished letter, that of *Percy to Chambers in 1790*, I am able to append through the kindness of Mr. Dobell, who allowed me to make a copy of it from the original in his possession (December 10, 1926).

Dublin, April 29th 1790

Dear Sir,

I wrote a few days since a letter to express my grateful acknowledgments for the kind Pledge of Friendship, w<sup>ch</sup>. I rec<sup>d</sup>. in your valuable present of the *Asiatic Researches*.—I have since rec<sup>d</sup>. your very obliging favour of the 9th Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1789, containing some judicious strictures on the Poems, etc., attributed to Rowley, & a full account of the scraps of Poetry & Prose, which you rec<sup>d</sup>. from me at Alnwick Castle, & your Conjectures concerning the cause of their mis-carriage. I had thought they had been written on 2 Pieces of Parchment; you think they were written on 2 sides of one piece.—The difference is [verso] of no great importance; & after a lapse of so many years such a variation in our different memories may be excused. But we both mean the same thing.—However the illiberal *Fanlors* of the Rowleian Side of the Question have gladly caught hold of the disappearance of the said scraps to insinuate that they were wilfully destroy'd to conceal the evidence they afforded to their hypothesis. this was boldly urged ag<sup>st</sup>. me by name in a pamphlet published in 1782,<sup>29</sup> & that pamphlet was even sent after me into my Diocese here.—Mr. Tyrwhitt gave so compleat a Refutation of that Hypothesis,<sup>30</sup> that we thought it was compleatly crush'd: [next f.] But since this Death, a Dr. Gregory has publish'd a Life of Chatterton,<sup>31</sup> which is also printed in 4th Vol. of Biographia Britannica, wherein under a pretended statement of the Arguments *pro & con*, in this Controversy, he has urged many things on the side of Rowley much stronger than they will bear & endeavours to leave the Question doubtful.

So much for this subject w<sup>ch</sup>. has however acquired a merit with me, by producing me the valued acquisition of 3 Epistolary Sheets from a Friend I so highly respect & regard as yourself. As I presume this letter will accompany my former, I will now only add that I am most sincerely ever Dear Sir.

Your faithful and obliged servant,  
Tho: Dromore.

As proof of Percy's interest in the Rowley problem, mention should be made of Sir Ernest Clarke's discovery<sup>32</sup> that, amongst Percy's papers which have come down to his descendants, were found not only a copy in Catcott's handwriting of Chatterton's original contribution to Felix Farley's Journal in 1768 about the opening of the Old Bridge at Bristol,

<sup>29</sup> For an excellent list of the host of books and pamphlets published during the Rowley Controversy, see "Chattertoniana" by Hyett and Bazeley (Reprinted from A Bibliographers' Manual of Gloucestershire Literature, 1914), also B. M. Catalogue, C. 39 f and h. I have not yet succeeded in finding this particular pamphlet.

<sup>30</sup> "Poems, supposed to have been written at Bristol by Thomas Rowley and others.—*The Third Edition*: To which is added An Appendix containing some Observations upon the language of these Poems; tending to prove that they were written, not by any Ancient Author but entirely by Thomas Chatterton—1778" (by Tyrwhitt).

<sup>31</sup> The Life of Thomas Chatterton, Criticisms on his Genius and Writings, and A Concise View on the Controversy concerning Rowley's Poems. By G. Gregory, D.D., 1789.

<sup>32</sup> *New Lights on Chatterton*, pp. 16–20.

and the original manuscript *Vindication* by Horace Walpole of his conduct towards Chatterton, but also the Rowley Poem "Elinour and Juga" in Chatterton's own writing. We may infer that Percy was well read in Rowleiana by the time he came to advise Dacre, Warton, and probably others.<sup>33</sup> There is also to be mentioned the contemporary tradition that Percy edited the first Rowley Poem, "The Death of Sir Charles Bawdin" (1772); but the manuscripts at Bristol Library prove that it was Catcotts venture.<sup>34</sup>

Yet Percy did not take a very prominent part, at least in public, in the controversy raging round the Rowley manuscripts; perhaps he did not care to appear *publicly* in the debate after the loss of the two parchments in 1773. But at about that time Thomas Warton began to take an interest in the problem, and, as behoved a reputable historian of literature, he had to decide definitely what should be his attitude. In 1772 he was shown some copies of the Rowley poem by the Earl of Lichfield, Chancellor of Oxford University. He was hard at work on his *History of English Poetry* at this time, and in 1774, he wrote to Percy to ask his opinion on the subject:

(Add. MS. 32,329 Brit. Mus.)

(f. 76r)

Dear Sir,

I should esteem it a particular favour if you could conveniently communicate to me what you know about Rowlie's poems of Bristol. I have a correspondence with Mr. Barret of that place, but he rather embarrasses than clears the subject. He has sent me a fragment of Parchment; on it a piece of a poem on a Mayor's feast, the ink & Parchment seemingly antient. It is necessary that I should consider him,<sup>35</sup> whether spurious or not, as there has been so much noise about the Discovery, & as so many are convinced of the poems being genuine. If possible, I request the favour of your answer immediately; & am, Dear Sir,

Your very affectionate friend & servt.

T. Warton.

Jul. 29. 1774

Winchester.

P.S. Please to direct it Winton.

In the same bound volume of manuscript letters (f. 83) there is a short letter dated January 25. 1776, in which Warton acknowledges Percy's advice. By this time he has decided to "lean to the side of the forgery," though with some reluctance.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Many letters addressed to him on the subject. Nichols, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII.

<sup>34</sup> *New Lights* etc., p. 22.

<sup>35</sup> Here Percy's Secretary, at his master's dictation has written in: "(in his Hist. of Eng. Poetry)." The hand of Meredith Darby (cf. Diary & other MSS.).



These two letters are reproduced in Clarissa Rinaker's *Thomas Warton*, (*Univ. of Illinois Studies* 1916, Chap. vi); but, though the author gives a brief account of Warton's share in the controversy she has no explanation to offer of his indebtedness to Percy. "Percy's reply is not to be found, but cannot have been convincing" (p. 93), i.e., in answer to Warton's first letter, 1774. Surely Percy's Report to Lord Dacre the previous year was convincing enough.

Dear Sir,

I have received the favour of your's which is quite satisfactory.

As to Chatterton, I have considered that subject pro and con not proposing to enter *minutely* into the Controversy, but just as much as the *general* nature of my work properly required. I own I lean to the side of the forgery: but if you could find me *only one capital* argument in favour of the genuineness of Rowley's poems, I should accept it most thankfully, I would willingly come to town on purpose, but it is impossible: and at the same time I am ashamed to interrupt your Engagements. The Press is drawing near to this period. I will find you speedily the Extract you mention from the Selden Manuscript: and am, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servt.,  
T. Warton.

Trin. Coll.

jan. 25. 1776

In 1778 appeared the second volume of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, with a whole section (§8, pp. 139-164) devoted to the Rowley poems. The previous year (1777) the first collected edition of the poems had been published by Tyrwhitt from the manuscripts of Messrs. Catcott and Barrett; and it was not long before two more editions were wanted. The second edition was a mere reproduction of the first: but the third (1778) contained an Appendix, "tending to prove that the Rowley poems were written not by any ancient author but entirely by Thomas Chatterton." Warton makes no reference to this appendix in his chapter; probably he had completed his account before it was published. In his "Contents" he heads his chapter "Poems under the name of Thomas Rowley. Supposed to be spurious." He begins very impartially:<sup>36</sup>

As there is some degree of plausibility in the history of their discovery, as they possess considerable merit, and are held to be the real productions of Rowley by many respectable critics; it is my duty to give them a place in this series of our poetry.

He then gives a summary of the circumstances of their appearance and

<sup>36</sup> P. 139.—Page references are to the first edition.

generous quotations from them. But in his summing up he pronounces them forgeries (pp. 153, 164):

I am of opinion that none of these pieces are genuine. . . . It is with regret that I find myself obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be spurious.

His references to Percy and the Two Lost Parchments are interesting:

The *Ode to Ella*, and the *Epistle to Lydgate*, with his *Answer*, were written on one piece of parchment; and, as pretended, in Rowlie's own hand. This was shown to an ingenious critic and intelligent antiquary of my acquaintance; who assures me, that the writing was a gross and palpable forgery. . . . The form of the letters, although artfully contrived to wear an antiquated appearance, differed very essentially from every one of our early alphabets. Nor were the characters uniform and consistent.<sup>37</sup> . . . The parchment was old; and that it might look still older was stained on the outside with ochre, which was easily rubbed off with a linen cloth.<sup>38</sup> Care had also been evidently taken to tincture the ink with a yellow cast<sup>39</sup> . . . This parchment has since been unfortunately lost.

Here Warton adds a footnote:

At the same time, another manuscript on parchment, written as pretended, by Rowlie, was shown to this gentleman: which, tallying in every respect with the *Ode to Ella*, plainly appeared to be forged, in the same manner, and by the same modern hand. It was in prose, and contained an account of Saxon coins, and the rise of coining in England, with a list of coins, poems, antient inscriptions, monuments, and other curiosities, in the cabinet of Cannynge above mentioned. This parchment is also lost; and, I believe, no copy remains (pp. 153-154).

We may safely assume from the close resemblance of this account to Percy's Report either that Warton read the Report written for Dacre, or more probably, that Percy recapitulated his arguments in a letter to Warton, sometime between 1774 and 1776. Although in 1776, he was "not proposing to enter myself into the Controversy,"<sup>40</sup> Warton soon found himself involved in the dispute. In 1779 his chapter on the poems was adversely criticized in a pamphlet by one Henry Dampier, entitled "Remarks upon the Eight Section of the Second Volume of Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry," which upheld their genuineness. He replied in 1782 with an "Enquiry into the Authenticity of

<sup>37</sup> Cf. "For the Characters uniformly resemble the writing of no Era whatever, nor are in any degree uniform and consistent with themselves. . . . (He) had a very imperfect random guess at the old Alphabets." (Percy's Report to Lord Dacre, 1773. See above.)

<sup>38</sup> "With regard to the Parchment itself, it is evidently stained yellow on the back with Oker, to look like old parchment . . . if you rub the back with a wet white handkerchief it will be stained with the Oker" (*ibid.*).

<sup>39</sup> "He hath also contrived an Ink . . . that should be very faint and yellow: etc." (*ibid.*).

<sup>40</sup> Letter to Percy, Jan. 25, 1776. (See above.)

the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley," and found himself on the full tide of the controversy which reached a climax in that year when Dean Milles published his sumptuous edition with its elaborate and uncompromising championing of the authenticity of the Rowleiana.

In conclusion, it is worth while recording the high esteem in which the two scholars held Chatterton himself, despite all the trouble and pother of the Controversy. "This youth, who died at eighteen, was a prodigy of genius: and would have proved the first of English poets, had he reached a maturer age," says Warton in 1778.<sup>41</sup> Previously<sup>42</sup> he had been prepared to believe in Chatterton's manuscripts, "if you could find me *only one capital argument* in favor of the genuineness of Rowlie's poems, I should accept it most thankfully." Percy was equally enthusiastic.<sup>43</sup>

And I am persuaded that if all the undoubted Pieces of Chatterton were collected into a Volume, they would prove him not only capable of writing these Poems attributed to Rowlie, but considering his early youth & the disadvantages of his Education, to have been one of the greatest geniuses that ever existed in the World.

Later, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, and other romantics regarded him with even greater affection; and his influence on them was considerable.

A. WATKIN-JONES

*Exeter Coll. Oxford*

The MS. of Percy's letter to Lord Dacre, 6 September 1773, is catalogued in the British Museum as a draft of a letter only. But on further examination, I am inclined to take it for the original letter posted: 1. In the postscript there are the words, "As I have kept no copy of this letter," and a request to Dacre "to return it back when perused" 2. The many corrections are written in later (in heavier ink)—Percy often corrected his own original letters after receiving them back. 3. The sheets bear marks of having been folded for posting, and the postmark was once clear on the outside of the packet.

<sup>41</sup> *History of English Poetry*, II, 157.

<sup>42</sup> Letter to Percy, Jan. 25, 1776. (See above.)

<sup>43</sup> Letter to Lord Dacre, 1773. (See above.)

# CARLYLE AND THE GERMAN PHILOSOPHY PROBLEM DURING THE YEAR 1826-1827\*

THE year 1825-26, was of very great importance to Carlyle. It marked his emergence from the ethnic or purely humanistic phase of intellectual development, into the phase of transcendental thought. During the year he found for the first time a permanent within the flux. He encountered an unchanging truth through art: "the fiction of the poet," he said, "is not falsehood but the purest truth."<sup>1</sup> This culmination is the result of the æsthetic progress traceable through the preceding period.

Of still greater importance, as later developments in his life show, was the new religious viewpoint that Carlyle reached during the year. The key to that new position in Carlyle's case was *Entsagen*.<sup>2</sup> During this year he had conquered all his scepticisms.<sup>3</sup> From this point he developed a firm but undogmatic belief in the religion of Christ.<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this paper it need simply be pointed out that religious faith discovers to its holders a permanent within the flux: a spiritual permanence that gives value to a life of physical change.

The third avenue by which Carlyle discovered the permanent within the flux was transcendental philosophy. It was closely related to his progress in æsthetics. Largely through the æsthetic writers in Carlyle's humanistic period he had gradually approached the tenets of transcendentalism. And the third avenue was also connected with his religion. Although transcendental philosophy cannot be said to have given Carlyle back his religious faith, it can be proved to have inter-

\* Since this article was accepted the materials in some of Professor C. F. Harrold's articles referred to in the footnotes have been embodied in his *Carlyle and German Thought*, Yale Studies in English, LXXXII (1934).

<sup>1</sup> Goethe, J. W., *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels*; translated by Carlyle (London: Chapman and Hall, 1907), I, 29.

<sup>2</sup> See Carlyle and Miss Welsh, *Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh*, edited by A. Carlyle (New York: John Lowe Co., 1909), II, 158-159, 186, 238, 242-243.

<sup>3</sup> Carlyle, Thomas, *Reminiscences* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1887), II, 179-180. See also Froude's *Thomas Carlyle, 1795-1835*, 2 v. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1897), I, 269-270.

<sup>4</sup> Carlyle, Thomas, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 5 v. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899) (*The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, xxvi-xxx) I, 398, 457. Carlyle, Thomas, *Sartor Resartus*, edited by MacMechan (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1896, New impression 1905), pp. 175, 203, 206-207, 239. Carlyle, Thomas, *Letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, John Sterling and Robert Browning*, edited by A. Carlyle (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1923), pp. 78-79.

acted intimately with his irrational religious experiences and to have provided him a ready-prepared rational warrant for religious faith.<sup>5</sup> Thus, during the year 1825-26, three lines of interest—æsthetics, religion, German philosophy—coalesced in the tendency to discover to him the permanent within the flux, which he had sought long. Each of these three lines of interest can be traced. But it is only with the last of these—German philosophy—that this paper is chiefly concerned.

One more preliminary remark will be helpful. Although Carlyle came into contact with many systems of philosophic thought, he was never a systematic philosopher himself.<sup>6</sup> Evidences of the superficiality of Carlyle's connection with the systematic aspect of German philosophy will emerge in the following discussion of his actual entry into this connection.

The first positive record of Carlyle's reading any work written by one of the German critical philosophers comes on September 27, 1826.<sup>7</sup> He wrote Miss Welch that he had lately been reading Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*; that he had been not only reading but partly

<sup>5</sup> See the following references. (a) Carlyle, *Letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill*, p. 95. (b) Espinasse, Francis, *Literary Recollections and Sketches* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1893), pp. 220-221 (c) Carlyle, *Essays*, II, 26 (d) Carlyle, *Two Note Books* (New York: Grolier Club, 1898), 221-222 (e) Allingham, William, *A Diary*, edited by H. Allingham and D. Radford (London: Macmillan and Co., 1907), p. 273

<sup>6</sup> For instance, in 1816, after trying for eighteen months, he still did not understand such a fundamental principle in English philosophy as the distinction between primary and secondary qualities of matter. See *Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, edited by C. F. Norton, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1886), I, 82.

<sup>7</sup> It is true that, long before this time, Carlyle had affected an air of familiarity when he alluded to the German philosophers. Miss Margaret Storrs has gathered many of these allusions for her dissertation, *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte* (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, Bryn Mawr College, 1929). I have gathered still more. But they are usually vague in content and are wholly lacking in references to specific works. Perhaps the most striking of the allusions to Kant before 1826 occurs in the Third Part of *The Life of Schiller*, which was finished by early February 1824 (*London Magazine*, x, 22). In it Carlyle stands at a safe distance from his subject and makes the well-worn complaint about abstruse terminology used to cloak simple meanings. Then he admits that his remarks are the result of only very limited acquaintance with the subject. I do not find in these allusions a sound basis for supposing that Carlyle had actually read in any of Kant's books before the fall of 1826. On the other hand, I find that Carlyle had made very similar remarks about the philosophy of Kant in March 1823, when he was avowedly viewing it through borrowed eyes (*Two Note Books*, pp. 40-47). Perhaps the best case of Carlyle's conjuring with Fichte's name occurs also in the Third Part of *The Life of Schiller*. Only two pages before the allusion to Kant's philosophy, Carlyle puts quotation marks around a passage that he attributes to Fichte (*London Magazine*, x, 20). However, the matter of this passage—without the signs of direct discourse—had appeared in Madame de Staël's *Germany* (see the London 1814 edition, III, 110), the book that had turned Carlyle's attention to Germany in 1817. See *Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, I, 119 and *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913), I, 480-481.

understanding it; that upon reaching the 150th page of the work, he had found Kant rather abstruse, and had stopped reading, puzzled.<sup>8</sup> There is no evidence that he ever resumed his reading of Kant after September 1826. In fact, at some time during the next spring, he wrote in his notebook that he had read only 100 pages of Kant.<sup>9</sup> This reference merely makes it certain that Carlyle's reading of Kant was not resumed during the period when he was trying to understand transcendentalism as a system.<sup>10</sup>

During his life in Scotland, Carlyle makes only two more references to a specific work by Kant: both are to the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. Since both seem based upon the reading done in the fall of 1826, chronology will not be violated if we examine these references now. The first of these references, made late in 1827, assures the reader that the forbidding terminology of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* can be mastered.<sup>11</sup> The second, made early in 1829, says that the relativity of Time and Space is carefully deduced with the strictest form of argument in Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*.<sup>12</sup> An examination of Kant's work by this title shows that the matter referred to occurs well within the 150 pages, or even the 100 pages, that Carlyle at different times says he read. The list of books in Carlyle's library at Chelsea contains only one work by Kant—the 1818 edition of the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*.<sup>13</sup> As the evidence piles up, it continues to strengthen the suggestion that Carlyle knew only one work by Kant.

<sup>8</sup> *The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh*, II, 324.

<sup>9</sup> *Two Note Books*, 112–113 —The entry was made between March 1827 (see p. 105) and June. The assurance for the latter date lies in the quotations from Richter on p. 114, which were taken for use in the essay on Richter, upon which Carlyle was busy in June (*Letters of Thomas Carlyle* pp. 49–50). Carlyle's statement of 100 pages of Kant does not agree with his former statement of 150 pages, but this disagreement need not be taken too seriously in what is obviously a springtime reference to his reading during the preceding fall.

<sup>10</sup> See *Two Note Books*, pp. 72–112, *passim*, for references to philosophic matters. Froude's statement (*Thomas Carlyle . . . 1795–1836*, I, 302, cited by Miss Storrs in *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte*, p. 21) that Carlyle read Kant, Fichte, and Schelling in the winter of 1827 at Edinburgh cannot be substantiated. Froude probably misconstrued some of the notes that Carlyle took on these men while he was reading Reinhold's account or Stapfer's (see later, pp. 814–817 of this paper).

<sup>11</sup> *Essays*, I, 75.

<sup>12</sup> *Essays*, II, 25–26.

<sup>13</sup> *Illustrated Memorial Volume of the Carlyle's House Purchase Fund Committee with Catalogue of Carlyle's Books, Manuscripts, Pictures and Furniture Exhibited Therein* (London, 1896), p. 77.—However, it is not certain that this volume is the copy he used in his 1826 reading. There seems no way to be certain on this point. Mrs. Strong, Curator of the Carlyle's house, writes me concerning the volume in her care: "Carlyle's book-plate ('Humiliate') is pasted on the inside of the cover but otherwise it has no marking or annotation whatever."

Besides the Time-Space relativity, the only other principle that Carlyle seems to refer to Kant during his residence in Scotland, is the distinction between *Vernunft* and *Verstand*. It is the distinction between the faculties that deal with the noumenal and with the phenomenal respectively. But nowhere does he assign this distinction to a definite work by Kant. Nevertheless, wherever he derived it, it was of central importance for a while to Carlyle. In 1827 he thought it the grand characteristic of Kant's philosophy.<sup>14</sup> In 1829 he understood the transcendental philosophy to teach that in Reason (*Vernunft*) lay the foundation of all Poetry, Virtue, and Religion.<sup>15</sup> And he thought the *Vernunft*-over-*Verstand* distinction and subordination included more or less all true Christian Faith and Devotion.<sup>16</sup> But at the same time he indicated the Time-Space relativity and the principle underlying it, as the premise from which would follow the conclusion that the Understanding produced only relative truth.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, in a passage written at the same time, he appears to pass directly from the principle of Time-Space relativity to a resulting assurance of the permanent within the flux, overleaping the *Vernunft*-*Verstand* distinction as implicit.<sup>18</sup> In November 1831 Carlyle said our conception of immortality depends on that of time; indicated its connection with *Sartor*; considered the new conception of time the deepest belonging to philosophy; believed this conception the one wherein modern philosophy had gained its best triumph; and pointed to the Time-Space relativity as a reconciler of contradictions.<sup>19</sup> And late in life he indicated a connection between Kant's Time and Space doctrine and his own faith in immortality.<sup>20</sup> Thus, although Carlyle once set great store by the *Vernunft*-*Verstand* distinction, he remained vague as to whence he drew it. He merely stated that it was uniformly implied in Kant's philosophy. Later he seems to have regarded it as subordinate to the Time-Space relativity and logically sequent to it. There is no proof that Carlyle derived his distinction between *Vernunft* and *Verstand* directly from Kant.

Although the records show many general allusions to Kant and to Kantism, there is no point now in mustering those that are already commonly known. Miss Storrs, for example, has done this. And she has gone further. She has examined the philosophic import of Carlyle's writings in comparison with Kant's writings. Her conclusions in regard to this comparison may be taken as those of a qualified expert. She finds that Carlyle's conception of the ideality of Time and Space is quite divorced from the whole significance given it by Kant;<sup>21</sup> that

<sup>14</sup> *Essays*, I, 81.<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 27.<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 27.<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 26-27.<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 26.<sup>19</sup> *Two Note Books*, pp. 221-222.<sup>20</sup> Allingham, William, *A Diary*, p. 273. One Saturday early in 1879.<sup>21</sup> *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte*, p. 27.

Carlyle's and Kant's conceptions of the nature of the Reason and of the Understanding, as well as their interpretations of the value of the distinction between the two faculties, are essentially at variance;<sup>22</sup> that Carlyle is opposed to Kant's whole explanation of the derivation and character of the moral law,<sup>23</sup> and that on the whole the essence of idealistic philosophy remained foreign to Carlyle.<sup>24</sup>

Also the verdict of the excellently qualified scholar, Dr. René Wellek, bears on the point. He seems to feel that Carlyle had a more correct grasp of Kant's ethics than he had of Kant's distinction between Reason and Understanding and of Kant's ideality of Space and Time. He says:<sup>25</sup>

Kant's opposition to Eudaemonism permeates the whole of "Wotton Reinfred." The very first sentence of the fragment [i.e., "Wotton Reinfred"] asserts: "happiness if it be the aim was never meant to be the end of our being. . . ."

However, it is noteworthy that before Carlyle had studied Kant he had shown his opposition to the ethical principle that is stated in Pope's celebrated line. Apparently about the end of 1821 Carlyle first read through Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.<sup>26</sup> Carlyle himself afterward said that as a result of his reading of *Lehrjahre*<sup>27</sup> he found that "No man has the right to ask for a recipe of happiness, he can do without happiness. There is something better than that. . . ."<sup>28</sup> His opposition to the ethical principle that happiness is our being's end and aim goes still further back than to the end of 1821. As early as June 4, 1820, apparently on his own account, Carlyle had reduced this popular eighteenth-century principle to an absurdity.<sup>29</sup> And on September 1, 1821, he again indicated the absurdity of the principle.<sup>30</sup> A paragraph later than the one already quoted from clears up Dr. Wellek's position:<sup>31</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 42 —Especially on the point that Carlyle's use of *Reason* differs from Kant's use, see Professor C. F. Harrold's article "Carlyle's Interpretation of Kant," *Philological Quarterly*, VII (1928), 345-357.

<sup>23</sup> Miss Storrs, *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte*, p. 52.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>25</sup> Wellek, René, *Immanuel Kant in England 1793-1838* (Princeton University Press, 1931), pp. 188-189.

<sup>26</sup> See Wilson, David Alec, *Carlyle Till Marriage* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1924), p. 211.

<sup>27</sup> The passage in point can be found in Carlyle's translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels*, II, 129.

<sup>28</sup> Carlyle, Thomas, *Lectures on the History of Literature . . .*, edited by J. R. Greene (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1892), second edition, pp. 202-203.

<sup>29</sup> See "Eight Unpublished Letters of Thomas Carlyle," edited by R. Garnett, *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CII (1899), 322-323.

<sup>30</sup> *The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh*, I, 12.

<sup>31</sup> *Kant in England*, p. 189.



All these three ideas: the distinction between Understanding and Reason, the ideality of Space and Time and the moral law within us, recur again and again in Carlyle's expositions of Kant and they recur with the same misinterpretations with which we find them in this half-forgotten early fragment which was published only in 1892 [i.e., "Wotton Reinfred"].

And a few pages later he concludes:<sup>32</sup>

It must be clear from the whole preceding discussion that Carlyle never came close to Kant's position. . . . In Kant he found a few appealing thoughts (or possibly mostly in second-hand reports of Kant). the general idealism and immaterialism, the ideality of space and time, the difference between Reason and Understanding, the Moral Law within us. But he gave a twist to all, which makes them Carlyle instead of Kant.

I find no proof, either from Carlyle's own statements or from expert comparison of Carlyle's doctrines with those of Kant, that Carlyle during his Scottish period read more than a part of one of Kant's works—150 pages of the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*.<sup>33</sup> The more one studies Carlyle's connection with German philosophy, the more evident it becomes that Carlyle read little in the primary sources and that he derived much of his knowledge of this philosophy from secondary or popular sources. The 150 pages of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* is the only systematic work that Carlyle is known to have read by any of the three original philosophers—Kant, Schelling, and Fichte—who appear in the record of his reading during his period in Scotland.

For the present we shall consider some secondary sources. Something has already been done in this field. For instance, Professor Harrold indicates Novalis's *Fragmente* as a source through which Carlyle derived knowledge of transcendental philosophy.<sup>33a</sup> Miss Storrs suggests Richter.<sup>34</sup> Dr. Wellek adds Jacobi.<sup>35</sup> I shall point out in chronological order some other important secondary sources of quite different kinds from these and from each other. But there remains, and will long remain, much to be found out on the matter.

As already indicated, Carlyle's *Two Note Books*, published only in a limited edition of 390 copies, throws some light, which has not been adequately examined, on the development, the extent, and the sources of Carlyle's information about German philosophy. The brief period from the fall of 1826 to the fall of 1827 seems to be the time in which

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>33</sup> This and similar statements herein are based on an unpublished record (some 4400 entries) of Carlyle's readings up to 1834.

<sup>33a</sup> C. F. Harrold, "Carlyle and Novalis," *S.P.*, xxvii (1930), 48-49.

<sup>34</sup> *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte*, p. 34.

<sup>35</sup> *Kant in England*, p. 201.

he was trying hardest to understand the systems of German thought as systems.<sup>36</sup>

So far as the records show, Carlyle's second book of German philosophy was *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, by Herder, an opponent of Kant. On December 3, Carlyle found it an extraordinary book, but believed its conclusions very dubious.<sup>37</sup> His next philosophic entry, within two days, shows him feeling that he "half or three-fourths" understood Coleridge's distinction between an Idea and a Perception. Carlyle's entry runs thus:<sup>38</sup>

Coleridge says, "Many men live all their days without ever having an *idea*; and some of them with thousands of things they call *ideas*; but an Idea is not a Perception or Image, it cannot be *painted*, it is infinite." Such was his meaning (not his words). I half or three-fourths seem to understand him.

Apparently Carlyle was concerning himself with the distinction between *Vernunft* and *Verstand* in Coleridge's work *The Friend*. And, within two weeks, Carlyle made his first recorded philosophical statement of the permanent within the flux, which had as its basis the dis-

<sup>36</sup> In addition to the evidence already given concerning Carlyle's study of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, see Carlyle's *Two Note Books*, pp. 72-112, *passim*, for references to philosophic matters. See also *post*, pp. 817-825, in which Carlyle's reading of Schelling and Fichte is shown as part of the transition of Carlyle's interest from the theoretical aspect to the practical aspect of German philosophy. Carlyle himself points out that he did not tarry long with the German or any other systems, but he does not say how long (*Lectures on the History of Literature . . .*, pp. 204-205). <sup>37</sup> *Two Note Books*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.—The passage in Coleridge to which Carlyle referred may have been the following one from the third essay in *The Friend*, Section the First, "On the Principle of Political Knowledge" "By the pure *Reason*, I mean the power by which we become possessed of principle, (the eternal verities of Plato and Descartes), and of ideas, (N B. not images) as the ideas of a point, a line, a circle, in Mathematics, and of Justice, Holiness, Free-Will, etc., in Morals" See *The Works of S. T. Coleridge* (Philadelphia: Crissy and Markley, 1849), p. 416 Or Carlyle may have had in mind a footnote to the postscript to the first essay in Section the Second, "On the grounds of Morals and Religion, and the Discipline of the Mind Requisite for the True Understanding of the Same." In this footnote, after explaining *Particularity* as one of the manifestations of the French intellect, Coleridge continued. "Hence the *idolism* of the French, here expressed in one of its results, viz., palpability. Ideas are here out of the question I had almost said, that *Ideas* and a Parisian philosopher are incompatible terms, since the latter half, I mean, of the reign of Louis XVI. But even the *Conceptions* of a Frenchman, whatever he admits to be *conceivable*, must be *imageable*, and the imageable must be fancied tangible—the non-apparency of either or both being accounted for by the disproportion of our senses, not by the nature of the conceptions." (*The Works of S. T. Coleridge*, p. 497. Closely related thoughts occur in *Biographia Literaria*, Chapters VIII, IX, XII, on pages 263, 266, and 288 respectively.) The probability that the passage just quoted is the one in question is somewhat strengthened by the fact that it occurs in connection with Coleridge's distinction between *genius* and *talent* (*ibid.*, 496-498). With this distinction Carlyle had long been familiar. he had pointed to it in March 1823. (*Two Note Books*, pp. 46-47.)

inction between *Vernunft* and *Verstand*.<sup>39</sup> Here, as the year 1826 ended, was his first clear statement of the great phoenix idea, the permanent within the organic flux. But it had to undergo a period of development in Carlyle's mind, as all his tenets did. For the present he simply reacted against the associationalist philosophy.<sup>40</sup>

The doctrine of immortality is a doctrine of the permanent within the flux. As the new year, 1827, began, Carlyle read Moses Mendelssohn's *Phädon* on the subject, but concluded that immortality was to be *believed* by faith rather than *proved* to the understanding.<sup>41</sup> He was deeply confused. He added:<sup>42</sup>

For the present, I will confess it, I scarce see how we can reason with *absolute* certainty on the nature or fate of *any* thing; for it seems to me we only see our own perceptions and their relations; that is to say, our soul sees only its own partial *reflex* and manner of existing and conceiving. I should have this cleared up: How does Kant manage it?

However, instead of going to Kant himself to find out how Kant cleared up this matter, Carlyle went to a work by Reinhold. Although Carlyle nowhere mentions the book by name, it now appears to have been Carl Leonhard Reinhold's *Beyträge zur leichtern Uebersicht des Zustandes der Philosophie bey dem Anfange des 19 Jahrhunderts*.<sup>43</sup> Carlyle was reading this work early in January. And, as a result, at some time between January 1 and 16, he made the following entry in his notebook:<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Two Note Books*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84

<sup>41</sup> *Two Note Books*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>43</sup> Hamburg, bey Friedrich Perthes, 1801-1803, 6 vols.

<sup>44</sup> *Two Note Books*, p. 100 —It would be hard to say which of the two trends seen in this entry is the more characteristic of Carlyle at this period: the tendency to make a brilliant stylistic antithesis or the tendency to point out a reform for his country. At all events, little strictly philosophic tendency on Carlyle's part is revealed in this entry. The philosophic constituents of Carlyle's notes are to be found in Reinhold's distinction between Rationalism and Empiricism. On pages 12 and 13 of the first volume of *Beyträge* occurs this passage concerning Descartes: "Auch Ihm ist, wie dem Platon, *die reale Erkenntniß*, als solche, nichts anderes als die *Wahrnehmung im Denken und durch Denken*—das *Philosophiren* nichts anderes als *reines*, des Einflusses der Phantasie sich erwehrendes, und auf das *Urwahre zurückgehendes Denken*—das *Urwahre* nichts anderes als die *Gottheit*—und das *Wahre*—die *denkenden und materiellen Wesen unter Gott*." (The italics here and hereafter are Reinhold's.) Reinhold's next sentence indicates that Leibnitz developed still further than Descartes had done, these Platonic "Grundgedanken." Thus the first part of Carlyle's antithesis can be traced to Reinhold. In the second part of the antithesis, Carlyle was obviously referring to English empiricism. On page seven of the first volume of *Beyträge* Reinhold said that the English had given up all genuine philosophic thinking after Locke and Hume had brought to conclusion the investigations introduced into England by Bacon. Two pages further on, Reinhold explained: "*Baco* legte den Glauben an die *Natur*, und an die, an derselben sich selbst ankündigende, *Gottheit*, in welchen Beyden Ihm "das *an sich selbst Wahre* und *Gewisse* bestand, allen seinen Nachforschungen bald ausdrücklich, bald stillschweigend zum Grunde. Er dachte sich *die ursprüngliche reale*

Leibnitz and Descartes found all Truth to rest on our seeing and believing in God: we English have found our seeing and believing in God to rest on all Truth, and pretty work we have made of it!

On January 16, Carlyle made two more paragraphs of notes based on Reinhold. In both of these latter passages he mentioned Reinhold's name: in the first, he mentioned it only parenthetically; in the second, he registered a doubt as to the trustworthiness of Reinhold as a guide. The entries are as follows:

Who was Gassendi? and what were his Metaphysics? I have seen his Commentaries on Newton;<sup>45</sup> but know nothing more of him; yet he is said (by Reinhold) to be the father of the existing French Philosophy.<sup>46</sup>

Locke, Hume, Reid, etc., etc., are *Empirics*; Descartes, Leibnitz, Kant, etc., are *Rationalists*. Which is right? I begin to see some light thro' the clouds in Kantism; tho' Reinhold is somewhat of a Will-o'-wisp guide, I fear. Empiricism, if consistent, they say, leads direct to Atheism!—I am afraid it does <sup>47</sup>

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*Erkenntniss* als die Wahrnehmung des Naturlichen, *als solchen*, und des *Gotlichen* am Naturlichen." On pages 10 and 11 Reinhold rounded his point on English empiricism by saying that a certain characteristic of the English nation seemed to commit England's philosophy to the empirical method and to cause even its moral and religious ideas to be based on sensation.

<sup>45</sup> Carlyle appears to be mistaken: Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) died when Isaac Newton (1642–1727) was thirteen years old.

<sup>46</sup> This entry occurs in Carlyle's *Two Note Books*, p. 102. Reinhold's *Beytrage* contains the reference to Gassendi as an empiricist, it occurs near the end of a long sentence dealing with the influence of Malebranche, Fenelon, and Pascal. "Aber diese Männer trieben den *Platonismus* der Cartesianischen Philosophie, durch die etwas zu stark angebrachte Wurze mystischer Ansichten und blosser Gefühle der Religiosität, bis zu einem *Extreme*, welches, zumal durch seinen zu starken Contrast mit dem *Nationalcharakter* und den *Sitten der Franzosen*, nicht wenig dazu beytrug, das *entgegengesetzte Extrem* der griechischen Sensualphilosophie—den *Gassendistischen Epikurismus*—und den englischen *Empiricismus* in Frankreich herbey zu führen" (I, 20).

<sup>47</sup> This entry on page 102 of *Two Note Books* follows immediately after the one on Gassendi. In next to the last sentence Carlyle is restating in his own words the rationalist's indictments of the moral and religious implications of empiricism. He may have had in mind the following passages from Reinhold, for, in view of Reinhold's religious bias, it does not seem out of place to give the word *Glauben* some religious significance: "Auch im *Glauben* wird das Wahre *nie ohne* das *Urwahre*, und Dieses *nie ohne* Jenes geglaubt. Aber das *Verhältniss* zwischen beyden wird im blossen *Glauben* nur *genossen* und *gefühlt*, nicht *erkannt* und *gedacht*. Jeder *mißlungene Versuch*, dasselbe zu *erkennen*, giebt ein *falsches Wissen*, eine *Afterphilosophie*, welche, wenn und inwieferne sie nicht etwa durch den *Glauben* und die *Liebe* des *Wahren* niedergeschlagen, überwogen, wird, *Unglauben* erzeugt" (*Beytrage*, I, 72–73). Two pages further on, Reinhold said that speculation becomes skepticism, "wenn und inwieferne der Philosoph bey näherer Untersuchung seines *angenommenen Ersten* einsieht, dass dasselbe weder das *Urwahre* selbst *seyn*, noch auf ein *Urwahres zurückführen* könne. Aus dieser *Einfach*, und durch die *Darstellung* derselben, wird er den *Beweis* führen, dass die *Realität* der *Erkenntniss* durchaus *fur* kein *Wissen*

From Reinhold's biased book Carlyle seems to have derived some notions of philosophic matters in the large, to have caught sight of "some light thro' the clouds in Kantism," and, still more important with both Reinhold and Carlyle, to have sensed some of the moral and religious bearings of various systems of philosophy. Thus Reinhold's *Beytrage* occupied, at least for a time, the position of guide of Carlyle's thought.

In addition to using Coleridge and Reinhold, Carlyle made use of another guide to transcendental philosophy—a book review. It seems to have been in April or May of 1827 that Carlyle entered in his notebook a page full of illuminating notes concerning Kant and his successors.<sup>48</sup> I shall give them here exactly as they occur in the notebook:<sup>49</sup>

Wagner, Weiller, Hegel, Krug, are testators,<sup>50a</sup> opposers or commentators of Kant. Eschenmayer also.

Bardili's *Rational Realism*, is it not like the doctrine of Malebranche?

Bouterwek, *System of Virtuality*: "the subjective and objective are nothing without each other."

*Annihilation of the Subject*—Spinosism and materialism.

Fichte's *Transcendental Idealism*, "elimination of the object", that is deducing the not-me from the me?

Schelling's *Ideal Realism, Philosophy of Nature*, but usually called the *System of Identity*; "because it represents the subject and the object as absolutely identical and commingling and compounding themselves in intellectual intuition."—To this I can attach next to no meaning.

Fichte pretended to have deduced his system from Kant, which Kant eagerly denied. Kant's system of morality is universal in Germany, his metaphysics are

und durch kein Wissen bewahrt und vergewissert werden, und dass der Versuch einer solchen Bewährung und Vergewisserung, so lange seine Unmöglichkeit nicht eingesehen wird, keinen andern Erfolg haben könne, als ein falsches Wissen zu erkunsten, und die *Realität des Glaubens zu untergraben*" (*Beytrage*, I, 75-76). Moreover, I cannot resist the feeling that there is a connection between the passages just quoted from Reinhold and still another of Carlyle's notebook entries, made, presumably, on January 16 also: "To prove the existence of God as Paley has attempted to do (a Kantian would say) is like lighting a lantern to seek for the Sun: if you look *hard* by your lantern, you may even miss your search" (*Two Note Books*, p. 103). There is still one more point in connection with Reinhold. Carlyle's discussion of the aim of "what may be called Primary or Critical philosophy" as the discovery of *Urwahr*, God, the Absolute (see "The State of German Literature," *Essays*, I, 79-81) seems reminiscent of Reinhold's allusions to certain *Philosophae primae*, from Descartes to the recent Germans. Reinhold's discussion involves and identifies the terms *Urwahr*, *Gottheit*, and *Prius kar* 'ἐξοχήν' (*Beytrage*, I, 12-16, and I, 71-72. Part of this first reference has already been quoted in footnote 44.)

<sup>48</sup> It is impossible to date these entries with perfect accuracy. They fall between passages dated March 1827 and January 1828. I have dated them April or May because they precede quotations from Richter, with whom Carlyle was occupied by June 4. See *Letters of Thomas Carlyle, 1826-1836*, edited by C. E. Norton (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), pp. 45-46.

<sup>49</sup> *Two Note Books*, pp. 112-113.

disfigured, misrepresented, no longer studied in his own writings, but (says this critic) well worthy of being studied.

Kant reminded me of father Boscovich: but alas! I have only read 100 pages of his works. How difficult it is to live! How many things to do, how little strength, how little time to do them!

Although the editor of *Two Note Books*, appears not to have known it, these notes were based on Carlyle's reading of Part II of P. A. Stapfer's article "Problème de l'esprit humain" in the *Revue Encyclopédique*.<sup>50</sup> The comments—not the questions or the confessions of ignorance—were taken almost literally from Stapfer's article. These notes seem to show that at this time Carlyle knew little of the various philosophic systems of Germany.

Although Carlyle could not look upon a philosophic system with the eye of a trained philosopher, he could form a shrewd estimate of its tendencies and effects. It is toward this practical aspect that we must look to find his interest. Early in June he put aside forever, unfinished, a novel that he had begun in January.<sup>51</sup> This fragment is of some importance here, in that it indicates part of what Carlyle had seen when with Coleridge's, Reinhold's, and Stapfer's help he had looked through the clouds of Kantism. In this novel Carlyle let one character say:<sup>52</sup>

Much of this which you call Kantism seems but the more scientific expression of what all true poets and thinkers, nay, all good men, have felt more or less distinctly, and acted on the faith of, in all ages.

Moreover, Carlyle lets one of the characters say that time is an eternal now.<sup>53</sup> And he lets still another attempt a distinction between Reason and Understanding.<sup>54</sup> In these passages Carlyle was unquestionably looking to the practical rather than to the theoretical aspect of transcendental philosophy; he was chiefly concerned with the application of Kantian tenets rather than with their systematic derivation.

The next philosophic reference, in August, shows too the drift of Carlyle's interest away from the theoretical aspect to the practical. He was reading popular applications of the transcendental philosophy. That is, he was reading popular lectures by Schelling and Fichte.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Revue encyclopédique*, XXXIII (February 1827), 414-431.—Norton identified notes on other articles in the same magazine: for example, on the article that introduced Carlyle to Saint-Simonism.

<sup>50a</sup> J. A. S. Barrett reads *sectators* instead of *testators*; See *N and Q*., March 10, 1934, p. 165

<sup>51</sup> *Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, pp. 45-46 and 20.

<sup>52</sup> Carlyle, Thomas, *Last Word of Thomas Carlyle* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1892), p. 99. The novel was called *Wotten Reinfred*.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>55</sup> *Letters of Thomas Carlyle*; p. 53; read with *Essays*, I, 83, footnote, and 59-61 and footnote.

The book of popular lectures by Schelling was *Vorlesungen über die Methode des Akademischen Studiums*.<sup>56</sup> In October, in the essay on "The State of German Literature," Carlyle referred to pages 105-111 of this book to point his distinction between Reason and Understanding. He admitted with frankness—too often construed as modest understatement<sup>57</sup>—that he knew only a little of Schelling's thought and was therefore not qualified to pass judgment on his system.<sup>58</sup> There is no suggestion that Carlyle at this time had made any study of Schelling's elaborate works. And during the remainder of his residence in Scotland, Carlyle left no record of reading any other work by Schelling.<sup>59</sup>

In the essay in which Carlyle showed his familiarity with the book of popular lectures by Schelling, Carlyle turned his attention to an examination of the critical philosophy in general. But it was an examination of the aim rather than of the method, of the practical application rather than of the theory. He found that the aim of the critical philosophy was to open man's inward eye to the Primatively True.<sup>60</sup> In his consideration of the distinction between Reason and Understanding, he did not examine the systematic reasoning that produced the distinction. Instead, he was occupied with the different objects and provinces with which these faculties might concern themselves.<sup>61</sup> And, finally, Carlyle believed the importance of the distinction to be "vast, nay, in these days boundless, . . . could it be scientifically established."<sup>62</sup>

The book of popular lectures by Fichte that Carlyle was reading in August 1827, along with the book by Schelling, proved to be *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*.<sup>63</sup> And in the essay, finished in October 1827, Carlyle gave Fichte unqualified praise as a man and as a thinker, without attempting to judge his philosophic opinions.<sup>64</sup> He found in Fichte's book a conception of the Divine Idea that underlies experience;<sup>65</sup> he found an organic conception of human history;<sup>66</sup> and he found a con-

<sup>56</sup> Carlyle, *Essays*, I, 83, footnote.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 83, footnote.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 76-77.

<sup>59</sup> Dr. Wellek (*Kant in England*, p. 295, note 182, see also p. 201) says: "Schelling was probably quite unknown to Carlyle with the exception of the lectures 'Methode des akademischen Studiums'." And he suggests further, parenthetically, that even the passage Carlyle assigned to this work was "possibly quoted second-hand."

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 81.—Also see end of footnote 47 in this paper for a suggestion of the connection of Reinhold with this viewpoint.

<sup>61</sup> Carlyle, *Essays*, I, 82-83.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 83.

<sup>63</sup> *Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, p. 53, read with *Essays*, I, 59-61, and footnote.

<sup>64</sup> *Essays*, I, 77.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 58-61.

<sup>66</sup> Carlyle's passage on pp. 58-59 of *Essays*, Vol. I, should be considered in relation to its context, pp. 58-61 and the footnote on p. 60. Also in the lectures *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, edited by J. C. Adams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1907), pp. 217-218, Carlyle ascribes to *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten* the notion that the manifestations of the Divine Idea change in every new generation. The idea is common

ception of elect individuals who serve as heaven-appointed intermediators between the unchanging Divine Idea and the changing world of sense.<sup>67</sup> As has been indicated by Carlyle and by several critics, Carlyle's Hero-doctrine is deeply indebted to this work.<sup>68</sup> But Miss Storrs has pointed out that Carlyle did not understand the philosophic system of which the above-mentioned conceptions were parts, and that he therefore misunderstood the philosophic significance of these and of the other doctrines which he referred to Fichte.<sup>69</sup>

Miss Storrs has further pointed out that the basic metaphysical conceptions upon which Fichte's popular works were built are to be found in Fichte's early *Wissenschaftslehre*.<sup>70</sup> However, in the record of Carlyle's reading up to 1834, there is, to me, no convincing evidence that he read any work by Fichte except *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*. Thus it would seem that part of Carlyle's misunderstanding of the philosophic significance of Fichte's doctrines is due to the smallness of his reading in Fichte. But, before one can form his judgment concerning the amount of Carlyle's reading in Fichte, there is a body of evidence to examine.

Carlyle's relation to Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre* is apt to prove a snare to critics. The difficulty is a peculiar one, probably arising chiefly from Carlyle's use of the expression "Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*" in the 1829 essay on Novalis. In this essay Carlyle put into quotation marks the statement that Friedrich Schlegel and Fichte had " 'a great and abiding effect on his [Novalis's] whole life.' " <sup>71</sup> And Carlyle continued:<sup>72</sup>

Fichte, in particular, . . . had quite gained Novalis to his doctrines; indeed the *Wissenschaftslehre*, which, as we are told of the latter, "he studied with un-

in *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten* see J. G. Fichte's *Sämmtliche Werke*, edited by I. H. Fichte (Leipzig, 1844), vi, 352, 366, 406, 415, 438, 446, or Smith's translation of *The Popular Works of J. G. Fichte* (London: John Chapman, 1849), i, 247, 263, 312-313, 324, 352, 361.

<sup>67</sup> *Essays*, i, 58-61.

<sup>68</sup> Carlyle himself first pointed out the connection between his Hero as Man of Letters and Fichte's *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*. See *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, pp. 217-219.—C. E. Vaughan and B. H. Lehman both recognize Carlyle's indebtedness to Fichte's book, and both realize that Carlyle adapted for his own purposes what he took from Fichte. See Vaughan, "Carlyle and his German Masters," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, collected by A. C. Bradley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), i, 193-195, and Lehman, *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero . . .* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1928), pp. 113-128, especially 122-123.—Moreover, Professor Harrold says that Carlyle appropriated ideas from Fichte's *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten* for his own philosophy of history. See *S P*, xxvii (1930), 58, footnote 55.

<sup>69</sup> *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte*, 53-100, especially 61, 62, 68, 69, 73, 88.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.—She thus takes issue with Vaughan (*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, i, 186), who does not consider the works of Fichte's two periods harmonious with each other.

<sup>71</sup> *Essays*, ii, 10.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 10.



wearied zeal," appears to have been the groundwork of all his future speculations in Philosophy.

And still further in the essay Carlyle wrote:<sup>73</sup>

To ourselves, it somewhat illustrates the nature of Novalis's opinions, when we consider the then and present state of German metaphysical science generally, and the fact, stated above, that he gained his first notions on this subject from Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*. It is true, as Tieck remarks, "he sought to open for himself a new path in Philosophy; to unite Philosophy with Religion", and so diverged in some degree from his first instructor; or, as it more probably seemed to himself, prosecuted Fichte's scientific inquiry into its highest practical results

Thereupon Carlyle added that Novalis's metaphysical creed appeared essentially synonymous with what little he understood of Fichte's and might for present purposes be classed under the head of Kantism, or German metaphysics generally.<sup>74</sup>

The first element of the difficulty is the ambiguity of the word *Wissenschaftslehre*. This term might mean *philosophy*, in a general sense, quite as well as it might mean any particular work by Fichte. In fact the word does occur prominently in more than one of Fichte's own publications.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore there is no evidence that Carlyle thought the word signified any particular work by Fichte. In other instances besides the one in question he seems to use the words *Wissenschaftslehre* and *philosophy* interchangeably.<sup>76</sup> The solution of the difficulty lies in Tieck's *Vorrede to Novalis Schriften*. Two passages from it seem to have furnished the basis of Carlyle's remarks concerning Fichte's *Wis-*

<sup>73</sup> *Essays*, II, 22-23.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 23.

<sup>75</sup> When Professor Harrold (*S. P.*, XXVII, 58, footnote 55) says that Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*, 1794, perhaps helped furnish ideas for Carlyle's philosophy of history, one supposes that he has in mind *Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre*. But another work, *Grundriss der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre*, with the same key-word in its title, belongs to the same year. See *J. G. Fichte's Sammtliche Werke*, edited by J. H. Fichte (Leipzig, 1844). Miss Storrs (*op. cit.*, pp. 60, 68, 69) also refers to *Wissenschaftslehre* as a book; but she gives no date of publication.

<sup>76</sup> Notice the following uses of the words *Wissenschaftslehre* and *Philosophy* interchangeably. (1) In a footnote to the Novalis essay Carlyle wrote: "Schelling, we have been informed, gives account of Fichte and his *Wissenschaftslehre* to the following effect: 'The Philosophy of Fichte was like lightning; it appeared only for a moment, but it kindled a fire which will burn forever'" (*Essays*, II, 10, note). (2) Further in the essay, Carlyle translated one of Novalis's *Fragmente* which contained the expression "*Fichtesche Philosophie*." See *Novalis Schriften* (Jena, 1907), II, 294. Carlyle's translation of this passage runs: "The Catholic Religion is to a certain extent applied Christianity. Fichte's Philosophy too is perhaps applied Christianity" (*Essays*, II, 42). But when Carlyle wrote *Sartor Resartus*, he, perhaps unconsciously, changed the expression "Fichte's Philosophy" to "Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*" (*Sartor Resartus*, p. 177 and note).

*senschaftslehre* and Novalis. Tieck had written thus concerning Novalis:<sup>77</sup>

In der Philosophie hatte er vorzüglich Spinoza und Fichte studiert; aber er suchte nacher eine eigne Bahn, die Philosophie mit der Religion zu vereinigen, und so wurden ihm, was wir von den Neuplatonikern besitzen, sowie die Schriften den Mystiker, sehr wichtig.

And after speaking of the very warm friendship that existed between Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel, Tieck had said:<sup>78</sup>

auch Fichte lernte er [i.e., Novalis] kennen, und diese beiden Geister hatten einen grossen und bleibenden Einfluss auf sein ganzes Leben. Er studierte nach einiger Zeit die Wissenschaftslehre mit unermüdlichem Eifer.

It will be noticed that the particular term that has caused trouble, *Wissenschaftslehre*,<sup>79</sup> here simply means philosophy, and has no reference to any particular work by Fichte. In failing to translate it into the English equivalent—philosophy—Carlyle has, unintentionally perhaps, thrown out a false clue. But it should mislead no more. With the Tieck Preface to *Novalis Schriften* in his hands Carlyle did not need to have read Fichte's technical philosophy to make the statements that occur in the Novalis essay. In saying that Novalis gained his first notions of modern German philosophy from Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*, which was the groundwork of Novalis's further philosophic speculations, Carlyle was merely restating, as he repeatedly hints, Tieck's statement of the matter.

There are still other works by Fichte that have been assigned an influence upon Carlyle. Probably it is the striking similarity of titles that has led critics to search Fichte's *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters* for similarities to Carlyle's "Characteristics."<sup>80</sup> Professor

<sup>77</sup> *Novalis Schriften*, I, xxi. This *Vorrede* by Tieck was reprinted from the third edition of *Novalis Schriften*, 1815. Carlyle used the fourth edition, 1826. See Carlyle's *Essays*, II, 1, footnote

<sup>78</sup> *Novalis Schriften*, Bd I, x.

<sup>79</sup> The printer's type that is used for this word in Tieck's *Vorrede* is in no way distinguished from the type used for the rest of the passage. Nor is there any other distinguishing mark. A change in type was the customary distinction for book titles then in German, as now in English.

<sup>80</sup> But such a line of reasoning would, if one wished, lead him just as logically to the third Earl of Shaftesbury's *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*. According to Carlyle's own statements he read this work twice: the first reading came before December 4, 1826 (*Two Note Books*, pp. 71-72), the second, before October 15, 1832 (*Essays*, III, 200). At least one of these readings, and possibly both, came before he wrote the essay "Characteristics." A more modern English instance would be Hazlitt's *Characteristics, in the Manner of Rochefortcauld's Maxims*. In the fall of 1831, just before writing "Characteristics," Carlyle was much interested in Hazlitt. While he was still balancing between an essay "On Man" and one "On Authors" (*Two Note Books*, p. 212), he read Hazlitt's *Table*

Harrold believes that this work by Fichte furnished ideas for Carlyle's philosophy of history.<sup>81</sup> And Professor Lehman presents evidence for what he believes to be a slight influence of Fichte's work on Carlyle's Hero-doctrine.<sup>82</sup> One idea that Professor Lehman presents is particularly striking.<sup>83</sup> In Fichte's *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*, Fichte distinguishes four different modes by which the Divine Idea may manifest itself in the world of sense: these various modes are (1) Art, (2) Social Relations, (3) Science, and (4) Religion.<sup>84</sup> Professor Lehman compares three of these distinctions with Carlyle's Hero-doctrine. He says:<sup>85</sup>

... we have here the hero as Divinity, Prophet, and Priest, in the fourth; as King and Man of Letters in the second; as Poet in the first.

As Professor Lehman knows, one has to use considerable imagination to bring Carlyle's Divinity, his Prophet, his Priest, his King, his Man of Letters, and his Poet out of Fichte's general divisions of Religion, Social Relations, and Art. But that is not the point at issue. My point now is that the same effort of the imagination will just as readily bring all of them out of Fichte's five-fold division in *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*. And from this work it will far more readily bring two of them: Carlyle's Man of Letters and his King. In this *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten* Fichte stipulates the following five modes whereby the Divine Idea manifests itself through men in the world of sense: (1) Legislation, (2) Natural Science (Knowledge of Nature), (3) Religion, (4) Philosophic Science (Knowledge of the Divine Idea), and (5) Art.<sup>86</sup> In short, these five modes in *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten* include the previously mentioned four. It must be borne in mind that Carlyle is otherwise known to have read, and to have been influenced by, *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*. As we have already seen, it was in Fichte's conception of the nature of the scholar in this work that Carlyle found, or thought he found, his conception of the Hero as Man of Letters. Also, Carlyle's conception of the Hero as King shows more notable similarity to *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten* than to *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*. The Legislator in the second lecture of the former work is at least as suggestive of Carlyle's King as is anything in the

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*Talk* (*Ibid.*, p. 213). Eventually he decided on the former topic, "On Man." "Characteristics" was the result. And in this very essay he made a pointed statement concerning Hazlitt (*Essays*, III, 32).

<sup>81</sup> *S. P.*, xxvii, 58, footnote 55.

<sup>82</sup> Lehman, *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero*, pp. 114-116.

<sup>83</sup> It, alone, in this evidence looks strong enough to support the charge of influence, but it runs foul of *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*, and sinks, as we shall see.

<sup>84</sup> *Fichte's Werke*, vii, 58-60 (Smith's translation of *The Popular Works of J. G. Fichte*, II, 57-59).

<sup>85</sup> Lehman, *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero*, p. 116.

<sup>86</sup> *Fichte's Werke*, vi, 369-371 (Smith's translation of *Popular Works*, I, 267-269).

discussion of Social Relations in the latter work. Moreover, in the seventh lecture of the former work, *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*, Fichte gives a discussion of the guide of human affairs.<sup>87</sup> And, finally, the eighth of these lectures concerns itself primarily with the Ruler.<sup>88</sup> One may look further and still be unconvinced that Carlyle was influenced by Fichte's *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*.

Miss Storrs indicates a passage in Carlyle's "The State of German Literature" which, she says, "might seem to refer to the *Characteristics of the Present Age* [by Fichte] rather than to the *Nature of the Scholar*."<sup>89</sup> The passage in Carlyle's essay runs: "For each age, by the law of its nature, is different from every other age, and demands a different representation of the Divine Idea, the essence of which is the same in all; so that the literary man of one century is only by mediation and re-interpretation applicable to the wants of another."<sup>90</sup> But this conception of organic change in the manifestation of the Divine Idea in different ages is common in Fichte's *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, in "The State of German Literature" Carlyle indicated Fichte's *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten* as the source of it.<sup>92</sup>

What at first glance appeared to me to offer a more striking parallel than the passage pointed out by Miss Storrs occurs in a statement of Carlyle's concerning different epochs in human history, as follows:<sup>93</sup>

Every society, every Polity, has a spiritual principle; is the embodiment, tentative and more or less complete, of an Idea: all its tendencies of endeavour, specialities of custom, its laws, politics and whole procedure (as the glance of some Montesquieu, across innumerable superficial entanglements, can partly decipher), are prescribed by an Idea, and flow naturally from it, as movements from the living source of motion. This Idea, be it of devotion to a man or class of men, to a creed, to an institution, or even, as in more ancient times, to a piece of land, is ever a true Loyalty; has in it something of a religious, paramount, quite infinite character; it is properly the Soul of the State, its Life; mysterious as other forms of Life, and like these working secretly, and in a depth beyond that of consciousness.

<sup>87</sup> Fichte's *Werke*, vi, 415 (Smith's translation of *Popular Works*, i, 324).

<sup>88</sup> Fichte's *Werke*, vi, 420-428 (Smith's translation of *Popular Works*, i, 330-339).

<sup>89</sup> Storrs, *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte*, p. 87. <sup>90</sup> *Essays*, i, 58-59.

<sup>91</sup> See Fichte's *Werke*, vi, 352 (Smith's translation of *Popular Works*, i, 247); *Werke*, vi, 366 (*Popular Works*, i, 263); *Werke*, vi, 406 (*Popular Works*, i, 312-313); *Werke*, vi, 415 (*Popular Works*, i, 324); *Werke*, vi, 438 (*Popular Works*, i, 352); *Werke*, vi, 446 (*Popular Works*, i, 361).

<sup>92</sup> Carlyle's passage on pp. 58-59 of *Essays*, i, should be considered in relation to its context, pp. 58-61 and the footnote on p. 60. Also in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, pp. 217-218, Carlyle ascribes to *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten* the notion that the manifestations of the Divine Idea change in every new generation. <sup>93</sup> *Essays*, iii, 13-14.

One might take this statement for a reflection of Fichte's doctrine concerning the "Idea of the Age." But closer examination shows greater difference than similarity. Carlyle's idea or spiritual principle of a society or polity was decipherable only partially to the historian, after he had examined the phenomena of the age. It worked, he said, "secretly, and in a depth beyond that of consciousness."

This Idea, be it of devotion to a man or class of men, to a creed, to an institution, or even . . . to a piece of land, is ever a true Loyalty.

Apparently it was a devotion to some object existing in time, and was simply a loyalty of individuals. Fichte's notion was almost opposite in meaning. According to Fichte, only the abstract philosopher could adequately describe the Age: he would, said Fichte,<sup>94</sup>

independently of all experience, seek out an Idea of the Age (which indeed in its own form,—as *Idea*,—cannot be apparent in experience), and exhibit the mode in which this Idea would reveal itself under the forms of the necessary phenomena of the Age. . . .

The philosopher, according to Fichte, would deduce absolutely *a priori* all the possible phenomena of existence from the Unity of his presupposed principle.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, Fichte says, "he must be able *a priori* to describe Time as a whole, and all its possible Epochs."<sup>96</sup> The more one sees of such examples, the more he feels the force of Miss Storrs' statement that the theories of history held by Fichte and Carlyle differ fundamentally.<sup>97</sup> She of course is speaking from a strictly philosophic rather than from a popular or from a practical point of view.

Miss Storrs concludes her comparison of Carlyle's "Characteristics" and Fichte's *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters* with the following:<sup>98</sup>

. . . while many of Carlyle's phrases strongly recall Fichte, and were very probably suggested by the philosopher, they are divorced from their original significance, and used in the presentation of so different an argument, that the similarity is largely of word, where it is not of transitory detail.

Possibly these phrasal resemblances to which Miss Storrs alludes would be traceable to other sources if our knowledge were complete. At all events, there is insufficient evidence that Carlyle was familiar with the *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*.

Fichte's *Staatslehre* calls for only brief mention. This work is nowhere mentioned in the record of Carlyle's reading up to the year 1834. Miss

<sup>94</sup> *Fichte's Werke*, VII, 4 and 5 (*Popular Works*, II, 2 and 3).

<sup>95</sup> *Fichte's Werke*, VII, 4 and 5 (*Popular Works*, II, 2 and 3).

<sup>96</sup> *Fichte's Werke*, VII, 5 (*Popular Works*, II, 3).

<sup>97</sup> *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte*, p. 78.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Storrs for some reason ignores the work. It seems probable that Professor Lehman takes it up for consideration only because of Professor Vaughan's broad, confident, but unproved suggestion that it influenced Carlyle.<sup>99</sup> At any rate the former writes:<sup>100</sup>

It would seem that Professor Vaughan's attribution of the doctrine of Heroes to what Carlyle found "between the lines of *Das Wesen des Gelehrten*" but "written large in the more systematic exposition of the *Staatslehre*" is misleading if not downright wrong.

Professor Lehman then proceeds to dispose of the *Staatslehre* by quoting some passages that only in a general way connect themselves with the Hero-idea.<sup>101</sup> In stating that these five winnowed-out passages leave the reader unconvinced of Carlyle's indebtedness to Fichte's *Staatslehre*, it is only fair for me to repeat that Professor Lehman introduced his examination of this work as a correction of Professor Vaughn's attribution of Carlyle's Hero-doctrine to what he found in the *Staatslehre*. It appears that the case must be dismissed because of lack of evidence.

This discussion of Carlyle's connection with Fichte's works gives evidence for my opinion that, up to 1834, at least, Carlyle had read only one of the works by Fichte that he has been supposed to have read. This one work was *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*.<sup>102</sup> And the reading of this book of popular lectures late in 1827 brings to a close the record of Carlyle's readings in German philosophy during the year 1826-27.

By suggesting 1826-27 as the period in which Carlyle was trying hardest to understand the systems of German philosophy as systems, I do not mean to minimize the part played by the poets and the æsthetic writers who, both before and during this period, helped Carlyle toward his transcendental tenets. More will be said of them at another time. There seems no reason to doubt Professor Harrold's belief that Novalis was an important source through which Carlyle derived knowledge of transcendental philosophy.<sup>103</sup> But I would point out now, that when Carlyle read Novalis the second time, in January 1829,<sup>104</sup> he read him

<sup>99</sup> Vaughan, "Carlyle and His German Masters," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, I, 193-194.

<sup>100</sup> Lehman, *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero*, pp. 117-118.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118

<sup>102</sup> Dr. Wellek writes: "An analysis of Carlyle's relation to Fichte would lead to the same negative results [as did Dr. Wellek's analysis of Carlyle's relation to Kant], even if it can be shown that Carlyle borrowed certain phrases and little tags of speech and that Fichte had some influence on his theory of the hero." (*Kant in England*, p. 201.)

<sup>103</sup> Harrold, "Carlyle and Novalis," *S. P.*, xxvii (1930), 48-49.

<sup>104</sup> *Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, 137, when read with *Two Note Books*, 135 and 140. Carlyle's first reading of Novalis seems to have been in the year 1825-26 (see Carlyle's translation, *German Romance*, I, 260).

for his philosophy of life and interpretation of life rather than to discover a system of thought. And I would suggest that Novalis's chief service to Carlyle lay in showing him Natural Supernaturalism, which served him as a transition from Transcendentalism to Poetic Realism.

There are a few more facts that are worthy of place here because of their close connection with my topic. A letter written by Carlyle in 1841 throws some light over the matter of what he read and admired in German philosophy. In this letter he was advising two young men as to how they might find their way about in German philosophy. He mentioned only four works; three of them we have already considered in this paper. The first of these works, in order of importance, was Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. Carlyle thought it the key to all German thought.<sup>105</sup> And he thought that perhaps the sole value of German philosophy was the fact that it offered "deliverance from the fatal incubus of Scotch or French philosophy, with its mechanisms and its Atheisms."<sup>106</sup> Bright in Carlyle's memory beyond all other works he had read on the subject of German philosophy were the two books of popular lectures that we have already noticed: Schelling's *Über die Methode des Akademischen Studiums* and Fichte's *Über das Wesen des Gelehrten*.<sup>107</sup> The fourth book that Carlyle mentioned in 1841 was a two-volume life and literary correspondence of Fichte, prepared by his son.<sup>108</sup> On account of Carlyle's statement on March 17, 1832, that he intended writing an essay on Fichte,<sup>109</sup> one would guess that he came into contact with this biography at London in 1831-32. By the end of 1831, Carlyle had denounced the systematic side of all philosophic speculation,<sup>110</sup> and at this time was probably interested in Fichte primarily from the biographical standpoint.<sup>111</sup> At all events, in 1841, Carlyle wrote two young men struggling with German philosophy that this work was worth their reading because of the general glimpse it gave of the whole field of German thought.<sup>112</sup>

Besides the four works that the letter of 1841 recommended, three more works with which Carlyle became acquainted at various times

<sup>105</sup> Espinasse, *Literary Recollections and Sketches*, p. 59. It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that Madame de Stael had advanced the same opinion in the book that introduced Carlyle to German literature and thought (*Germany*, III, 71).

<sup>106</sup> Espinasse, *Literary Recollections and Sketches*, p. 59.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59 and footnote

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.—The work alluded to appears to have been *J. G. Fichte's Leben und literarischen Briefwechsel*, edited by I. H. Fichte (1830-31).

<sup>109</sup> *Two Note Books*, p. 255.

<sup>110</sup> *Essays*, III, 25.

<sup>111</sup> On June 13, 1833, he called attention to this attitude of biographical interest even toward philosophers (*Letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill* . . . , p. 57).

<sup>112</sup> Espinasse, *Literary Recollections and Sketches*, p. 59.

after 1827 may be briefly mentioned here. The first of the three is a review of Friedrich Schlegel's philosophy of life, probably in the *Janaische Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung* for March 1828.<sup>113</sup> The second is the book of lectures in which Schlegel presented his philosophy of life. At some time in 1830 the lectures that had been completed at Schlegel's death were published under the title *Philosophische Vorlesungen, insbesondere über Philosophie der Sprache und des Wortes*. And before August 4, 1831, Carlyle had procured the book and read it.<sup>114</sup> The essay "Characteristics," purporting to be in part a review of this work, contains Carlyle's denunciation of all philosophic systems as systems.<sup>115</sup> The third, and last, work to be mentioned here is a translation from Fichte's works, in which Carlyle was reading at some time between 1840 and 1850.<sup>116</sup> Probably it was William Smith's translation called *The Popular Works of J. G. Fichte*.<sup>117</sup> And perhaps Carlyle's reason for reading in it may be seen in Miss Storr's statement that Smith's translation was inscribed "to Thomas Carlyle . . . with his permission. . . ."<sup>118</sup> Whatever the reason for this reading, Carlyle had definitely fallen away from his old admiration; he now thought Fichte "a thick skinned fellow."<sup>119</sup> A detailed study of this alienation from Fichte would lead us back to Carlyle's change from Transcendentalism to Poetic Realism.

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<sup>113</sup> Carlyle, *Two Note Books*, p. 129.—I have had no opportunity to examine the German journal to see if my guess is right.

<sup>114</sup> Macvey Napier, *Selections from the Correspondence of Macvey Napier, Esq.*, edited by his son, Macvey Napier (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), pp. 116-117. See also *Illustrated Memorial Volume of the Carlyle's House Purchase Fund Committee with Catalogue of Carlyle's Books, Manuscripts, Pictures, and Furniture exhibited therein*, p. 88.

<sup>115</sup> *Essays*, III, 25.

<sup>116</sup> Espinasse, *Literary Recollections and Sketches*, p. 220.

<sup>117</sup> Dr. Wellek, who has examined an 1848 edition of this translation in the library of the Carlyle House in Chelsea, writes of it: "The body of the book is obviously unread, the introduction has marginal notes in Carlyle's hand" (*Kant in England*, p. 295, note 182).

<sup>118</sup> *The Relation of Carlyle to Kant and Fichte*, p. 99. Also Professor Harrold informs me that his copy of Smith's translation, dated 1873, bears this inscription. However, I have seen only a copy of the 1849 edition; it contains no such inscription.

<sup>119</sup> Espinasse, *Literary Recollections and Sketches*, p. 220. Instead of going to primary sources, Carlyle appears to have relied upon secondary or popular writings, such as a survey work by Reinhold, a book review by Stapfer, and a preface by Tieck.



UN JOVEN DE PROVECHO: AN UNPUBLISHED PLAY  
BY B. PÉREZ GALDÓS

WHEN, in 1892, Galdós startled Spanish literary circles by his decision to turn dramatist, few of either his supporters or his detractors were aware of the fact that as far back as his student days he had already carried on a serious flirtation with the drama. Certainly in the confused discussions which his dramatic appearance as playwright precipitated in the press of Madrid, no more than an occasional passing reference was made to his previous essays at the theater.<sup>1</sup> It seems that only two newspapers gave adequate space to Galdós' early preparation for the career of a dramatist and these reproduced an article by Eusebio Blasco, originally published in France.<sup>2</sup> Because they are pertinent to our discussion, the principal facts in Blasco's article merit repetition.

In 1867, Galdós submitted two dramatic works to Manuel Catalina, at that time the director of the Teatro Español.<sup>3</sup> After three years of patient waiting, the aspiring young dramatist, armed with a letter of recommendation from Federico Balart, appeared before Blasco who was to intercede with Catalina in his behalf. That very day Blasco called on the negligent director who, by way of an apology for his obvious remissness, characterized the two dramas thus: "Sí, ya sé . . . un drama histórico muy malo, y unca comedia dramática muy violenta . . ." Blasco, who earlier in the day had been intrigued by Galdós' seriousness, modesty, and apparent indifference into reading the plays, formulated his own opinion as follows:

La comedia me pareció hermosísima; era poa el estilo de lo que en Francia ha producido más tarde el Teatro Libre. Un drama íntimo, que, sin ningún género de duda, estaba por encima de nuestro público de entonces.

Since he failed to pass judgment on the historical drama, Blasco evidently agreed with Catalina about its deficiencies and pleaded only for the comedy. The director, however, could not be persuaded to favor the

<sup>1</sup> Galdós' early experience with the drama has been adequately discussed by Professor Jacob Warshaw in his article on "Galdós' Apprenticeship in the Drama," *MLN*, iv (1929), 459-463.

<sup>2</sup> The Galdós family has preserved in San Quintin an apparently complete file, started by the author himself, of the principal reviews and articles written about his dramas. The article in question appeared in *La Iberia* (April 2, 1892) and in *La Justicia* (March 26, 1892). The dates may be slightly inaccurate; they were furnished by a clipping company.

<sup>3</sup> The Teatro Príncipe, according to Galdós. Cf. L. A. del Olmet and A. Gracia Carrafia, *Galdós* (Madrid, 1912), p. 29.

second work either. "¡Quia!" he replied. "No es posible; el drama es demasiado crudo, y sobre todo, el autor no es conocido."

One may safely assume that the "drama histórico muy malo" is the now oft-mentioned but never seen *La expulsión de los moriscos*.<sup>4</sup> Concerning the identity of the "comedia dramática muy violenta" there can be only very broad speculation. Possibly it is the dramatic work mentioned by Clarín in his highly penetrating biographical sketch of Galdós published in 1889. Galdós wrote to his biographer:<sup>5</sup>

Tengo una idea muy vaga que en los tres ó cuatro años que precedieron á la revolución del 68 me ocurrían á mí unas cosas muy raras. Hice algunos ensayos de obras de teatro, todo bastante mediano, excepto una cosa que me parece que era menos mala, si bien me alegro de que no hubiera pasado de las Musas al teatro . . .

And while Galdós' exasperating identification of the tolerably bad play as "una cosa" does not exclude the possibility that he had in mind *La expulsión de los moriscos*, the words "menos mala" might refer to the comedy which elicited high praise from Blasco in 1870. Again, the modest description might also fit *El hombre fuerte*, the play which Eduardo de Lustonó made known in 1902.<sup>6</sup> The temptation is naturally very strong to conclude that this work is identical with the comedy mentioned by Blasco, but the passages reproduced by Lustonó reveal none of the qualities attributed by Blasco to the second of the two dramatic efforts which Galdós submitted to Catalina in 1867. Finally, but without insisting too much, we may suggest the case of *Un joven de provecho*<sup>7</sup> as another possibility.

This four-act original comedy in prose is thus far the only extant complete dramatic composition of the many which Galdós wrote before

<sup>4</sup> Galdós apparently did not agree with Catalina. Speaking of this drama in 1912, he said: "A Catalina le gustó mucho y estuvo á punto de representarse, pero . . . no se representó. ¿Por qué? Por lo que no se representan las obras de los que empiezan." (Cf. del Olmet, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30) It should be noted that the reason advanced by Galdós for the failure of *La expulsión de los moriscos* to reach the boards coincides with the second part of Catalina's reason for rejecting the comedy which Galdós submitted in 1867.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Leopoldo Alas, Galdós, in *Obras completas*, I (Madrid, 1912), pp. 20-21.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *El primer drama de Galdós*, in *Nuestro tiempo*, I, 13 (1902), 155-165—Lustonó's suggestion that this is Galdós' first play is obviously unfounded; it is not even his first attempt at dramatic writing in verse. Cf. Arunci, *Quien mal hace, bien no espere. Ensayo dramático en un acto y en verso . . . Benito Perez Galdós, año 1861*, in *El Globo* (Jan. 27, 1894).

<sup>7</sup> I am gratefully indebted to María Pérez-Galdós de Verde for permission to examine in 1931 her father's miscellaneous and unclassified papers among which I had the good fortune to come upon this hitherto unknown play in Galdós' handwriting and bearing his signature.

he definitely decided to dedicate himself to the novel. We are led to believe that for a time Galdós had saved all his efforts in behalf of an improved Spanish theater, although very frequently he was tempted to destroy them,<sup>8</sup> but *Un joven de provecho* he must have regarded as of sufficient merit to be preserved permanently. It is therefore not unlikely that this is the play Galdós had in mind in his statement to Clarín in 1889. Even more plausible does it seem that this is the companion work to *La expulsión de los moriscos*, for its qualities do bear out to some extent Blasco's characterization. Particularly significant is Blasco's opinion that the comedy would have been too advanced for the Spanish public of the sixties. Many years later Galdós remarked, perhaps not too seriously, that the period of the Revolution of 1868 inspired him to revolutionize Spanish literature with his dramas.<sup>9</sup>

*Un joven de provecho* was probably written before 1868. Lustonó's is the only assertion that Galdós wrote plays as late as October, 1870, this being the date assigned to *El hombre fuerte*.<sup>10</sup> Lustonó very manifestly had inadequate information about Galdós' early dramatic career, it would have been more accurate to claim that in 1870 Galdós was still seeking an outlet for the plays which he had written several years before. The novelist's statement to Clarín in 1889 and to his interviewers, del Olmet and García Carraffa, in 1912—to both of which we have referred above—makes it fairly clear that by 1868 he had very definitely committed himself to the career of novelist exclusively. Even in his last years Galdós suggested approximately this date as marking the end of his youthful dramatic essays. Speaking of his first trip to Paris, he says in his *Memorias*.<sup>11</sup>

Con las personas que me llevaron a París volví a Madrid sin incidente notable, y en el intervalo entre este primer viaje y el segundo, 1868, saqué del cajón donde yacían mis comedias y dramas y los encontré hechos polvo; quiero decir, que me parecieron ridículos y dignos de perecer en el fuego. Pasados algunos meses, reanudé mi trabajo literario, y, sin descuidar mis estudios en la Universidad, me lancé a escribir *La Fontana de Oro* . . .

Internal evidence in *Un joven de provecho*, though too scant and too uncertain to be used very seriously, also argues in favor of approximately 1867 as the year of composition. In Act II, Scene 5, mention is made of a minister, "el célebre Villaurrutia, que en paz descansa," who held a portfolio ten years before the time of the play. Thus far all efforts to identify this would-be celebrated statesman have been unsuccessful; even the only living descendant of the Villaurrutia family, the Marqués

<sup>8</sup> Cf. B. Pérez Galdós, *Memorias*, in *Obras inéditas*, x (Madrid, 1930), p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>11</sup> P. 41.

de Villa-Urrutia, has no knowledge of this personage<sup>11a</sup>. However, in the Espasa encyclopedia there does appear a Spanish statesman by the name of Wenceslao Villaurrutia y Puente (1790-1866), but he is not described as ever having held a cabinet post in Spain. In fact, it would seem that in 1816 this person settled definitely in Cuba and died there.<sup>12</sup> In any event, it is difficult to believe that Galdós was referring to a real figure of the period, for his characterization of Villaurrutia is highly uncomplimentary, even libelous. "Aquel ministro era un hombre corrompido, y vicioso, que escandalizaba al país con sus licenciosas costumbres . . ."<sup>13</sup> Even the distant and disinherited relatives of the deceased minister would have taken serious offense at this unflattering sketch. Another bit of internal evidence is helpfully suggestive but not conclusive: the newspaper *La Iberia* is spoken of in Act II, Scene 3. According to Hartzenbusch, there were published in Madrid before 1870 two newspapers with the name of *La Iberia*: one ran from 1842 to 1843 and the other from 1854 to 1866.<sup>14</sup> Since Galdós' reference must have been to the second paper, the date of *Un joven de provecho* would thus become definitely 1866. Still another clue is offered by the phrase "más tronado que Carrasco" which appears in Act III, Scene 8. This expression does not appear as a stock Spanish idiom in the standard dictionaries and was probably used by Galdós with playful reference to Agustín Carrasco, Spanish economist of the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Again, one might adduce as significant evidence the fact that the handwriting in *Un joven de provecho* scarcely differs from that in the Galdós manuscripts of 1861 and 1862 preserved in the Museo Canario of Las Palmas.<sup>16</sup> Finally, in the matter of orthography, the several instances where Galdós confuses the letter "z," "c," and "s" suggest that he was still under the influence of the pronunciation of the Canary Islands.<sup>17</sup> In short, it seems safe to assert that *Un joven de provecho* was written before 1868.

The manuscript of the comedy is in four parts, each act being bound separately. It is written only on the recto side of ruled paper of loose-leaf notebook size, and the pagination is as follows: title-page, p. 1; *Perso-*

<sup>11a</sup> The Marqués de Villa-Urrutia has died since the writing of this article in 1932.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. LXVIII, 1529.

<sup>13</sup> See Act II, Scene 5.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Eugenio Hartzenbusch, *Periódicos de Madrid* (Madrid, 1876), p. 293.

<sup>15</sup> The article in the Espasa encyclopedia (XI, 1299) does not give the dates of Carrasco; it does, however, speak of two of his works on economics which appeared in 1867 and 1872 respectively. A few of the official titles held by Carrasco will perhaps show the appropriateness of the phrase coined by Galdós. He was: "Segundo Jefe de las Direcciones Generales de Propiedades y Derechos del Estado y de Contribuciones"; "Inspector General de Hacienda"; "Contador Central y Jefe de la Deuda Pública."

<sup>16</sup> See in *Hispanic Review*, I, 2 a facsimile page of the manuscript of 1861.

<sup>17</sup> Galdós spells as follows. agazajo, martirize, pretencion, etc.

nages, p. 2; Act I, pp. 3-31; Act II, pp. 33-69; Act III, pp. 70-99; Act IV, pp. 100-124. Changes and erasures are relatively few, and not in one single instance does this manuscript reveal Galdós' well-known idiosyncrasy of drawing pictures over the deleted portions of his "cuartillas," a practice already in evidence on a small scale in the manuscripts of his childhood writings. Here and there a mechanical error can be encountered: confusion of the names of the characters, misspelled words, inconsistent and faulty punctuation. On the whole, however, the handwriting is so even, uniformly neat, and legible that one suspects this was not the original draft. In all probability, and especially in view of the fact that each act is bound separately (a procedure which Galdós followed in later years), this was the copy intended for stage use. The whole appearance of the manuscript suggests extreme care on the part of the author that the outer form of the comedy enhance its intrinsic qualities.

In reproducing the text it has seemed advisable to make no corrections of any sort, since in no instance do the author's errors obscure his meaning. Spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and italicization remain unaltered; but in the case of abbreviations the rest of the word is supplied between brackets in keeping with conventional practice. The few footnotes are intended merely as a means of pointing out occasionally an interesting detail which, because it is of slight consequence, would otherwise escape the notice of the reader.

## UN JOVEN DE PROVECHO

COMEDIA ORIGINAL EN CUATRO ACTOS EN PROSA

B. PÉREZ GALDÓS

*Personages**Sofía**Eugenia**Alejandro**El Marqués**Dn Joaquín**Cárlos**Jacinto**Simón, criado**La escena es en Madrid y contemporanea**Sofía* (36 años) madre de Carlos, cuñada del marques*Eugenia* (20 años) hija del*Marqués* (50 años)*D. Joaquín* (60 años) amigo del Marques*Alejandro* (36 años)*Cárlos* (20 años) hijo de *Sofía*, sobrino del Marques*Jacinto* (40 años) amigo de *Alejandro**Simón*, criado de d. *Joaquín*.

## ACTO PRIMERO

Sala lujosa en casa del Marqués

*Escena primera**Eugenia* sentada y muy pensativa. *El Marqués*, que entra por la izquierda.*Marqués*. No te has arreglado aun?*Eugenia*. (levantándose) Pero ya es hora?*Marq(ués)*. (mira el reloj) Mientras llegamos á la estacion . . . Parece que no tienes prisa por ver á tu madrina ni á tu primo.*Eug(enia)*. Que no tengo prisa? Cuando Vd. recibió la carta en que le anunciaban repentinamente su llegada, me puse tan alegre, tan impaciente que las horas me han parecido siglos.*Marq(ués)*. No—tu andas un poco distraida. Hace poco sí mostrabas deseos de ver á tu primo Cárlos, que es hoy, segun me han dicho, un joven de merito incontestable . . . Ya le verás, ya le veras hoy; y me alegro de que venga tambien su madre, mi cuñada *Sofía*, que te quiere como una hermana, y que ahora me ayudará a hacerte entrar en razon.*Eug(enia)*. Acaso estoy loca?*Marq(ués)*. Así, así . . . En fin, despues hablaremos. Ve á arreglarte . . . No les hagamos esperar.*Eug(enia)*. Es que lo que Vd. me ha dicho . . . Explíqueme Vd.*Marq(ués)*. Despues, despues, hija mia . . . (en tono de repension) Despues hablaremos despacio, porque el asunto es grave.*Eug(enia)*. (impaciente) Y por qué no ahora? Estoy impaciente.*Marq(ués)*. Y yo muy enojado.

- Eug(enia)*. Por qué papá? Vd . . . conmigo . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Si señorita . . . su papa de Vd. está enojado, y con mucha razon.
- Eug(enia)*. Yo desenojaré á mi papa, á quien jamas he ofendido, ni puedo ofender.
- Marq(ués)*. Lo que es ahora . . . (con severidad) Si, Eugenia: ya lo sé todo, ya conozco tus secretos.
- Eug(enia)*. No será ningun secreto que me perjudique.
- Marq(ués)*. Así, así. Esta mañana me lo han dicho. Yo no sospechaba nada . . . Como habia de pensar . . . Te diré de una vez mi resolucion. Las pretensiones de ese caballero me han disgustado mucho, y de ninguna manera puedo consentir . . .
- Eug(enia)*. Oh! Vd. juzga muy de ligero . . .
- Marq(ués)*. No . . . no juzgo de ligero . . . (confuso) Pero si no he vuelto aun de mi asombro . . . Te digo que me quedé viendo visiones esta mañana, cuando llegó Joaquín y me dijo que Alejandro te ama, y lo que es peor, que tu le amas tambien; y lo que es peor aun, que quiere casarse contigo. Y yo sin sospechar! . . . Como no me habias dicho nada?
- Eug(enia)*. Quería Vd. que yo le dijera . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Que niñas estas! . . . Pero cuando han principiado esos amores? —Hace poco mas ó menos un mes que vino ese hombre á mi casa por primera vez . . . Yo le conocí en el Congreso, donde nos hicimos amigos, amigos particulares nada mas, porque políticos . . . ¡que disparate! . . . Despues . . . ya me ha chocado la frecuencia con que viene á casa de noche y de día. Explícame tu . . . Como en tan poco tiempo . . .
- Eug(enia)*. Vds. le elogiaban tanto; Vd. mismo le ponía por esas nubes . . . Todos encarecian su talento, su superioridad . . . Luego, cuando le traté y siempre que hablábamos, encontraba tan justificada aquella opinion entusiasta . . . todo lo que el decia se me figuraba tan superior, tan fuera de lo comun, que . . . Ahora si quieren Vds. que amemos á los tontos . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Ya . . . te ha trastornado el juicio con palabritas. Estos hombres elocuentes son la gran calamidad de nuestro país . . . Con un poco de imaginacion, y unas cuantas frases . . .
- Eug(enia)*. Ademas Alejandro es un hombre de bien, una persona digna y formal. Ni sus mayores enemigos lo niegan.
- Marq(ués)*. Tampoco yo lo niego . . . pero te diré . . . Las eminencias contemporaneas me cargan: no lo puedo remediar. Reconozco en Alejandro una gran inteligencia; admito que sea hombre de buenas costumbres; convengo en que tendrá un porvenir brillantísimo; pero esto no tiene fuerza ninguna, cuando considero que es un hombre de ideas arrebatadas, un hombre peligroso, un fanático que no sabe, ni sabía nunca contenerse en los límites de . . .
- Eug(enia)*. (interrumpiendo con malicia) Del justo medio: ya salió aquello.

- Marq(ués)*. Si, pues si . . . Además es un joven de una ambición inmensa, desenfrenada, loca. Sabes tu lo que puede hacer un hombre arrastrado por esa funesta pasión? El hombre desmedidamente ambicioso, aunque sea de buen natural, puede llegar hasta los mayores extravíos, hasta el crimen mismo casi sin darse cuenta de ello.
- Eug(enia)*. La ambición! (riendo) Pues poco dice de Vd. el periódico . . . En el número de hoy le dicen á Vd. que (toma un periódico que hay sobre la mesa y lee) *por su ciega y desapoderada ambición, fue causa* . . .
- Marq(ués)*. (quitándole el periódico) Quien hace caso de periódicos . . . Querer comparar á los hombres de hoy con aquella ilustre pleyade . . .
- Eug(enia)*. De modo que . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Y sobre todo, hija mía (con bondad). Dejando eso á un lado, yo tengo un proyecto de familia que ha de asegurar tu felicidad. Eugenia: ya sabes lo que me decía tu madrina en todas sus cartas, hablando de su hijo Carlos . . . Es un chico inapreciable, tiene tu misma edad, os habeis criado juntos . . . Afortunadamente hoy llegan la madre y el hijo. Les veremos después de dos años de ausencia, y . . . (acariciándola) Estoy tan seguro de que te has de convencer . . .
- Eug(enia)*. Yo quiero mucho á mi primo; pero . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Vamos, vamos—Vd. es una joven muy discreta . . . Esto no puede ser un afecto normal . . . Tu te harás cargo . . . no pensarás mas en eso . . . (se siente ruido fuera) Ahí son ellos. (se acerca a la puerta del fondo) Alejandro en persona, y mi amigo Joaquín: el pretendiente y el intermediario (á Eugenia con prisa) Vete: arreglate pronto, que es muy tarde: ya nos aguarda el coche . . .
- Eug(enia)*. En seguida estoy . . . (vase por la d[erech]a)

## Escena 2ª.

*El Marqués—Alejandro, Dn. Joaquín*

- D. Joaquín*. Aquí le tienes: no quería venir; pero le he convencido . . .
- Marq(ués)*. (saludando á Alejandro con frialdad) Amigo mío.
- Alejandro*. Señor Marqués.
- Marq(ués)*. Amigos sí; pero nada mas. *Intelligenti pauca*. Ya Joaquín habrá dicho á Vd. que no puedo consentir . . .
- Alej(andro)*. (secamente) Ya.
- Marq(ués)*. Yo tengo sobre este particular ideas que Vd. creará tal vez un poco anticuadas; pero . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Yo respeto las ideas y hasta las preocupaciones de los demás.
- Marq(ués)*. Y me parece que mi hija está dispuesta á conformarse con mi voluntad. Es tan discreta . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Por mi desgracia conozco demasiado sus buenas cualidades. Digo por mi desgracia, toda vez que se opone Vd. á la generosa inclinación . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. (por el marq[ui]és) Si hubiera seguido mis consejos . . .



- Marq(ués)*. Siento no haberlo sabido antes para impedir que se desarrollara un afecto imposible. Vd. no necesita hacer grandes esfuerzos para curarse de él. Metido de cabeza en la política, tiene mil ocasiones de olvidar . . . (con jovialidad) Francamente me parece raro y anómalo el amor en un hombre que va á ser ministro; que quizás lo será mañana.
- Joaq(uín)*. Prontito, si No hay ejemplo de un engrandecimiento tan repentino. A ningun joven de los muchos que salen aqui con la imaginacion exaltada y la lengua expedita, he visto recorrer con tanta fortuna el camino que ha recorrido este hombre desde que volvió de la emigracion.
- Alej(andro)*. Oh! que recuerdo! (con tristeza) La emigracion evoca en mi memorias tan dolorosas . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. Lo comprendo; pero váyase lo uno por lo otro. (al marq[ué]) Hoy hasta sus adversarios tenemos que reconocer en él lo que se llama el hombre del día.
- Marq(ués)*. El hombre necesario, como se dice ahora.
- Joaq(uín)*. Que discurso el de ayer!
- Marq(ués)*. Sí.
- Joaq(uín)*. Versó sobre la vida privada de sus adversarios políticos. Con mucha habilidad y valiéndose de fórmulas ingeniosas les sacó á relucir todos sus trapos . . . aludió á las concupiscencias<sup>1</sup> del uno, á las infidelidades conyugales del otro, á la ingratitud filial de este, á la cruel avaricia de aquel, en fin . . . les puso como neuvos, y todo dicho con tal arte que podían darse por ofendidos<sup>2</sup>
- Marq(ués)*. Ya . . . aunque de muy mala intencion, fué un buen discurso. Yo fuí ministro la tercera vez gracias á un discurso asi.
- Joaq(uín)*. Ese era tu fuerte en tus buenos tiempos.
- Marq(ués)*. Y concluia demostrando que el que no es honrado en la vida privada no puede serlo en la pública.
- Alej(andro)*. Justo. En tratando esa cuestión, me parece que personalmente tengo autoridad . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. Claro: sus enemigos podran decir de él todas las picardias imaginables; pero nadie negará que es intachable en la vida privada. (á Alejandro por el marq[ué]) Ya se lo dije claramente esta mañana; pero aunque hice la mas perfecta apologia del novio . . .
- Marq(ués)*. No hablemos mas de este delicado asunto. No podria insistir en mi negativa; no podria exponer las razones en que me fundo, sin decir algo que quizás ofendiera á Vd.
- Alej(andro)*. Si: este es asunto de los que no se discuten.
- Marq(ués)*. Si . . . y yo, conociendo la prudencia de Vd., no necesito encarecerle . . . En cuanto á Eugenia no necesito hacer grandes esfuerzos para persuadirla.

<sup>1</sup> *Concupiscencias*.

<sup>2</sup> It would seem more logical to say "que no podían darse por ofendidos," unless the implication is that anyone might have thought the reference was to him.

*Alej(andro)*. Y está Vd. seguro de conseguirlo?

*Marq(ués)*. Pues no: las muchachas del día son impresionables y caprichosas. Si se exaltan de improviso y con gran impetu sus sentimientos, también se aplacan pronto. Yo tengo además respecto á ella un proyecto de familia, que espero ver realizado brevemente.

*Alej(andro)*. Esa confianza de los padres suele traer lamentables consecuencias, quizas terribles infortunios, y lo peor es que los pobres hijos son los que los padecen.

*Marq(ués)*. (contrariado) Si, si . . . yo tengo mis ideas.

*Alej(andro)*. Que yo respeto.

*Joaq(uín)*. Yo no: yo soy enemigo de preocupaciones.

*Marq(ués)*. En fin, señores, dispenseme<sup>3</sup> Vds tengo que salir.

*Joaq(uín)*. Volveras pronto?

*Marq(ués)*. Si, pronto . . . Hasta luego. (Vase por la d[erech]a)

*Escena 3ª.*

*Alejandro, Dn. Joaquin.*

*Joaq(uín)*. Ya lo ve Vd. Es implacable.

*Alej(andro)*. Si: ya lo veo. La noticia le ha cogido de sorpresa.

*Joaq(uín)*. Esta mañana cuando se lo dije se puso furioso. Lo mas gracioso es que descargó su cólera sobre mí, su antiguo y leal amigo, y me decía: "tu le adulas y le sirves ahora, porque le ves próximo á subir al poder."—Ve Vd. que modo de razonar? De Vd. dice que es un ambicioso y un insensato, y á mí me acusa de adulador y complaciente con todos los afortunados . . . Si yo fuera á enojarme por esto . . . Y sobre todo que digan de mi inconsecuencia lo que quieran. Yo no soy hombre político; yo soy hombre de negocios.

*Alej(andro)*. (preocupado) Ya esperaba yo esta dificultad y me preparaba á vencerla.

*Joaq(uín)*. Será difícil. Pero desiste Vd.?

*Alej(andro)*. Yo no desisto jamas.

*Joaq(uín)*. Y espera Vd. que Eugenia sea su muger?

*Alej(andro)*. Estoy seguro de conseguirlo.

*Joaq(uín)*. A pesar de la opinion de Juan?<sup>4</sup>

*Alej(andro)*. A pesar de todo. Yo, cuando, despues de meditar mucho, reconozco la conveniencia de llegar á un fin y rindo palmo á palmo el camino, arrojó mis dados y no retrocedo jamas. Por eso llego siempre.

*Joaq(uín)*. Comprendo su obstinación en este caso. Eugenia tiene una fortuna considerable.

*Alej(andro)*. Ah! Yo no me fijo en eso.

*Joaq(uín)*. (con malicia) Pero siempre es bueno . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Amo á Eugenia.

*Joaq(uín)*. Si: no lo dudo; pero conozco á mi siglo, y sé cuan facilmente se enamoran los juvenes ilustres del día de una muchacha rica, y que

<sup>3</sup> *Dispénsenme.*

<sup>4</sup> Juan is the Marqués.

ademas es linda y buena. La que á Vd. le vuelve loco, heredó de su madre un gran caudal; pero harto lo sabe Vd. que tendrá grabadas las cifras en su inflamado corazon.

*Alej(andro)*. Vd. es un viejo esceptico y todo lo juzga mal.

*Joaq(uín)*. Viejo esceptico! . . . Ya los jovenes han aprendido mas que nosotros y nos dejan atras en esa materia. (con malignidad) Bueno: quedamos en que Vd. esta loco por la muchacha. Da la casualidad de que es millonaria: de modo que no se pierde nada. En el dia es tan necesaria una fortunilla, cuando se tiene un poco de ambicion. He dicho algo?

*Alej(andro)*. Ha dicho Vd. que soy ambicioso.

*Joaq(uín)*. Verdad es que pocos lo justifican como Vd. con su superior talento.

*Alej(andro)*. Y quien tiene autoridad para reprender este defecto. Lo que nos rodea, lo que vemos, todo cuanto esta junto á nosotros contribuye á fomentar esta locura de nuestra epoca, que á todos nos ha puesto en la cabeza la idea de ser grandes hombres.

*Joaq(uín)*. O de aparentarlo.

*Alej(andro)*. Entre participar de este frenesi ó anularse por completo en la sociedad la decision no es dudosa. Una vez en el camino, tras la primera tentativa viene el éxito á concluir de enloquecernos, y el éxito es facil donde un dia de escandalo, una hora de audacia, un momento de inspirada elocuencia pueden elevar repentinamente á un hombre . . . Sin querer se encuentra uno colocado en un punto del que no puede retroceder . . . Mil fuerzas le empujan hacia adelante: la emulacion, la lisonja, el interés, la envidia de los demas, la vanidad propia . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. (interrumpiendole) El orgullo, la conveniencia, los compromisos, los antecedentes, las prendas soltadas, los sobornos de todas clases . . . Oh! la cuenta es larga.

*Alej(andro)*. Solicitada, espoleada sin cesar, nuestra impaciente ambicion lo olvida todo para no atender mas que á su objeto . . . Nos cegamos nos aturdimos, no vemos mas que nuestra propia persona, y es porque la misma posicion conquistada llega á ser una segunda naturaleza, con sus apremiantes exigencias. Es preciso satisfacerlas á toda costa, y lo que al principio parecia vanidad, al fin viene á ser una cuestion de decoro.

*Joaq(uín)*. Justo: y aqui viene la segunda parte, lo que yo he dicho siempre: la superioridad es artículo muy costoso.

*Alej(andro)*. Desde el principio se siente el deseo de ponerse á la altura de los demas ó sobrepujarla si es preciso. El amor propio, convertido en pasion irresistible, no tolera situaciones secundarias, y al mismo tiempo—lo que Vd. dice—la posicion, esa artificial atmosfera que nos creamos, exige dispendios horribles . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. Pero los hombres hábiles como Vd. saben salir del paso sin dejar de ser honrados.

- Alej(andro)*. Es preciso buscárselas como cada uno pueda. Oh! Si no, estamos perdidos.
- Joaq(uín)*. Vd. no lo hace mal. Yo, francamente, admiro su exquisito tacto, su admirable tino. Hay pocos tan aprovechados como Vd. amiguito. Pesando escrupulosamente lo que le conviene, conquista á fuerza de luchas una reputacion honrosa, y la cultiva con esmero, evitando todo incidente que pueda menoscabarla. Enemigo de escandalos en la vida intima, porque sabe que perjudican en el concepto publico, cuida siempre de que su vida sea ejemplar ó al menos de que lo parezca. Quiere disponer de una fortuna que es hoy tan necesaria al grande hombre como la atmosfera al aire, y aspira á ser rico por lo que empobrece á otros por el matrimonio. En fin Vd. no pierde ripio, y Vd. llegara, si señor, Vd. llegará. *Macbeth: tu serás Rey*. Yo le admiro á Vd. porque el egoismo tambien tiene sus sublimidades, y, como dijo el otro: "la caridad debe empezar por uno mismo," ó lo que es igual: "primero soy yo, y despues los demas.
- Alej(andro)*. Yo soy de los pocos que pueden decir que todo se lo deben á si mismos.
- Joaq(uín)*. Vd. llegará y pronto, lo repito. Yo me felicito de ello, porque somos amigos, pese á quien pese, y como hombre de negocios, no vacilo en fomentar una amistad que á entrambos puede ser provechosa.
- Alej(andro)*. A mi sobre todo.
- Joaq(uín)*. No: á mi. Por ahora yo soy el que sale ganando. Vd. esta en el apogeo de sus triunfos políticos y parlamentarios, yo en una situacion financiera muy parecida á la ruina.
- Alej(andro)*. Que diablos! aun podrá Vd. levantarse.
- Joaq(uín)*. Yo he tenido grandes caidas, y al fin con mi genio he conseguido reponerme . . . Veremos ahora: no quedará por que deje de intentarlo.
- Alej(andro)*. Y esa sociedad anónima, que ha tenido tan buenas épocas?
- Joaq(uín)*. *El Ancora?* Esta es una áncora de perdicion, no de salvacion.
- Alej(andro)*. Pero ya no tiene remedio?
- Joaq(uín)*. Es cosa perdida, absolutamente perdida.
- Alej(andro)*. El marqués, que es hombre rico, y ha sido socio de Vd., podrá sacarle de apuros.
- Joaq(uín)*. (con malicia) El marques, Juan?
- Alej(andro)*. Si.
- Joaq(uín)*. (bajando la voz) Esta tronado.
- Alej(andro)*. Que me dice Vd.?
- Joaq(uín)*. No tiene un cuarto. La ruina de nuestra sociedad anónima le ha cogido de medio á medio, y ademas otros negocios fallidos.
- Alej(andro)*. Pues no sospechaba.
- Joaq(uín)*. Si—lo que es la apariencia . . . Pero veo que se apura Vd . . . No: la fortuna de Eugenia es considerable, y aunque está en mobiliario, su padre no la tocará. Conozco sus principios, y en este punto puede

Vd. estar tranquilo. (con ironía) Vuelva el sosiego á ese enamorado corazón.

*Alej(andro)*. No me ocupaba de eso.

*Joaq(uín)*. Pues vea Vd. . . considerando su situación, que es deplorable, me esforzaba esta mañana en convencerle, “Hombre, le decía, si niegas á Alejandro la mano de tu hija, te creas inutilmente un enemigo, y nada será tan conveniente para los dos en los actuales momentos, como la amistad de un hombre, que tiene puesto el pié en el primer peldaño del poder.

*Alej(andro)*. Le dijo Vd. eso?

*Joaq(uín)*. Y efectivamente lo único que puede sacar á flote á nuestra sociedad anónima es . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Que el gobierno le encargue una emisión, entregándole títulos.

*Joaq(uín)*. Justo: así fué como se levantó después de su tercera caída; pero ahora . . .

*Alej(andro)*. El actual gobierno no quiere . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. Este gobierno no tiene patriotismo.

*Alej(andro)*. La cosa es difícil.

*Joaq(uín)*. Pero como cuando Vd. subiera lo conseguiríamos . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Por que no? Esa sociedad tiene algún crédito todavía.

*Joaq(uín)*. Le diré á Vd.—Aparentemente vive; pero es como un pajarito diseccionado que muestra al que lo mira magníficas plumas y esbelta forma, pero, examinado de cerca, se vé que no encierra más que paja.

*Alej(andro)*. La paja puede convertirse fácilmente en oro.

*Joaq(uín)*. Si se reúnen en maravilloso consorcio el genio del estadista y el del hombre de negocios . . . De todos modos, amigo mío, Vd. y yo nos entenderemos, y que haga Juan lo que quiera.

*Alej(andro)*. Por mi parte no tendría inconveniente en hacerme socio, como dije ayer.

*Joaq(uín)*. Bueno: se le cederán á Vd. algunas acciones á precio ínfimo . . . casi de balde. Yo le cedo las mías.

*Alej(andro)*. Y Vd. renuncia á los beneficios que podrían resultar?

*Joaq(uín)*. Siempre me quedaré con una parte. (bajando la voz) Aquí para entre los dos: mi situación es bastante comprometida, y si no me sale bien en estos días el único negocio que puede salvarme, tal vez tenga que marchar al extranjero, y . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Antes que llegue ese caso veremos. Nos ayudaremos mutuamente como cumple á hombres leales y generosos . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. Chito: que viene alguien . . .

#### *Escena 4ª.*

#### *Dichos—Jacinto*

*Jacinto*. Señores: aquí conferenciando la política y el comercio, como si dijéramos Piramo y Tisbe . . . Y el marqués?

*Joaq(uín)*. Ha salido.

*Alej(andro)*. Y yo me retiro.

*Jac(into)*. Te vas? Cuando yo llego? He interrumpido alguna conferencia grave? No sea cosa que un simple empleado . . .

*Alej(andro)*. No.

*Joaq(uín)*. No vuelve Vd.?

*Alej(andro)*. Si: el marqués y yo no nos hemos explicado todavia, y es preciso . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. Tal vez logremos convencerle . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Volveré despues. (vase)

### Escena 5ª.

*Dn. Joaquin, Jacinto*

*Jac(into)*. Y yo queria hablarle de mi empleo.

*Joaq(uín)*. Del que tiene Vd.

*Jac(into)*. No: del que me ha de dar. Pero estos hombres importantes estan siempre de prisa en todas partes . . . Les falta tiempo hasta para hablar á sus amigos.

*Joaq(uín)*. Y asi es realmente.

*Jacinto*. Luego tienen unos humos . . . Le ve Vd.? Pues somos camaradas desde la niñez; juntos estuvimos en el colegio; juntos estudiamos la carrera de leyes; juntos practicamos la abogacia; juntos dejamos el foro para dedicarnos á la política, y á pesar de esta fraternidad en el trabajo y en la desgracia . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. También fué Vd. con él á la emigracion?

*Jacinto*. Salimos juntos; pero él se quedó en Francia, y yo no paré hasta Bélgica . . . Pues decia que á pesar de esta fraternidad, no encuentro en él aquel agazajo<sup>5</sup> que debiera inspirarle una amistad tan antigua.

*Joaq(uín)*. Pero no le debe Vd. su empleo?

*Jacinto*. Y que vale eso? Vea Vd. lo que es la mala suerte. El se ha encumbrado repentinamente, y yo . . . que soy yo? . . . Nada. Francamente me cargan las eminencias.

*Joaq(uín)*. Que demonio! Todos no pueden avanzar lo mismo. El camino es difícil.

*Jacinto*. Si; porque todos no tienen la audacia que se necesita . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. No es eso solo. Alejandro tiene cualidades superiores. Bien lo dice la fama adquirida.

*Jacinto*. No negaré su fama. Este articulo se elabora como el jabon, como las velas ó el papel. Si podre yo negar la fama de Alejandro, cuando he tenido tanta parte en su fabricacion. Si señor: yo he estado por espacio de cuatro años cantando sus alabanzas desde las columnas de un periodico, y diciendo todos los dias á tres mil suscritores que era el hombre de mas talento del mundo. Si se van á mirar por dentro las grandes figuras . . . Lo dicho: me cargan las eminencias.

<sup>5</sup> Agasajo.

- Joaq(uín)*. No negará Vd. que es un hombre ejemplar en su vida privada . . .
- Jacinto*. Lo que es eso . . . También, también . . . si se va á averiguar . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. Que . . .
- Jacinto*. También tiene sus aventuras de mal genero, ciertas cosas . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. ¡Qué no inventara la maledicencia para rebajar á los hombres de merito!
- Jacinto*. No es eso. Yo . . . le diré á Vd.: me vuelvo loco por averiguar la vida y aventuras de todas las personas importantes.
- Joaq(uín)*. También Vd. es una eminencia á su modo.
- Jacinto*. Y cuando tengo indicios de alguna flaqueza . . . sobre todo si es de persona importante, no paso hasta saber . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. Y que sabe Vd. de él?
- Jacinto*. Por ahí se cuenta . . . Pero callaré; me llamará Vd. difamador, y . . . En esta casa no se oiran mas que alabanzas de nuestro amigo. Como pretende á Eugenia . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. Pero como el marques se opone . . .
- Jacinto*. (con alegría) Se opone . . . Oh! me alegro . . . Hombre: algo habia de salirle mal. Estos hombres mimados por la fortuna parece que insultan á la desgracia con su insoportable orgullo . . . Me alegro, me alegro . . . Y él estará furioso, eh?
- Joaq(uín)*. No: esta tranquilo.
- Jacinto*. Esperará salirse con la suya. Eso sí: á él no le arredran obstáculos, y como haya decidido . . . (se siente fuera ruido de voces) Cuanta gente viene ahí . . . voz de muger desconocida.
- Joaq(uín)*. Carlos y Sofia que acaban de llegar.
- Jacinto*. (recordando) Ah! ya . . . Carlos, sobrino del marques . . . Le conocí en San Sebastián. Es un chico muy joven, de temperamento un poco arrebatado?
- Joaq(uín)*. Justo.
- Jacinto*. Y su madre la cuñada del marqués, una de las mugeres mas guapas y mas discretas de Madrid, que ha vivido en Francia algún tiempo.
- Joaq(uín)*. La misma.
- Jacinto*. También la vi hace tres años.
- Joaq(uín)*. Aquí estan.

## Escena 6\*.

*Dichos—el Marqués, Eugenia, Sofia, Carlos* los dos ultimos en traje de viaje.

*Sofia*. Gracias a Dios que me veo al fin entre vosotros.

*Joaq(uín)*. (saludandola) Señora . . .

*Marq(ués)*. (presentando á Jacinto) Un amigo de casa.

*Carlos*. (dando la mano á Jacinto) A quien tuve el gusto de conocer en San Sebastian. (Jacinto, Carlos y Joaquin forman un grupo á la izquierda y continuan hablando en voz baja)

*Sofia*. (con el marques y Eugenia en el centro del teatro) Al fin estoy de vuelta ¡que ausencia tan larga!

*Marq(ués)*. Año y medio en Francia y seis meses en Asturias.

- Sof(ía).* Son dos años y me parece que he estado veinte sin veros . . . Pero que guapisima estas, Eugenia. No me canso de mirarte. (se besan)
- Marq(ués).* Supongo que no lo habrás pasado mal.
- Eug(enia).* Cuando has estado tanto tiempo fuera . . .
- Sofía.* Así tal cual.
- Marq(ués).* Cuando Carlos fué á Asturias, tu, cansada de vivir en Madrid, huistes<sup>6</sup> á Francia; pero por lo visto tambien te cansastes<sup>6</sup> allí; volviste á España; acompañastes<sup>6</sup> al pobre muchacho por algun tiempo, y al fin uno y otro os habeis haziado de aquella soledad y regresais á vuestros penates.
- Sof(ía).* Y no pienso abandonarlos ya hasta el verano.
- Marq(ués).* Pues mira, Eugenia y yo hemos murmurado de ti varias veces. Sabes por que? Por haber olvidado de nosotros, por haber prolongado tu permanencia en Francia, cuando al partir, dijiste que ibas por poco tiempo. Esta se quejaba y yo le decia: "Mi cuñada es muger de grande imaginacion y de gustos muy elevados; pero no creo ofenderla, si tambien veo en ella ciertas rarezas, que nos obligarian á quererla menos, si no conociéramos su buen corazon." (con cariño) Ah! eres tan buena que sin esfuerzo te perdonamos el desvio con que nos has mirado.
- Sof(ía).* Yo! con desvio . . . Para desenojaros, os prometo que os acompañaré por mucho tiempo. (á Eug[enia]) Si es cierto que tu padre te ha dicho eso de las rarezas, te habrá hecho creer que soy una romantica, y eso . . . Ya habras observado que me voy poniendo vieja.
- Marq(ués).* Pues, chica, sabes que parece que los años no pasan por ti. Te encuentro lo mismo que cuando te casaste con mi pobre hermano. Tenias entonces . . . pero no quiero hacer cuentas . . .
- Sofía.* Te vas á asombrar: ayer he entrado en los treinta y seis.
- Marq(ués).* Pues, hija, si Eugenia y tu pareceis hermanas. (recordando) Y ahora que recuerdo. Aqui se dijo que te ibas á casar.
- Sof(ía).* Yo . . . que desatino! . . . Y dices que Eugenia parece mi hermana?
- Marq(ués).* Si.
- Sof(ía).* Pues yo traigo la pretension de tener con ella otra clase de parentesco.
- Marq(ués).* (a Eug[enia]) Lo que te dije.
- Sofía.* No adivinas? . . . El te quiere tanto! . . . No es amor es una ciega idolatria lo que ese muchacho siente por ti.
- Marq(ués).* Ya sabe . . .
- Sof(ía).* Juan: no es verdad que nuestros hijos hacen una hermosa pareja?
- Marq(ués).* Si: de eso hemos hablado esta mañana.
- Eug(enia).* (confusa) De eso?
- Sof(ía).* Se hace la tonta. Te lo diré. (Le habla al oido. Continuan hablando en voz baja. Carlos, Jacinto y D. Joaquin continuan el dialogo en voz alta)

<sup>6</sup> Note the popular form of the verb.



- Joaq(uín)*. Ya se conoce que ha trabajado Vd. bastante.
- Jac(into)*. Se necesita mucha fuerza de voluntad para vivir tanto tiempo en el campo.
- Cárlos*. Era preciso hacerlo así. Mi padre, á causa de la política, habia abandonado sus intereses, y fué preciso atender á ellos. Todas nuestras haciendas estaban tan descuidadas, que habrían ccncluido por ser improductivas, si yo no me hubiera propuesto ponerlo todo en órden.
- Jac(into)*. Y al fin lo ha conseguido Vd.
- Cárlos*. Me parece que sí.
- Sofía*. (en voz alta) Quiero quitarme esto. (el abrigo y el sombrero)
- Eug(enia)*. Ven á mi cuarto. (se dirigen hacia la d[er]ec[ha])
- Marques*. Y yo á ver si me han traído las cartas.
- Sof(ía)*. (retrocediendo) Olvidaba lo mejor. (al marques) Me has tomado casa?
- Marq(ués)*. (retrocede) Sí: un hermoso cuarto principal, aquí mismo en la casa inmediata. Que vaya Carlos á verlo.
- Sofí(a)*. (a Carlos) Sí, ve. Con tal que á ti te guste.
- Marques*. (a Eugenia) Almorzaremos pronto, eh? Mira que he de salir dentro de un rato.
- Eug(enia)*. Dispondré que dentro de un cuarto de hora . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Bueno. (vase el marques por la izq[ui]erda), Eug[enia] y Sof[ía] p[or] la d[er]ec[ha])

## Escena 7ª.

*D. Joaquín, Carlos, Jacinto, despues El Marqués*

- Jac(into)*. Pues sí, la memoria que guardo de Vd. es que hace dos años en San Sebastián el marques estaba allí con Eugenia y Sofía: Vds. las acompañaba<sup>7</sup> siempre . . . Por cierto que allí oí decir que Vd. se casaría con su prima . . .
- Carlos*. Si . . . ya . . .
- Jacinto*. Supongo que esos dulces proyectos no habrán fracasado . . . Segun he oído por ahí el marques no quiere tener por yerno á Alejandro.
- Cárlos*. (vivamente) Que?
- Joaq(uín)*. (Siempre tan parlanchino!) (á Carlos) No haga Vd. caso . . .
- Jac(into)*. Oh! Los hombres eminentes cautivan á las muchachas con el prestigio de su gloria, y no hay quien las convenza de que son hombres como los demas.
- Carlos*. (alterado) Con que Eugenia . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. (ap[arte] á Jacinto queriendo que calle) Hombre . . .
- Jacinto*. (ap[arte] á Joaq[ui]n) Me alegro de que tenga un rival. Todo no ha de salirle á pedir de boca. (a Cárlos) Pero no conseguirá su objeto. Ya verá Vd. como no.
- Carlos*. Pero que?—de quien habla Vd.?

<sup>7</sup> Should be *acompañaban*.



Carlos (abriendo). Bien que llegues...  
 Inés (soplando fuerte y diciendo que está). No te...  
 Inés (soplando fuerte). No alegro de que tengas un rival. Te-  
 do no ha de salir a la piedad de boca. (a Carlos) Pero no  
 conseguirá en el juego. Ha visto 'M. como no.  
 Carlos. Pero que?... de quien habla todo?  
 Inés. El que quisiera ser como es... de figura que todo  
 se lo merece... está cargado a' él las empujadas.  
 Marqués (entre sí). No lo he visto ninguna carta su-  
 portante (a Carlos) esto vas a ser la sala?  
 Carlos. El momento es...  
 Inés. Voy a retirarme. Sr. Marqués (le muestra)  
 Marqués. Inés.  
 Inés (a Carlos). Dale 'M. la carta (sopla a Carlos el papel) Pero co-  
 mo decía... ya no puedo repetir a' estos hom-  
 bres verdades... que han sido... que vanidosos!  
 (Mueve Carlos y se aparta)  
 Escena 8.  
 D. Fraguas, Marqués  
 Fraguas. Alejandro volverá.  
 Marqués. Para que? no me hará cambiar de parecer.  
 Fraguas. Bueno, para lo que quieras; pero con una siempre  
 en amistad.  
 Marqués. No la rechazo, es la voluntad. Voy a decirte, que  
 desprecio a los crímenes y me miro a' los que  
 duelen?  
 Fraguas. Di de mi lo que quieras. Mi silencio y la  
 mía son lo mismo. Malos los dos.

- Jac(into)*. El cree que por ser quien es . . . Se figura que todo se lo merece . . . No le cargan á Vd. las eminencias?
- Marqués*. (entra por la izq[uierta]) No he tenido ninguna carta importante. (a Carlos) No vas á ver la casa?
- Carlos*. Al momento voy.
- Jac(into)*. Y yo me retiro. Sr. Marqués. (le saluda)
- Marq(ués)*. Amigo.
- Jac(into)*. (á Carlos) Sale Vd. tambien? (ap[arte] á Carlos al salir) Pues como decia . . . yo no puedo soportar á estos hombres eminentes . . . ¡que humos! . . . que vanidad! (Vanse Carlos y Jac(into) por el fondo)

## Escena 8ª.

## Dn. Joaquín, Marqués

- Joaq(uín)*. Alejandro volverá.
- Marq(ués)*. Para que? No me hará cambiar de parecer.
- Joaq(uín)*. Bueno: haz lo que quieras; pero conserva siempre su amistad.
- Marq(ués)*. Ni la rechazo, ni la solicito. Soy como tu, que desprecio á los caidos y me arrimo á los que suben?
- Joaq(uín)*. Di de mi lo que quieras. Tu situacion y la mia son igualmente malas. Veremos quien sale mejor librado.
- Marq(ués)*. Saldrás tu. Yo no tengo tu elasticidad salvadora, ni esa ligereza que le hace flotar en todas las aguas.
- Joaq(uín)*. Adios, hombre incorruptible. (con afectacion y jovialidad)
- Marq(ués)*. Yo quisiera tener tu genio.
- Joaq(uín)*. Pues tenlo.
- Marq(ués)*. Pero te vas, no almeurzas aqui?
- Joaq(uín)*. No; tengo que hacer. Alejandro volvera. Cuidado y cuidado . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Si viene será por última vez.

## Escena 9ª.

el Marqués—*Sofía, Eugenia*. (entran por el fondo)

- Sof(ía)*. Pero, di Juan: tu hija se ha vuelto tonta? Le hablo de nuestros proyectos, y dice que lo pensará. Has visto? que lo pensará.
- Marq(ués)*. Pues no puedes figurarte que elogios hacia de tu hijo esta mañana. Decia que era un joven de grande energia, de elevados sentimientos ¿que mas dijiste?
- Eug(enia)*. Sí, y lo sostengo.
- Sof(ía)*. Que ingrata serias, sino correspondieras á su generoso afecto! Segun me ha confesado, lo que le impulsaba á trabajar tanto era el deseo de casarse contigo, para lo cual necesitaba restablecer su fortuna. El infeliz ha vivido en aquella soledad, alentado por tan risueña idea. Cuando fuí á reunirme con él, me reveló sus sentimientos. A todas horas hablaba de ti, y á veces me decia:—“Pero mientras estoy yo aquí hecho un alma de cántaro, Eugenia no se acordará

de su pobre primo; se le presentará un buen partido, tendra un novio, le amará, y entonces . . . adios mis proyectos"—Pero yo procuraba consolarlo y le decia: "pero tonto, no comprendes que Eugenia no puede amar á nadie mas que á ti?"

*Marq(ués)*. Asi es la verdad. De eso hemos hablado varias veces, y siempre ha opinado como yo.

*Eug(enia)*. Yo . . . yo . . . (Por variar de conversacion) Pero, muger, no nos has contado nada de tu viage? Te has cansado mucho?

*Sof(ía)*. Parece que lo preguntas por variar de conversacion.

*Eug(enia)*. No . . . que cosas tienes . . .

*Escena 10ª.*

*Dichos—Cárlos*

*Sof(ía)*. (á Carlos) Llegas á tiempo . . . Sabes lo que dice Eugenia? que lo pensara?

*Carlos*. La cosa lo merece. Sabe Vd. que en el poco tiempo que estoy aquí, he podido explorar el terreno, y me parece que hay moros por la costa?

*Sof(ía)*. Cavilaciones tuyas. (á Eug[enia]) Te advierto que será celosísimo; y que es preciso no hacerle caso porque si se le acostumbra . . .

*Carlos*. Pues si. (por Eugenia) Ven Vds. qué seria se ha puesto? Apostamos á que quiere mudar de conversacion?

*Sof(ía)*. Hay algo? (al Marq[ués]) Hay algo, Juan?—No es extraño: á una joven bonita y rica, no pueden faltarle pretendientes . . . pero, hija, hay derechos adquiridos.

*Carlos*. A mi me han dicho . . .

*Marq(ués)*. Ella misma disipará tus dudas ¿no es verdad, hija?

*Sof(ía)*. Callas? . . . Tu me contarás. (á Carlos) Pero nada dirá delante de ti. (al Marques) Juan: quieres poner un parte telegráfico á Valencia, anunciando á mi madre que he llegado sin novedad?

*Marq(ués)*. Al instante.

*Sof(ía)*. (a Car[los]) Dejanos solas Cárlos.

*Carlos*. Vamos: que yo tambien puedo tomar parte en la conferencia.

*Sof(ía)*. No, no vete. No queremos estorbos.

*Escena 11ª.*

*Sofía, Eugenia*

*Sof(ía)*. Dime la verdad.

*Eug(enia)*. (como haciendo un esfuerzo) Pues si: si no lo confio á ti, á quien lo voy á confiar?

*Sof(ía)*. Tienes un novio, un pretendiente?

*Eug(enia)*. Si.

*Sof(ía)*. Pero tu no le amas.

*Eug(enia)*. (turbada) Yo . . . á ti puedo decirte todo lo que siento, porque eres mi amiga, mi hermana, mi segunda madre. Si: le amo.

- Sof(ía).* Eugenia! . . . Y mi pobre hijo . . . Pero es cierto? Piensalo bien. Sabes tu lo que es amor?
- Eug(enia).* Lo sé por mi desgracia. Tu eres quien no lo sabe. Varias veces he oído decir á papá que en toda tu vida has amado á hombre ninguno. De modo que no podrás comprender . . .
- Sof(ía).* No hablemos de mí . . . Pero es cierto? . . . Esto trastorna todos mis proyectos. Y tu padre?
- Eug(enia).* Se opone. Estoy disgustadísima. Tu me favoreceras, tu me ayudarás.
- Sof(ía).* (con insistencia) Y le amas de veras?
- Eug(enia).* Mucho: y te juro que lo merece . . . Calla: papá viene.

## Escena 12ª.

- Dichas—Marques* (sale por la izq[ui]erd]a con un papel en la mano)
- Marq(ués).* Aquí está el parte . . . (a Eug[enia]) Pero Eugenia: que pasa en esta casa? No almorzamos hoy? Tengo un hambre horrorosa.
- Eug(enia).* Voy al momento. (vase)
- Marq(ués).* (mostrando el papel a Sof[ía]) Esta bien así?
- Sof(ía).* (después de mirarlo) Esta bien.
- Marq(ués).* Te lo ha dicho Eugenia? Es una fruslería, un capricho pasajero . . . Tu le quitarás eso de la cabeza.
- Sof(ía).* (preocupada) No sé . . .
- Marq(ués).* Te habrá dicho que me opongo. Es hombre de mucha fama; pero altamente peligroso, y aunque goza de buena reputación, yo tengo para mí . . .
- Sof(ía).* De todos modos, es una contrariedad . . .
- Marq(ués).* Voy á que Francisco ponga el parte. (Vase por la izq[ui]erd]a)

## Escena 13ª.

*Sofía, Alejandro* después *Carlos*, y *el Marqués*.

- Sofía.* (meditabunda) Es particular. No sé por qué asocio lo que acabo de oír, con . . .
- Alejandro.* (entra por el fondo y se detiene estupefacto al ver á Sofía) Cielos! Sofía!
- Sofía.* (se vuelve y lo ve. exclama con la mayor sorpresa) Alejandro! . . . tu! tu aquí!
- Alejandro.* (con rabia ap[arte]) (Me lo temía!)
- Sofía.* (tremula y con mucha agitación) Al fin te encuentro, al fin te veo . . . Te he aguardado llena de ansiedad . . . En Francia primero, y en Asturias después he esperado tus cartas, ya que no me era posible esperar tu vuelta. (en tono severo) Alejandro—no me ves? Soy yo . . . Mi presencia te ha causado cierto terror . . . He venido en busca tuya, y que pronto, que pronto te encuentre!
- Alej(andro).* (con inquietud) Calla . . . calla por Dios—Sofía: no me canses sin oírme—soy el mismo para ti—te amé, y todavía . . .

- Sofía* Ya no me queda duda de tu deslealtad, tu silencio primero, y ahora . . . que haces aquí? Seras acaso . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Por Dios—no alces la voz . . .
- Sofía*. (con ira) Si—hablaré—dire todo.
- Alej(andro)*. Sofía!
- Sof(ía)*. Diré que me has engañado villanamente . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Por Dios (al sentir que el marques se acerca por la izquierda los dos disimulan su agitacion)
- Marq(ués)*. (asomandose por la izq[ui]erda) Sr. Dn. Alejandro: pase Vd.
- Carlos*. (se presenta en la puerta del fondo en el momento en que Alejandro entra en el despacho del marqués, Lo observa atentamente y dice) Ese es. (Cuando Alejandro ha desaparecido, Carlos se acerca á Sofía, y le dice al oído.) Ese es.
- Sof(ía)*. (muy agitada) Quien?
- Carlos*. El pretendiente de Eugenia.

Fin del acto primero.

## ACTO SEGUNDO

Sala en casa de Sofía. Es de noche. Reunion de confianza.

### Escena primera

*Sofía*, en la escena—*Alejandro*, entra por el fondo.

- Sofía*. Te decides al fin á venir á mi casa?
- Alejand(ro)*. Y francamente, aun me parece un disparate. Recibes aquí á mucha gente y no conviene . . . Ya comprenderas que mi retraimiento consiste en el deseo de no dar ocasion á las lenguas murmuradoras . . .
- Sofía*. Bonito pretexto. Nadie murmura de mi, por la sencilla razon de que no doy motivo para ello. Ademas aquí todos ignoran la infame y descarada deslealtad del que me ha precipitado por un camino, cuyos tropiezos y peligros no hubiera yo soñado antes de conocerle.
- Alej(andro)*. No tratemos de eso, y escucha bien lo que te digo. Desde que nos encontramos hace veinte días en casa del marqués, yo he procurado evitar todo escándalo, poniendo tu reputacion a cubierto de la maledicencia . . .
- Sof(ía)*. (interrumpiendo) Acaso lo necesito?
- Alej(andro)*. He evitado toda entrevista en casa de nuestros amigos, y por esto mismo, tus celos, tu imprudente obcecacion . . .
- Sof(ía)*. (ofendida) Celos yo!
- Alej(andro)*. No sé que sentimiento seria el que te impulsó á ir á mi casa una noche, exponiendote al peligro de ser vista, y ¡ay! Sofía—á pesar de tus precauciones, siento decirte que alguien te vió salir, aunque por fortuna no te conocieron . . . Pero existen tal vez sospechas, y si repitieras la misma imprudencia . . .
- Sof(ía)*. (con ira) Yo! . . . Una sola vez estuve. Exasperada por tu conducta, y no siéndome posible verte en ninguna parte, me vi en la cruel necesidad de ir en persona á tu casa, con objeto de reclamar de ti

algunas cartas que deseo quemar, para que se extingan como el afecto que las ha inspirado. No sé que pretexto alegaste para no entregármelas, y salí sin conseguir mi objeto. Dices que alguien me vio?

*Alej(andro)*. Si

*Sof(ía)*. Estas seguro?

*Alej(andro)*. Seguro.

*Sof(ía)*. Oh! que me vea yo expuesta . . . Tu tienes la culpa de esta contrariedad, y de las consecuencias que pueda traer para mí.

*Alej(andro)*. Tampoco á mí me hace favor . . .

*Sof(ía)*. No volverá á pasar. Entre nosotros todo ha concluido. Despues de tu inicuo comportamiento, yo seria demasiado inocente, seria despreciable, si ni aun con el pensamiento prolongara unas relaciones, que pueden haber sido una disculpable debilidad; pero que hoy son para mí un mal recuerdo y una vergüenza.

*Alej(andro)*. No te precipites . . . todavia.

*Sof(ía)*. Al considerar lo que ha pasado me parece mentira que yo . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Tanto le pesa haberme amado?

*Sof(ía)*. Lo que hubiera sido para mí una dulce memoria, tu lo has trocado en insoportable remordimiento . . . Antes era yo tan feliz! . . . Y hubo un tiempo en que la monotonía calma de mi espíritu me parecia una desgracia! Ojala mi corazón no hubiera conocido nunca mas que el aburrimiento . . . Mis padres me casaron por conveniencia con un hombre que no amaba, y en los dos años que viví junto á mí, ni siquiera supo conquistar mi afecto. Viuda despues, obsequiada, galanteada sin cesar, habiendo inspirado algunas pasiones, que no encendieron en mi corazón ni una chispa de amor, viví mucho tiempo sin conocer otro afecto que el de madre. Pero se me preparaba una prueba tremenda, la primera, y sin duda la última—¡y quien habia de decirme que mi desdicha tendria origen en un acto compasivo, al parecer destinado á ennoblecerme. Yo vivia en mi casa de Dax, cuando tu apareciste por allí, errante, enfermo, miserable, perseguido por la policia. Extenuado de cansancio y dolor, caíste sin aliento en el camino, y ya te conducian al hospital, donde probablemente hubieras muerto, cuando yo . . . (movimiento de Alejandro) te recogí, te oculté en mi casa, y allí recobraste la vida, la salud, la alegría . . . Que orgullosa estaba yo de mi generosa acción! Ah! Cuando se entabló nuestra cariñosa amistad, fundada en mi compasión y en tu gratitud, no sospeché que al hacer el bien, estaba labrando mi desgracia, y lo que es peor, mi deshonra.

*Alej(andro)*. (confundido) Ah! No creas que puedo olvidar tus beneficios. Fuiste mi amparo en el destierro . . . Mis ideas, mis desgracias hallaron eso en tu corazón. Tu generosidad, tu sensibilidad conmovieron profundamente el mio, y . . . La estrecha simpatía que nos unió entonces, espero que no ha de extinguirse nunca en nuestros corazones.



- Sofía.* Que perfidia! . . . y tienes valor para sostener . . . La farsa ha concluido. No te pido cuentas, ni menos protestas de amor, que no me hacen falta, ni deseo escuchar.
- Alejandro.* Tu me juzgas mal, tu! . . .
- Sofía.* (vivamente) Cuando llegué a Madrid, no te halle dispuesto a casarte con Eugenia, si te lo hubieran permitido?
- Alejandro.* Si, pero ya . . .
- Sofía.* No: tu no has renunciado á ella. A pesar de la oposicion de su padre, tu persistes en tu idea; y por muy bien que uno y otro disimulen, ya se conoce que os escribis, que os hablais en alguna parte.
- Alejandro.* No: te aseguro . . .
- Sofía.* Y si esta noche has venido aqui, ha sido con esperanza de verla y hablarla en mi propia casa.
- Alejandro.* Eso has creido?
- Sofía.* Confiesa la verdad: por mi no temas nada. Tu insistes en casarte con ella. Ten franqueza.
- Alejandro.* Te diré: es que tu no te haces cargo de las circunstancias . . .
- Sofía.* Las circunstancias! Di que en ti se ha verificado una mudanza horrorosa. Te apartaste de mi con un alma que parecia llena de nobleza, y te encuentro dominado por el mas insensato egoismo.
- Alejandro.* Ah! Si ahondaras un poco en mi corazon, quizas me encontrarias el mismo. Pero cuando uno se ha metido en este laberinto, la misma posicion conquistada le traza una linea de conducta de que no puede separarse. Nos debemos á nuestro nombre; somos esclavos de las tremendas necesidades que crea cada dia la importancia adquirida y es forzoso que nos ocupemos un poco de nosotros mismos: á esto llamas egoismo.
- Sofía.* Si: tu estas consagrado desde hace algun tiempo á la idolatria de la propia persona. Harto lo sé.
- Alejandro.* Es que como todo lo que soy me lo debo á mi mismo . . . Pero me será muy difícil hacerte comprender . . . Lo que ha pasado contigo, lo que llamas mi ingratitud, mis pretensiones respecto á Eugenia, todo puede explicarse, y si lograras ver claro en mi espiritu, comprenderias que no soy peor que los demas.
- Sofía.* Nunca te falta una palabra bonita para defender todas las causas. Pero todo eso me importa poco. Yo, que contigo no quiero tener ni amistad, me he tomado á mi cargo impedir que logres tu objeto. Quiero demasiado á Eugenia para no apresurarme á impedir su desgracia. Lo entiendes bien?
- Alejandro.* (ap[arte]) (La taimada desbaratará todos mis planes.)

*Escena 2ª.**Dichos—el Marques, Dn. Joaquin.*

- Marqués.* (ap[arte] á Joaquín al entrar) (Si sé que esta aqui, no traigo á Eugenia.)

- Joaq(uín)*. (ap[arte] á Mar[qués]) Pues que: todavía? . . .
- Marq(ués)*. (id) Mi hija esta curada de su necio amor; pero en todas las enfermedades la convalescencia exige grandes cuidados.
- Alej(andro)*. (saludando al Marq(ués)) Señor marqués . . . (Se saludan)
- Sofía*. Has traído á Eugenia?
- Marq(ués)*. Ahí está. (a Alej[andro]) Cuanto tiempo sin vernos.
- Joaq(uín)*. Y quieres que vuelva á poner los pies en esta casa despues de aquel desaire . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Oh! yo aseguro que no guardo resentimiento . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Ya esperaba yo que siempre seríamos amigos.
- Alej(andro)*. Y lo seremos.
- Joaq(uín)*. Pues si hubiera sido yo el agraviado.
- Mar(qués)*. Para que resucitas ahora tan delicada cuestion? Si todo ha concluido.
- Alejand(ro)*. Eso digo yo.
- Joaq(uín)*. Es que sigo en mis trece . . . Y si no, (á Sofia) sea Vd. juez, Sofia.
- Sof(ía)*. A ver? yo decidiré.
- Marq(ués)*. Dejemos eso.
- Joaq(uín)*. Ya no hay peligro en tratar la cuestion. El amor que la motivó se ha extinguido, y los amantes no han vuelto á verse desde tu negativa. De modo que . . .
- Sof(ía)*. (con jovialidad) Se puede poner á la orden del dia . . . Como (á Alej[andro]) la cuestion no es palpitante el debate no será borrasco.
- Marq(ués)*. Pues bien: tu eres juez. En tratándose de un asunto amoroso, nadie, como tu, merece la presidencia. No hay imparcialidad comparable á la de un corazon incombustible. Si señores, mi cuñada es la heroína de los tiempos modernos. Sofia no ha amado nunca.
- Sof(ía)*. Tu que sabes?
- Joaq(uín)*. Con que decida Vd.—Que razones podrá tener mi amigo para negar la mano de su hija . . .
- Alej(andro)*. (con disgusto) Si eso pasó . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. Hagamos un examen de los méritos del interesado.
- Sofía*. Eso ofenderia su modestia. Por lo demas la pareja habria sido soberbia; porque, dejando á un lado las prendas morales de uno y otro, quedaba siempre el consorcio de la riqueza y el talento. ¡Con que admirable armonia se completan estos dos elementos!
- Alej(andro)*. No quiero ofender á la mesa; pero la cuestión que ya era delicada, se agrava desde que nuestro digno presidente le ha dado ese giro.
- Sof(ía)*. El criterio de la mesa es el del señor (señala á Alej[andro])
- Mar(qués)*. Ya . . .
- Sof(ía)*. Si: hablaba conmigo hace poco, antes de llegar Vds. y se lamentaba de que hoy para nada sirve el talento sin la riqueza.
- Alej(andro)*. Yo . . .
- Sof(ía)*. Si. (con naturalidad) No fué esto lo que Vd. me dijo?

*Alej(andro)*. (Maldita!)

*Sof(ía)*. Y añadió: "los que han tenido la desgracia de ser celebres sin dejar de ser pobres, han necesitado procurarse una fortuna por medios licitos . . . No fué esto lo que Vd. dijo?"

*Alej(andro)*. Perdone Vd. . . . Es preciso dar un voto de censura á la mesa por alterar los hechos. Yo dije . . .

*Sof(ía)*. Me demiente!

*Alej(andro)*. Vamos: el orador se explicó mal.

*Marq(ués)*. Dejemos la cuestion.

*Sof(ía)*. Es lo mejor. Tu hija se ha conformado con tu voluntad Alejandro ha dirigido sus miras á otra parte.

*Alej(andro)*. (con sorpresa) Yo . . .

*Sof(ía)*. Yo presumo. Y no hay para que hablar mas del caso.

*Mar(qués)*. (por Joaq[úin]) Lo singular es que este no abandona el tema, y á todas horas resucita una cuestion de que no se acuerda ni el mismo interesado

*Joaq(uín)*. Es que aquella injusticia me impresionó.

*Marq(ués)*. Y como te has pasado al partido del señor . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. (a Alej[andro]) Lo ve Vd. Porque somos amigos . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Si: ya murmuran de Vd. Le llamaran inconsecuente . . .

*Sof(ía)*. Si no se puede ser importante ni en la política ni en la alta banca.

*Joaq(uín)*. (con jovialidad) Pues dicen que adulo á los que suben y vuelvo la espalda á los que caen.

*Sof(ía)*. Que picardia!

*Joaq(uín)*. Felizmente no me hace gran efecto . . .

*Marq(ués)*. No, Joaquín: digas lo que quieras, Alejandro y tu tracís entre manos alguna negociacion . . .

*Sof(ía)*. Eminencia política y eminencia financiera. bien dice el refran aquello de que un lobo á otro . . .

*Marq(ués)*. No se muerden. Apuesto á que el futuro gabinete prepara una emision en grande escala.

*Sof(ía)*. Eso es: las bromas ó pesadas ó no darlas.

*Joaq(uín)*. Voy á revelar la negociacion que tenemos pendiente. Asombraos generaciones todas.

*Marq(ués)*. A ver?

*Joaq(uín)*. Es probable que yo tenga que marchar al extranjero á hacerme cargo de cierta empresa. Con este motivo, Alejandro quiere alquilar mi casa.

*Sof(ía)*. Aquel hermoso palacito, tan pequeño y tan mono?

*Joaq(uín)*. Si:

*Alej(andro)*. Eso es todo.

*Joaq(uín)*. Vean Vds. que inmoralidad, que corrupcion!

*Alej(andro)*. (con ironia) Cuando lo sepa la prensa . . . Dos hombres de ideas políticas diferentes se conciertan . . . para alquilar una casa.

*Sof(ía)*. Juan: razon tenias tu el otro dia, cuando decias . . .

- Juan.* Que, que decia yo?
- Sof(ía).* (á Alej[andro]) No . . . no: era Vd. si me parece que era Vd. quien lo decia.
- Alej(andro).* Que?
- Sof(ía).* No es alusion. Vd. decia que los hombres eminentes del día en cuanto pronuncian dos ó tres discursos en las Cortes, ya estan en el caso de alquilar palacios.
- Alej(andro).* Yo dije . . . señora . . . (confundido)
- Sof(ía).* Yo no sé como se las componen.
- Marq(ués).* La posicion . . .
- Sof(ía).* La gloria es muy costosa. Tambien he oido . . . debe ser una invencion de los desocupados . . . que Vd. (á Joaq[ui]n) le ha encargado la salvacion de cierta sociedad anónima que necesita de una mano ministerial para salir a flote.
- Marq(ués).* Eso no va conmigo.
- Alej(andro).* Tambien dicen?
- Joaq(ui)n.* Pero quien hace caso? . . . En cuanto á mi amistad baste decir que ha comenzado por pura admiracion. Pero que gentes! . . . Hasta me echan en cara que le defienda con calor cuando le veo injustamente atacado.
- Alej(andro).* Gracias, amigo, gracias.
- Joaq(ui)n.* Precisamente ayer . . .
- Sof(ía).* Si . . . le pusieron como nuevo. La envidia, amigo mio, la envidia.
- Joaq(ui)n.* No me pude contener. Todos callaron cuando hice una calurosa defensa . . . Todos callaron al oirme sostener la notoria ejemplaridad de sus costumbres, y convinieron en que su vida privada es intachable
- Alej(andro).* Y gracias que lo conceden.
- Sof(ía).* Lo que es eso . . . Me comprometo á defenderle á Vd. en todas partes. Diré que es un modelo de desinterés, un prodigio de lealtad, un compendio de todas las virtudes imaginables.
- Mar(qués).* Parece que lo dice así . . . con cierta ironía
- Sof(ía).* Sinceramente.

## Escena 3ª.

## Dichos—Jacinto, Carlos

- Jacinto.* (ap[arte] á Carlos al entrar) (Aquí está: quiero decirselo delante de todos.) (saluda á Sof[ía]) Señora . . .
- Sof(ía).* (continua lo que decia, dirigiendose a Jacinto) No es opinion general que Alejandro? . . .
- Jac(into).* Oí al entrar lo que Vd. decia. La opinion general si; pero la opinion general se equivoca tan a menudo . . . Precisamente corren por ahí unos rumores . . .
- Alej(andro).* De mi?
- Mar(qués).* A ver.

- Jacinto*. (a Alej[andro]) Chico: no te enfades. La cosa en si tiene poca gravedad; pero te perjudica, te perjudica . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. Sepámosla.
- Jac(into)*. Y no has oído nada? . . . Pues yo lo he oído en el salón de conferencias, en la Iberia, en todos los círculos. Ya los periodicos se han apoderado del asunto y . . . veras, veras que cosas.
- Mar(qués)*. Alguna aventurilla.
- Sof(ía)*. Le vamos á confundir.
- Alej(andro)*. Pues empieza de una vez (a Jac(into))
- Jac(into)*. Pues . . . (a Carlos) El caso no es infamante, verdad?
- Carlos*. Pero tampoco favorece mucho á quien vive (con sequedad) cantando un himno á la propia moralidad, lo cual equivale á poner en duda la de los demas.
- Alej(andro)*. Vaya . . . contad el cuento.
- Jac(into)*. Cuento? . . . Si lo he visto yo.
- Carlos*. Y yo.
- Marq(ués)*. Apuesto á que le habeis descubierto algun trapicheo.
- Sof(ía)*. No puede ser: el grande hombre se precia de no hacer jamas cosa alguna que le perjudique á su reputación.
- Carlos*. Hay gentes que son honradas por egoismo, es decir porque creen que la honradez es siempre provechosa.
- Joaq(uín)*. No estoy por esa maxima.
- Carlos*. (con intencion) Es cierta; pero el egoismo de la honradez se llama propiamente hipocresia.
- Alej(andro)*. (Tambien este se atreve . . . )
- Mar(qués)*. Vaya: cuente Vd. (a Sofía) Sofía: tu seras juez
- Alej(andro)*. Otra vez . . . bien: me alegro.
- Marq(ués)*. Tu dirás si se le baja del pedestal en que se ha puesto, y si por lo que vamos á oír merece que se le llame ex-intachable.
- Sofía*. Será peligroso decidir: yo seré inexorable y tal vez me guarde rencor. Me retiraré.
- Alej(andro)*. No . . . quedese Vd. . . se lo suplico. Yo acepto, es mas solícito su fallo.
- Sof(ía)*. Seré benevola.
- Alej(andro)*. Estoy seguro de la absolucion.
- Jacint(o)*. Picaro: como disimulas . . . Te atreveras á negarlo . . . La han visto, la han visto entrar en tu casa una noche . . .
- Sof(ía)*. (Dios mío!) (Se inmuta repentinamente; pero procura dominar su turbacion)
- Jac(into)*. Desgraciadamente nadie pudo conocerla, y como nadie sabe á punto fijo quien es ella, cada cual dice lo que le parece y resulta un conjunto delicioso.
- Mar(qués)*. Y eso es todo?
- Jac(into)*. Yo la vi, y Carlos tambien
- Alej(andro)*. Pero á quien?

- Carlos.* Su nombre Vd. lo sabrá. En cuanto á su persona podemos dar fé de que parecia ser muy distinguida.
- Sof(ía).* (Estoy muerta!) (dominandose) Pero . . . hasta ahora no veo . . . Ya no puede entrar una muger en casa de este caballero?
- Jac(into).* Cuando el favorecido es soltero, y vive sin familia en un hotelito, construido expresamente para el amor . . .
- Mar(qués).* Y Vds. no sospechan quien es?
- Alej(andro).* Eso, eso: les desafío á que digan quien es
- Sof(ía).* Si—que digan . . .
- Alej(andro).* Si no, mi juez os declarará á todos tontos rematados.
- Jac(into).* Puede ser que se averigüe. Carlos dice que tiene gran empeño en saberlo, y jura que lo sabrá.
- Sof(ía).* (a C[arlos]) ¡Tu!
- Carlos.* Si; me ha despertado la curiosidad. (con decision) Lo sabré, y pronto.
- Alej(andro).* Que empeño. Tanto le interesa a Vd.?
- Carlos.* Quizas. (secamente)
- Alej(andro).* Joven: la curiosidad en asuntos ajenos suele traer consecuencias desagradables.
- Carlos.* (irritandose) No las rehuyo . . . Y si á Vd. le mistifica mi curiosidad, yo . . .
- Sofía.* Carlos! (conteniendole)
- Joaq(uín).* Haya paz.
- Carlos.* (ap[arte] dominando su ira) (Yo detesto este hombre! no me puedo contener, cuando le oigo . . . )
- Sof(ía).* Calla por Dios.
- Alej(andro).* (observando la fisonomia de Sofia, que pugna por aparecer serena) Me parece que mi juez . . . Si no me engaña mi conocimiento de las fisonomias, me parece que veo retratada en su rostro una cordial benevolencia, que me augura la deseada absolucion.
- Mar(qués).* (examinando tambien á Sof[ía]) Pues no dice nada. Verdaderamente la cosa es bien simple.
- Sof(ía).* Ya lo creo.
- Joaq(uín).* Que una muger entró . . . una necedad
- Mar(qués).* Una tontuna.
- Sof(ía).* Pues si no se descubre otro delito . . .
- Jac(into).* Ya iran saliendo.
- Sof(ía).* Tengo que dejarles á Vds.
- M(arqués).* Tan pronto? te vas á lo mejor.
- Jac(into).* Si no he acabado de contar.
- Alej(andro).* Oiga Vd. hasta el fin mi aventura.
- Sof(ía).* No puedo . . . Tengo que recibir á mis amigas . . . (a Carlos) Ven.
- Carlos.* (Quiero oir lo que contesta este . . . )
- Sof(ía).* (resueltamente) Acompañame te digo.
- Carlos.* Pero . . .
- Sof(ía).* Ven (toma el brazo de Carlos) Señores . . .

## Escena 4ª.

*Alejandro, D. Joaquín, el Marqués, Jacinto*

*Alejandro*). Valiente tontería habeis contado.

*Joaquín*). Lo que es la maledicencia. Cuando no halla motivo . . .

*Marqués*). Y Vd. vió?

*Jacinto*). Antes otros amigos habian observado el fenomeno. Les picó la curiosidad, sin duda por tratarse de una eminencia politica y parlamentaria. Corrió la voz en un pequeño círculo, y como yo te aprecio verdaderamente, quise cerciorarme por mis propios ojos de que era mentira. Rondé tu casa, y en efecto vi que era cierto. Pero ni los que me acompañaban, ni yo pudimos conocerla. La taimada en cuanto comprendió que la observabamos, se dió tanta prisa á entrar en el coche, y este partió con tal rapidez que nos quedamos . . .

*Alejandro*). Y la visteis varias veces? Han sido muchas las visitas?

*Jacinto*). Lo menos diez.

*Alejandro*). (riendo) Ya, ya . . . !

*Jacinto*). Te ries?

*Alejandro*). Si me rio: el asunto no merece otra cosa. Y dices que por ahí se ocupan de eso?

*Jacinto*). Pues yo creo: basta que seas tu quien eres

*Alejandro*). Es terrible ocupar una posicion politica que atraca la atencion del vulgo suspicaz y difamador. Un leve indicio, un suceso insignificante sirve de fundamento á groseras historias que el público acepta sin discusion y con alborozo, porque le gusta ver rebajados á los que todo se lo deben á si mismos.

*Jacinto*). Convengo en que la cosa en si no tiene gravedad. Pero diré, imitando a D. Hermógenes, que ningun hecho es escandaloso *per se* sino relativamente. A esta frusleria le da importancia el ser tu quien eres, un hombre que no aguarda mas que á la primera crisis para subir al poder. Pues no digo nada si resultase que la que te visita es alguna dama . . . que se yo . . . tan importante como tu. Tambien hay mugeres eminentes, si no por sus discursos, por su hermosura, por su distincion, por su riqueza . . . En fin· échese Vd. á calcular . . .

*Alejandro*). Afortunadamente, yo hago poco caso de estas miserias. Nos tiran con piedra y con fango, porque cuando no pueden mancharnos ni herirnos, se complacen en vernos manchados . . . Y vea Vd., señor Marqués: estos son los que se llaman amigos.

*Jacinto*). (con buen humor) Te enfadas de veras?

*Alejandro*). Me debe cuanto tiene, y ahora solicita que le de cierto destino de importancia en cuanto ocupe el poder.

*Jacinto*). Y me lo darás. Lo cortés no quita lo valiente.

*Alejandro*). No quiero oírte mas. (con disgusto)

*Jacinto*). Pues me oíras: tengo que decirte muchas cosas.

*Alej(andro)*. (retirandose) Dejame.

*Jac(into)*. (siguiendole) No: te sigo: tenemos que hablar . . .

*Joaquín*. Cuando este se pega . . .

*Alej(andro)*. (a Joaqu[ui]n) En el salón nos veremos.

*Joaq(ui)n*. Allá voy al instante.

*Escena 5ª.*

*el Marques, Dn. Joaquín.*

*Marq(ués)*. Pues sí, querido Joaquín, como antes te decía, tu repentina y estrecha amistad con un hombre que siempre fué nuestro adversario, da mucho que hablar.

*Joaq(ui)n*. (con desden) Valiente disgusto me das. Los hombres de negocios no debemos tener ideas, es decir no debemos atender á las de los demás.

*Marq(ués)*. Y que negocio traes entre manos con ese hombre? Piensas que él te sacará de apuros? Que es eso del *Ancora*? El te compra las acciones?

*Joaq(ui)n*. (con cierto misterio) Sí: pero esto es reservado. Solo á ti . . .

*Marq(ués)*. Descuida.

*Joaq(ui)n*. Tomará las que tu me cediste.

*Marq(ués)*. Con esperanza de reconstituir la sociedad cuando sea ministro

*Joaq(ui)n*. Creo que lo conseguirá.

*Marq(ués)*. Pero tu ¿no me has dicho que quizás marches al extranjero? . . .

*Joaq(ui)n*. Si; pero en el caso de que nuestra *Áncora* agarrara en el fondo, yo, despues de arreglar en Londres algunos negocios, volveria para ponerme al frente de la regenerada sociedad.

*Marq(ués)*. No sé como te las compones. Siempre encuentras una salida.

*Joaq(ui)n*. No creo que en esto haya nada de ilícito. Levantar á una sociedad, que se encuentra en medio del arroyo, es una accion caritativa, prevista en las *obras de misericordia*, que dicen *levantar al caido*, ó alguna cosa que significa lo mismo.

*Marq(ués)*. Bravo, Joaquín; tu elasticidad, tu flexibilidad, tu genio resbaladizo y acomodaticio me pasman. Si al morir te condenas, hallarás alguna rendija por donde colarte en el cielo.

*Joaq(ui)n*. Pues no me elogies: esto que hago, no es de mi cosecha, ni me he quebrado la cabeza para aprenderlo. Doctores tiene la iglesia que lo saben enseñar.

*Marq(ués)*. Pues por ahí dicen que te has vendido á nuestros enemigos, porque ves cercana su elevacion, y esperas realizar algun pingüe negocio.

*Joaq(ui)n*. Que digan lo que quieran.

*Marq(ués)*. Ahora se renueva contra ti la misma cruzada que se armó hace diez años, cuando era ministro el celebre Villaurrutia, que en paz descanse.

*Joaq(ui)n*. Harto me mortificaron entonces, y ya oiste que caso hacia . . .

*Marq(ués)*. Entonces te di saludables consejos, y no quisiste escucharme. Me acuerdo como si fuera ayer . . . Aquel ministro, nuestro enemigo, te cautivó de tal modo, que tu, atraído por el cebo de no sé que



contratas muy lucrativas, le servías, le adulabas, eras su inseparable compañero, le defendías con celo excesivo, encomiabas hasta sus defectos . . . en fin, lo mismo que haces ahora con este nuevo astro que ha aparecido en el firmamento político . . . Y no recuerdas hasta donde llegó el atrevimiento de tus difamadores?

*Joaq(uín)*. (con pena) Sí: no me repitas eso, que aun me causa disgusto.

*Marq(ués)*. Aquel ministro era un hombre corrompido, y vicioso, que escandalizaba al país con sus licenciosas costrumbres . . . Tu te pegabas tanto á él que la voz pública y especialmente las gacetillas, entonces mas chistosas que ahora, llegaron á indicar que prestabas tu casa á aquel hombre para sus escandalosas orgias.

*Joaq(uín)*. (con ira) Oh! Semejantes infamias se me han quedado muy presentes.

*Marq(ués)*. Y un periodico que hacia mucho ruido entonces, decia que tu casa era el gineceo del señor ministro . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. (vivamente tapandole la boca) No repitas eso por Dios. Si supiera quien fué el periodista que lo escribió, le estrangularia.

*Marq(ués)*. Pues se publicó en el periódico que entonces inspiraba Alejandro. El debe saber quien lo escribió.

*Joaq(uín)*. El no pudo ser capaz de autorizarlo . . . pero á que recuerdas eso?

*Marq(ués)*. Fué una calumnia, lo sé: pero el mejor medio de sobreponerse á la calumnia, es preverla y evitarla á tiempo. He aqui porque te doy ahora los mismos consejos que hace diez años . . . Tu amistad con ese hombre . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. Bah! . . . Estas pesado.

*Marq(ués)*. Puez haz lo que quieras.

*Joaq(uín)*. Pero, amigo, si mi situacion es deplorable, angustiosa. Si ese hombre no me da la mano, estoy perdido para siempre. Tu, aunque lo pierdas todo, siempre podras vivir decentemente con tu hija, cuya gran fortuna no puedes tocar. A mi despues de este gran desastio, no me quedará nada, y me aterra el pensar en mi pobre Adolfiná, que nada heredó de su madre.

*Marq(ués)*. Siempre hay medios decorosos . . . Y de veras te marchas de España?

*Joaq(uín)*. Decididamente, aunque no he fijado día. Eso depende de la liquidacion de mañana. Por que no haces tu lo mismo? Es bueno huir el bulto, sin perjuicio de presentarse despues, cuando haya pasado la tormenta.

*Marq(ués)*. Yo no huyo el bulto: recibiré la tormenta sobre mi cabeza, aunque me aplaste.

*Joaq(uín)*. Pero tu tambien tienes compromisos horribles, y tan apremiantes que no dan espera.

*Marq(ués)*. Es verdad. (con tristeza) Mi situacion es tan mala como la tuya. Veremos quien conjura mejor este gran peligro, si tu esquivándolo, ó yo recibiendo de frente y con la entereza de un hombre de bien.

*Joaq(uín)*. Veremos, Juan.

*Marq(ués)*. Yo espero salir adelante con la ayuda de Dios.

*Escena 6*

*Dichos—Jacinto*

*Jacinto*. (con alegría) Nuevos datos señores, nuevos datos.

*Marq(ués)*. Que?

*Jac(into)*. Sobre la dama misteriosa.

*Joaq(uín)*. Todavía se ocupa Vd. de esa tontería?

*Jac(into)*. Cárlos acaba de decirme que esta en vias de averiguar . . . No sé como han llegado á sus manos ciertas pruebas . . . tiene indicios . . . da gusto de oírle . . . <sup>s</sup> vengan Vds. . . .

*Marq(ués)*. Observo que ese chico detesta cordialmente á Alejandro. No sé porque . . . ya no hay motivo . . . (Que bien hice en librar á Eugenia del peligro . . . )

*Jac(into)*. Esta furioso. Y segun dice, parece que la dama en cuestion se halla actualmente en esta casa.

*Joaq(uín)*. Entre tantas . . . Si va Vd. á continuar el tratado de las damas misteriosas, me retiro . . .

*Jac(into)*. Pues lo continuaré; pero Vd. ha de oírme

*Joaq(uín)*. Eso no. (alejandose)

*Jac(into)*. Ah! No puede Vd. estar separado ni un momento de su amigo.

*Joaq(uín)*. Asi es . . . Adios.

*Escena 7*

*el Marques, Jacinto*

*Jac(into)*. Lo que digo: el negocio que traen entre manos, debe ser colosal.

*Marq(ués)*. Vd. tambien? . . . No tengo entendido que se ocupen de ningun negocio. Son amigos y nada mas. Referente á intereses, no creo que hayan celebrado mas contrato que el de la casa.

*Jac(into)*. Que casa?

*Marq(ués)*. Como Joaquín tiene que marchar á Inglaterra para no sé que gran negocio, parece que Alejandro alquila el palacio . . .

*Jac(into)*. Alquila el palacio. No será para nada bueno.

*Marq(ués)*. Vd. siempre piensa mal.

*Jac(into)*. Por eso acierto siempre. Oh! Alejandro es hombre muy travieso y de ingeniosos recursos para salir del paso en todos los apuros.

*Marq(ués)*. Y cuales son sus apuros?

*Jac(into)*. Desengáñese Vd. amigo mio: esa dama de quien he hablado, esta muy expuesta á la deshonra, si siguen celebrandose las entrevistas en casa del amante.

*Marq(ués)*. Bah!

*Jac(into)*. Y Dn. Joaquín es tambien hombre de mucho ingenio. En fin no quiero ofenderle. Para que comprenda Vd. el quid de mi sospecha, le referiré un hecho.

<sup>s</sup> Should read *da gusto oírle*. The *de*-infinitive is not impossible: it was common in older Spanish.

- Marq(ués)*. A ver?
- Jac(into)*. El ha sido hombre de muchas aventuras. Figurese Vd. si lo sabré yo, que he sido su compañero de glorias y fatigas.—Hace algunos años hacíamos el amor á dos hermanas lindísimas, ambas casadas; y sus maridos no eran maridos, eran dos leones. El de la mia se enteró de todo, y tuvimos un lance . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Y el de la otra?
- Jac(into)*. Quia. A Alejandro todo le sale á pedir de boca: eso es lo que me carga. Enamorados ella y él ciegamente, no podían verse en ninguna parte, porque el marido . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Ya.
- Jac(into)*. Una fiera . . . Y como el amante no podía entrar en su casa . . .
- Marq(ués)*. La llevaba á la suya, como ahora.
- Jac(into)*. No . . . entonces estaba en fondos: alquilo un palacio, si señor, una pequeña casa con jardín, á donde la dama podía acudir sin ser vista, ni escitar sospechas. Vea Vd. de que modo quedó todo en secreto, y salió ileso el honor de aquella encantadora muger, que era una de las principales de la Corte.
- Marq(ués)*. Y Vd. cree que tambien ahora? . . . (indignado) En nombre de mi amigo, rechazo sospecha tan indecorosa.
- Jac(into)*. No hay que enfadarse, Sr. marques. Un poco de memoria. El caso no es nuevo. Hace unos diez años . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Y fué la mayor de las infamias. Hace poco lo recordabamos aqui Joaquín y yo, y él decia: "si conociera al periodista que escribió tan gran vileza, le estrangularia sin compasion"
- Jac(into)*. Estrangularle! pobrecito (ap[arte]) (Como que fui yo.)
- Marq(ués)*. Pues no faltaba mas . . . Cree Vd. que Joaquín es capaz?
- Jac(into)*. No . . . yo no afirmo . . . Fué una idea, una presuncion. Lo que fuere sonará . . . Yo lo decia porque como quiero auxiliar á Cárlos en sus investigaciones, recojo todos los datos que puedo . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Tambien Cárlos esta inaguantable con su empeño . . .
- Jac(into)*. Esta fuera de sí, y no ha de pasar la noche sin que le provoque y tengamos aqui una sesion divertida . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Como? . . . un altercado?
- Jac(into)*. Venga Vd. . . nos reiremos. Me gusta que alguien le diga cuatro verdades . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Vamos si; pero á impedirlo. (Alejandro se asoma por la puerta de la izquierda y al verlos, se oculta)
- Jac(into)*. No pasará de unas cuantas palabras bien dichas.
- Marq(ués)*. Pues no faltaba mas . . . (vanse)

## Escena 8

Alejandro, solo

(sale p[or] la izq[ui]erda) cuando ve que se han ido el marques y Jacinto)

*Alej(andro)*. Al fin se van . . . Eugenia vendrá aqui . . . podré hablarla un

momento . . . un momento tan solo, porque nos vigilan, nos acechan . . . Oh! De cuantos enemigos tengo que triunfar; del padre que se obstina en no tenerme por yerno, de Sofía, que rechaza toda transacción con su antiguo amante; de Cárlos, que furioso de celos me provoca á cada momento . . . y sin embargo, á pesar de todo . . . Eugenia será mía! Tengo muy calculados, muy medidos los pasos que me han de conducir á este anhelado fin, para que retroceda ante tan frívolos obstáculos. Empresas mas difíciles he realizado, y en esta no he de sucumbir como un inexperto mozalvete . . . (con inquietud) Pero es preciso precipitar el negocio . . . Yo sé que el marques esta muy mal de fondos, y si en un día de apuro se le ocurre echar mano de la fortuna de su hija . . . Esta idea que quita el sueño . . . Ya—estos padres son tan descorazonados, que no piensan en el porvenir de sus hijas, y solo atienden á satisfacer su vanidad . . . Y esa señora marquesa . . . porque en vez de esos valores mobiliarios, que son tan peligrosos, no dejaría la fortuna de su hija representada en buenas y seguras fincas? . . . que diablos . . . estas madres no tienen prevision! . . . (meditabundo) Oh! Cuanto no cuesta el satisfacer nuestra ambicion! ¡Que incesante trabajo! que lucha tan espantosa contra toda clase de obstáculos! Se lucha por ser diputado, despues por tener un nombre é imponerse á la muchedumbre . . . se desvive uno por ser ministro . . . Bien: llegamos á ser ministros y que? Esto no basta, es preciso algo mas. El mérito es una joya preciosísima, convengo; pero este diamante no luce á los ojos del vulgo su deslumbradora hermosura sino engastado en oro. La verdadera gloria, la elevacion sobre tantas gentes corrompidas, prontas á besar la mano del enemigo si les alarga un pedazo de pan; esa superioridad que á la vez forman el talento, el caracter, la riqueza . . . ¡cuan cara es! . . . Parece que no es nada, y . . . ¡si las pequeñeces de la vida no influyeran tanto en nuestro destino! La sociedad se ha puesto de tal modo que va á ser imposible vivir en ella! Cuanta superfluidad indispensable, cuanta frivolidad necesaria, cuanta tontería de que no se puede prescindir! . . . y sin esto nada . . . un nombre que suena por algun tiempo . . . una fama que pasa una posicion insegura, el peligro de ceder á los mil sobornos . . . Vamos, no se puede, no se puede . . . (con impaciencia) Y esa chica que no viene . . . Yo la convenceré de que es preciso que busquemos el amparo de esa ley bienhechora, por la cual pueden las muchachas sensibles casarse á cierta edad con quien mejor les cuadre . . . Si: y el depósito ha de tener lugar mañana mismo: no se puede perder un día. Los pobres menores que no tienen su fortuna en fincas estan expuestos á pedir limosna, si a un padre se le antoja . . . (con resolucion) Nada . . . adelante. (receloso) Pero ella consentirá? Aquí está el quid . . . no está preparada para un paso tan aventurado y . . . Ah! . . . procuraré tener una entrevista con ella en casa de cualquiera de

nuestros amigos . . . Si . . . Mi elocuencia, que ha hecho ya tantos prodigios, no dejara de obtener ahora un nuevo triunfo . . . (receloso) Tal vez se resista . . . esta noche no me atrevo á decirselo . . . se lo indicaré tan solo . . . apenas podré hablarla un momento . . . Mañana, mañana será la gran sesión . . . Le dire mil cosas bonitas, la convenceré, se pide el consejo paterno, se deposita, y á los tres meses . . . Ah! aquí esta

*Escena 9*

*Alejandro, Eugenia*

*Eug(enia)*. (con recelo) Nadie nos ve. Disponemos de un momento tan solo.

*Alej(andro)*. Momento precioso, que vale días enteros de vida, porque me permite verte y hablarte.

*Eug(enia)*. Es terrible que no podamos vernos. Aborrezco las cartas. Cuando las escribo, me ocurren tantas cosas que llenaría cien pliegos de papel y no quedaria contenta.

*Alej(andro)*. Siempre me parecen cortas.

*Eug(enia)*. Pues bien larguitas son. Paso la mayor parte de la noche escribiéndolas, y casi siempre tengo que fingirme mala para poder encerrarme en mi cuarto. ¡Que vida! Gracias á Dios que nos vemos! Mas se dice en una palabra que en veinte pliegos de escritura.

*Alej(andro)*. Pues empieza. Tienes muchas cosas que decirme?

*Eug(enia)*. Muchas, muchísimas. Ay! ahora no me acuerdo de ninguna. Esto me sucede siempre.

*Alej(andro)*. Tu padre . . .

*Eug(enia)*. (con tristeza) No me digas . . . Cada vez se opone mas. Y no es él solo. También Sofía . . . pues y Carlos?

*Alej(andro)*. Rábia de celos.

*Eug(enia)*. Ya le habrás visto esta noche. Su aspecto sombrío, y las terribles miradas que nos dirige, me causan pavor.

*Alej(andro)*. Tenemos muchos enemigos (con energía) Pero que no nos falte valor y confianza en Dios. Oye lo que tengo que decirte (con afectada ternura) Eugenia mía: yo te amo tanto, que estoy decidido á sacrificar por ti mi posición y mi porvenir, renunciando á la política para siempre.

*Eug(enia)*. De veras? (con alborozo) Lo harás? Ah! Las frases mas galantes y mas lisongeras que me has dirigido no me han halagado tanto como lo que acabas de decirme. Sabes que no tengo ni pizca de vanidad. Si nos casamos, no me gustará que seas ministro, ni que hablen de ti los periodicos, ni que pronuncies discursos. Si no cambiaras de vida, me parecería que compartía con todo el mundo la felicidad de nuestra casa. Con que harás lo que has dicho?

*Alej(andro)*. Si; pero con la condición de que tu has de corresponder á mi sacrificio con otro.

*Eug(enia)*. Cual?

*Alej(andro)*. Prescindir de la oposición de tu padre, y casarte conmigo.

*Eug(enia)*. (asustada) Contra su voluntad . . . y como?

*Alej(andro)*. (ap[arte]) (Esta floja: hablemos un poco á su imaginación) Yo espero que no me negarás esa prueba de cariño que tan bien merezco . . . Es posible que tu no hayas llegado á comprender cuanto vale el amor que te profeso, un amor que ha tenido fuerza suficiente para hacerme aborrecer lo que antes era mi delirio? Tu me has transformado por completo, descubriendo y resucitando en mí sentimientos ocultos, esas riquezas del alma que por largo tiempo yacían escondidas y enterradas, como inútiles formas de la vida. He sido feliz soñando con una tranquila existencia, consagrada á amarte, y si despues de haberme dejado trastornar por tan risueña ilusion, no se realizara, creo que me volvería loco.

*Eug(enia)*. (con amabilidad) Pero tonto . . . que dices? . . . Desconfiar de mí?

*Alej(andro)*. Yo esperaba que una mano salvadora me sacara del infierno en que vivo, y ultimamente creí que esa mano no podía ser sino la tuya . . . Pero ahora te veo vacilar, desconoces la grandeza de tu triunfo, me abandonas, te falta valor, tienes miedo de chocar con tus parientes . . .

*Eug(enia)*. Oh! yo no . . . pero todo puede conciliarse.

*Alej(andro)*. Para mí siempre ha sido difícil retroceder lo mismo en el camino de la perdicion, que en el de la salvacion. ¡Pobre de mí, si ahora me abandonas, cuando un amor apacible tiende á lograr la reconstitucion de mi turbado espiritu . . . Rodeado de gentes infames é insensibles, arrastrado á pesar mio por este funesto carril que no conduce sino á la pérdida de todo sentimiento tierno, mi juventud se consumiria en un esfuerzo insensato, y la aridez de mi alma me convertiría poco á poco en un ser empedernido y calculador, solo animado y movido por la fuerza del pensamiento.

*Eug(enia)*. Yo abandonarte! (conmovida) Que dices?

*Alej(andro)*. Para unirnos no hay mas que un medio . . .

*Eug(enia)*. Un medio violento.

*Alej(andro)*. El unico. (con energia) La incertidumbre me mata, Eugenia. Si no te decides á adoptar ese medio, es preciso que desde esta noche nos separemos para siempre.

*Eug(enia)*. Estas loco? . . . (afigida) Oh: me ofendes con esas palabras. Yo haré todo lo que me mandas . . . Que debo hacer?

*Alej(andro)*. (Venceré) No puedo revelarte ahora todo<sup>9</sup> proyecto. Necesito hablarte detenidamente y sin que nadie nos estorbe . . .

*Eug(enia)*. Estamos solos.

*Alej(andro)*. Pero es preciso que nos separemos al instante. Lo mejor es que nos veamos mañana en casa de Dn. Joaquin. Adolfiná, que es tu amiga íntima, está un poco mala. De modo que ya tienes un pretexto para ir allá.

*Eug(enia)*. Iré: por la tarde?

<sup>9</sup> Insert *el* after *todo*.

*Alej(andro)*. No: por la noche. Allí hablaremos largamente y con calma. Te dire tales razones que quedaras convencida.

*Eug(enia)*. Pues iré sin falta.

*Alej(andro)*. A las ocho . . . y ahora debemos separarnos.

*Eug(enia)*. (mirando con recelo a la izq[ui]erda) Me parece que siento pasos . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Tal vez.

*Eug(enia)*. Me ire yo.

*Alej(andro)*. No (mirando á la izq[ui]erda) Sofia viene. Me retiraré yo: es mejor que te quedes tu. Adios. (vase por el fondo)

*Escena 10ª.*

*Eugenia—Sofia*

*Sofia*. Todo lo he oido . . . (reparando en la agitacion de Eugenia) Pero por que tiembblas? . . .

*Eug(enia)*. Yo . . . te diré . . .

*Sof(ia)*. Conque nos has engañado á todos . . . y mientras tu padre estaba tan tranquilo, juzgándote curada de esa pasion, habia cartitas, entrevistas, y se proyecta una gran conferencia para mañana, con objeto de discutir un plan de casamiento . . .

*Eug(enia)*. (con expansion) Ah! Sofia: á ti te confesaré todo . . . yo no puedo ocultarte nada . . . tu eres mi hermana y como tal puedo descubrirte todo lo que pienso y todo lo que siento. La oposicion de mi padre, la de Carlos, la tuya, me han obligado á disimular. Aborrezco el disimulo, y á ti, á ti sola te confesaré que no puedo, que me es imposible dejar de amarle.

*Sof(ia)*. (con ira que trata de ocultar) Bien, Eugenia . . . te has portado . . .

*Eug(enia)*. (con aficcion) Yo espero que me favoreceras, que ayudaras á vencer la obstinacion de mi padre

*Sof(ia)*. Yo! . . . y esa entrevista de mañana . . . (Iré tambien á casa de Joaquin.)

*Eug(enia)*. Tu me amas mucho, tu no puedes dejar de interesarte por mi, Sofia: por que te enfadas? por que me miras asi?

*Sof(ia)*. Pero tu no sabes que ese hombre? . . .

*Eug(enia)*. Que?

*Sof(ia)*. Ama á otra muger . . .

*Eug(enia)*. (vivamente) Que has dicho? No puede ser. Tu me engañas . . .

*Sof(ia)*. Es cierto.

*Eug(enia)*. Y quien, quien es . . . (con calor) No puede ser . . . te digo que no puede ser.

*Sof(ia)*. Alguien viene. Calmate . . . Despues hablaremos.

*Escena 9ª.*

*Dichos—Jacinto, Carlos, (que demuestra una gran agitacion)*

*Jacinto*. Ha estado Vd. felicísimo, Carlos; ha estado Vd. elocuente.

- Sof(ía).* (con inquietud) Que ha pasado?  
*Jac(into).* Que cree Vd.: si no le hubieramos contenido, ya habria pasado un buen susto cierta persona . . .  
*Sof(ía).* (alarmada) Carlos!  
*Eug(enía).* (id) (Dios mio! Sin duda han tenido una cuestion)  
*Jac(into).* Les aseguro á Vds. que pasé un buen rato. No recuerdo que palabras dijo el otro al salir de aqui cuando este se dirigió á él en tono tan destemplado . . .  
*Carlos.* (ap[arte] sombríamente) Buenas cosas le dije! ese hombre y yo no podemos estar juntos en ninguna parte.)  
*Sof(ía).* Pero Alejandro y Carlos . . .  
*Jac(into).* El otro es algo provocativo . . . y con esos humos de hombre eminente . . . Bueno es que le digan cuatro verdades.  
*Sof(ía).* (con indignacion) Oh! y en mi casa! . . .  
*Jac(into).* Todo no ha de salirle á pedir de boca. (riendo) ja, ja! Las eminencias me revientan.

## Escena 11ª.

*Dichos—el Marqués*

- Marq(ués).* (riendo) Me parece que estuvo demasiado fuerte.  
*Sof(ía).* Cuéntame tu: que ha sido?  
*Mar(qués).* Palabras nada mas: algunas bien dichas . . . un poco fuerte (á Carlos) Chico: es preciso moderar esos arrebatos.  
*Sof(ía).* Semejante altercado en mi casa!  
*Marq(ués).* (á Eug(enía)) Me parece que ya es hora.  
*Eug(enía).* Nos vamos?  
*Mar(qués).* Si—(despidiendose) Sofía?  
*Sof(ía).* Se van Vds?  
*Mar(qués).* Sí.  
*Sof(ía).* Adios. (besa á Eug(enía))  
*Eug(enía).* )ap[arte] á Sof(ía) (Estoy temblando!)  
*Sof(ía).* (ap[arte]) (Tu eres la causa de todo.)  
*Jac(into).* Y yo vuelvo al salon. (vanse Eug(enía), el marq(ués) y Jacinto)

## Escena 12ª.

*Sofía, Carlos*

- Sof(ía).* (en tono de repension) Carlos!  
*Carlos.* (agitado) No haga Vd. caso si le dicen que no tuve razon.  
*Sof(ía).* Parece que sin motivo alguno!  
*Carlos.* Yo no puedo contenerme: yo no puedo permanecer tranquilo delante de ese hombre. Me inspira una repulsion instintiva que no puede explicarse por la sola causa de los terribles celos que me consumen.  
*Sof(ía).* Pero que razon.  
*Carlos.* Es la falsedad en persona! Todos aqui creian que habia renunciado



- á ella. Yo sé que no, yo sé que se escriben, yo sé que se ven en alguna parte.
- Sof(ía).* Quizas te equivoques
- Carlos.* No: yo tengo indicios, yo he sorprendido miradas, señas, palabras sueltas . . . A Eugenia no se la ve en ninguna parte por las noches. Se finge mala, dice que se encierra en su cuarto . . .
- Sof(ía).* Cálmate por Dios!
- Eug(enía).*<sup>10</sup> Pero yo he jurado que ese vil no se casará con mi prima.
- Sof(ía).* (con brio) No—no se casará.
- Carlos.* Lo impediré yo
- Sof(ía).* (con calor) Lo impediremos.
- Cárlos.* No . . . yo solo.
- Sof(ía).* Como?
- Cárlos.* (arrebataadamente) Matándole!
- Sof(ía).* (asustada) Cárlos! . . . que dices . . . estas loco?
- Carlos.* Yo sé que el duelo es un crimen, yo sé que Vd. se morira de pena, si ese hombre me hiere ó me mata; pero tiene que ser, tiene que ser.
- Sof(ía).* (dominandose) Insensato! y te atreves á decirlo á tu madre!
- Carlos.* Ese hombre es un infame!
- Sof(ía).* (con arrebato) Si—un infame!
- Carlos.* Es peor de lo que Vd. cree. Mientras ella le ama con delirio, él la engaña y tiene relaciones con otra.
- Sof(ía).* (confundida) Que? . . . que sabes tu? . . .
- Carlos.* Lo sé . . . No oyó Vd. lo que contamos Jacinto y yo? . . .
- Sof(ía).* No te ocupes mas de eso, hijo mio. En cuanto á Eugenia, yo te prometo estar al tanto de todo, seguirle los pasos, desbaratar todos los planes de ese hombre—descuida: yo me encargo de todo.
- Carlos.* Hay aqui un dilema terrible. Ó ese miserable engaña á mi prima, amando á otra, mientras pretende su mano, en cuyo caso merece la muerte, ó la muger desconocida que le visita es . . . Eugenia misma, y entonces . . .
- Sof(ía).* (con terror) Oh! calla . . . Cárlos . . . me horrorizas!
- Carlos.* (con decision) Entonces sé lo que tengo que hacer (vase por el fondo)
- Sof(ía).* (sola) Ah! Dios mio! que abismo se abre ante mis ojos!

Fin del acto segundo.

### ACTO TERCERO

Sala en casa de Dn. Joaquín. Puerta al fondo. A la izquierda una ventana que da a un jardín. A la derecha puerta que conduce a lo interior.

#### *Escena primera*

*Dn. Joaquín, Simon.*

*Dn. Joaquín.* Está todo empaquetado?

<sup>10</sup> This should be Carlos.

- Simon.* Todo.
- Joaq(uín).* Has avisado al despacho central?
- Simon.* Vendrán por el equipage.
- Joaq(uín).* Bueno. Se han marchado los otros criados?
- Simon.* Si señor: yo solo quedo en la casa.
- Joaq(uín).* Pues vete. Me avisaras cuando sea hora.
- Simon.* (al salir) (Se marcha de ocultis . . . ya . . . son tantas las trampas . . . Me gustan estos señorones. Mucha facha, y á lo mejor . . . )  
vase

*Escena 2ª.**Dn. Joaquín—Alejandro.*

- Alejandro(ro).* Con que tan pronto?
- Joaq(uín).* Aquí me tiene Vd dispuesto á partir. Y al fin se queda Vd. en la casa?
- Alejandro).* No sé . . . ya le escribiré á Vd . . . Ay amigo: esta repentina partida de Vd., es para mi una gran contrariedad.
- Joaq(uín).* Por que? . . . Ya sabe Vd. la causa de esta precipitacion. Mi desastrosa ruina, los terribles compromisos que ha traído para mi la liquidacion de fin de mes, no me permiten estar ni un dia mas en Madrid. Esta noche me voy clandestinamente, y una vez que esté sano y salvo en Francia, ya procuraremos quedar bien con todo el mundo y dejar á salvo la negra honrilla.
- Alejandro).* Pero no podría Vd. esperar á mañana?
- Joaq(uín).* No: ni un dia, ni una hora, ni un minuto mas. Me voy a escape y quisiera que el ferrocarril centuplicara su velocidad para estar dentro de un rato en Irun.
- Alejandro).* Pues le diré á Vd. porque lo siento. Yo habia citado á Eugenia aqui esta noche.
- Joaq(uín).* Si? Vd. insiste en llevar adelante su proyecto contra viento y marea?
- Alejandro).* Justo. Quiero hablarla largamente y sin estorbo. Esta noche misma, si accede á mi deseo, como espero, quedara depositada, se pide ante notario el consejo paterno y dentro de tres meses nos casamos.
- Joaq(uín).* Demonio: eso va muy á prisa. Y viene aqui esta noche para conferenciar con Vd.? Si no es mas que eso?
- Alejandro).* Nada mas.
- Joaq(uín).* Pero yo me voy: la casa quedará sola.
- Alejandro).* Y Adolfin se va tambien?
- Joaq(uín).* No se va, sino que se ha ido. Para que mi partida por nadie sea sospechada, hice salir á mi hija desde este mañana para el Escorial. Las chicas todo lo charlan, y saliendo juntos de aqui habria sido imposible ocultar el viaje.
- Alejandro).* Eso no puede impedir que Eugenia venga aqui. Mientras Vd. esté . . .

- Joaq(uín)*. Que venga . . . Se enfadará el marqués; pero bien sé que le hago un favor adjudicándole un yerno de tanto merito . . . Ah! . . . sabe Vd. que Juan ha pagado hoy los vencimientos . . . ?
- Alej(andro)*. Y Vd. cree que habrá sido capaz de tocar . . . ?
- Joaq(uín)*. No. esté Vd. tranquilo. Juan habrá sacado el dinero de alguna parte. Muchas veces le he oído decir: "iré á presidio antes que hacer uso de la fortuna de mi hija."
- Alej(andro)*. Veremos . . . es preciso abrir una información sobre el asunto.
- Joaq(uín)*. Vd. es hombre afortunado. Ah! y á propósito. Hoy han circulado rumores de crisis
- Alej(andro)*. No creo que tengan fundamento. Mas adelante
- Joaq(uín)*. Como aquí se precipitan los sucesos . . . Siento un coche . . . será Eugenia.
- Alej(andro)*. (se acer[c]a á la puerta del fondo) Oh! . . . que diablura! Es Sofía!

## Escena 3ª.

*Dichos—Sofía*

- Sof(ía)*. Sr. D. Joaquín . . . Oh! Alejandro Vd. aquí?
- Alej(andro)*. (¡A que vendrá esta maldita!)
- Joaq(uín)*. ¡Señora: que agradable sorpresa! (ap[arte] á Alej[andro]) Se marchará pronto)
- Sof(ía)*. Pues diré á Vd. . . . Me dijeron que Adolfiná esta enferma, y corrí á saber . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. Quia—no señora—Esta buena!
- Sof(ía)*. Y no esta en casa?
- Joaq(uín)*. Le diré á Vd. . . . Ha salido . . . hace un momento
- Sof(ía)*. Volverá pronto. En fin me alegro de que no haya sido nada
- Joaq(uín)*. Señora: si Vd. me lo permite . . . Tengo que dar ordenes . . . (ap[arte] á Alej[andro]) Entreténgala Vd. un poco.
- Alej(andro)*. (Si ahora viene la otra)
- Joaq(uín)*. Soy con Vds. (vase)

## Escena 4ª.

*Alejandro, Sofía*

- Sof(ía)*. Al verme entrar aquí te has quedado como confuso, aturcido . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Yo? no lo creas.
- Sof(ía)*. No temas: Eugenia tarda pero vendrá (con jovialidad) No se puede contar para nada con estas niñas del día. Gastan tres horas delante del espejo para ponerse el sombrero y el infeliz amante aguarda que aguardarás!
- Alej(andro)*. (Sabe que la espero . . . )
- Sof(ía)*. Pero vendra, vendra. Yo misma le aconseje que viniera
- Alej(andro)*. Tu tenaz intervencion en este asunto me sorprende y me mortifica.
- Sof(ía)*. Que quieres. Dicen que á falta de madres, las madrinas tenemos el deber de velar por el bienestar de las pobres huérfanas.

- Alej(andro)*. No puedo soportar esta fiscalizacion que ejerce Vd. sobre mí (con arrogancia) Basta de disimulo.
- Sofía*. Eso es lo que quiero: que arrojes la máscara de una vez.
- Alej(andro)*. (dominandose) Sofía: hablemos friamente. Yo te diré los motivos que me mueven á obra(r) así. Seré franco hasta lo último; te confesaré hasta mis faltas . . .
- Sof(ía)*. Demasiado las conozco.
- Alej(andro)*. Y al fin conoceras cuan impertinente es la sistemática guerra que me estas haciendo.
- Sof(ía)*. Si tu amaras sinceramente á Eugenia, yo, respetaría una pasión honrada. Pero tu no tienes otro móvil que el interés. Para conseguir los fines que te indica tu atroz egoísmo, tienes todo, fama, talento, prestigio: no te falta mas que una gran fortuna y eso es lo que buscas.
- Alej(andro)*. Que suposición tan inicua!
- Sof(ía)*. Entonces la amas?
- Alej(andro)*. Te diré. Tu no puedes comprenderme porque no tienes serenidad en esta ocasión. Te sientes herida en tus sentimientos, y . . . (¿Seré tan torpe que no pueda convencerla, para que me deje en paz?)
- Sof(ía)*. Acaba.
- Alej(andro)*. Quiero decirte que si reflexionaras . . . por que has de juzgarme peor de lo que soy? Yo, sin embargo conservo hacia ti los mismos sentimientos que me inspiraste en el destierro, y por respeto, por gratitud, por . . . amor ocuparas siempre el mismo lugar en mi corazón.
- Sof(ía)*. (El miserable quiere sobornarme) (afectando amabilidad) Te ruego que me expliques eso mejor.
- Alej(andro)*. Tu has creído que he dejado de amarte. No . . . ese sería el mayor y el mas imperdonable de mis extravíos. Fíjate en las circunstancias, en la posición q(u)e ocupó, en todo lo que me rodea, fíjate bien, y no podras menos de ser indulgente con esta aparente perfidia que cometo al pretender . . . Oh! veo que frunces el ceño: no me comprendes (exaltandose) Pues bien: te hablaré al corazón, diciendote que, cualesquiera<sup>11</sup> que sea la situación en que pronto me halle, seré el mismo para ti, y no tendras motivo para ar(re)pentirte de haberme amado.
- Sof(ía)*. Que monstruosidad. (levántase) Y tiene Vd. el valor, la imprudencia de decirme . . . Para disculpar lo que llama una pequeña perfidia, comete la villanía de indicarme . . . si . . . claramente lo ha dicho . . . de indicarme que me ama todavía, que me amará Vd. mas que á su esposa . . . rebaja Vd. ante mí á aquella niña inocente, á quien quiero como una hermana, y no vacila en infundirme respecto á ella el compasivo desprecio que inspira siempre la rival humillada. Al oír tales absurdos, me espanto de que haya existido una muger

<sup>11</sup> An error for *cualquiera*.

capaz de amarle a Vd., y no solo me espanto, sino me avergüenzo de que esa muger haya sido yo. (aparta el rostro con repugnancia)

*Alej(andro)*. Tu no quieres entenderme.

*Sof(ia)*. La insistencia con que me opongo á ese casamiento habra hecho creer á Vd. que le amo todavia! . . . (con dignidad) Oh! no . . . y si aun le amara, tendria el remedio de esta desgracia en Vd. mismo, cuyas indignidades son suficientes á curarme por completo.

*Alej(andro)*. Y aun te quejas de mí, cuando me ves sufrir con paciencia lo que me dices.

*Sofia*. (con elocuencia) No debo ocultar en este momento nada de lo que pasa en mi ánimo. Habré podido dejarme arrastrar por seducciones mentirosas; habré cedido á un arrebató de la imaginacion, seré culpable por debilidad, por vehemencia de sentimientos, por . . . á veces cometemos las mayores faltas no por malas, ni por torpes, ni por coquetas, sino por tontas . . . Sea por lo que quiera: yo lo reconozco; pero jamas persistiré en el crimen con ese indigno cinismo que Vd. profesa . . . Yo vivia atormentada por los remordimientos; yo me avergonzaba, me despreciaba, tenia momentos terribles al hallarme á solas con mi conciencia; pero ahora, delante de Vd., tengo la presuncion de reconocermé regenerada. Vd. me hace buena; Vd. es mucho peor que yo; y si le amara un momento mas; si bajara hasta Vd., me creeria envilecida para siempre.

*Alej(andro)*. Vd.<sup>12</sup> hará lo que quiera; pero Eugenia . . .

*Sof(ia)*. No será esposa de Vd.

*Alej(andro)*. Vd. no puede oponerse á ello.

*Sof(ia)*. Lo veremos. Todo esfuerzo es inutil. Demita Vd.

*Alej(andro)*. Lo he meditado bien, y no puedo demitir.

*Sof(ia)*. Esta Vd. dominado por el espiritu de las conveniencias

*Alej(andro)*. Y Vd. ciega por el despecho.

*Sof(ia)*. Yo no tengo despecho. Concluido este asunto, no quiero ni oír hablar de Vd. Anoche he vuelto á pedirle á Vd. las cartas mías que conserva. Cree Vd. que aun no es tiempo de que vuelvan á mi poder?

*Alej(andro)*. Las tendrá Vd. (con una idea repentina) (Ah! que idea! Quizas por ese medio . . .) Me retiro.

*Sof(ia)*. Y no la aguarda Vd.? Ya no puede tardar

*Alej(andro)*. Volveré. Señora: no temo hablar á Eugenia delante de Vd. Volveré. (vase)

#### *Escena 5ª.*

*Sofia* (sola)

*Sof(ia)*. Volverá . . . que intentará . . . Oh! Dios mio! que este bienhechor aborrecimiento crezca pronto irresistible y poderoso para que no me atormente mas la cruel indecision entre el amor y el desprecio

<sup>12</sup> Alejandro is now adopting the formal mode of address the same as Sofia did three speeches before.

... Oh! no ... ya no dudo ... la vacilacion seria una mengua mayor que la de haberle amado ... Grande ha sido el yerro; pero ahora ... corazon: ten dignidad ... Con este ardiente menosprecio me siento ennoblecida, y ahora ... soy incapaz de perdonarle ... no tengo virtud para tanto—necesito una venganza, si, una venganza ... noble ... Ah! ... Eugenia viene.

*Escena 6ª.*

*Sofia, Eugenia*

- Eug(enia).* (ap[arte] al entrar) Es particular. El salia cuando yo entraba y me dijo que le aguardara que volverá pronto ... ¡Sofía aquí!
- Sof(ía).* Como ves, yo tambien he acudido á la cita.
- Eug(enia)* Y Adolfiná?
- Sof(ía).* Ha salido. Me dijeron que estaba mala y por eso vine ...
- Eug(enia).* (con recelo) (Por eso ...)
- Sof(ía).* Si.
- Eug(enia).* (sentándose) Tengo que hablarte, tengo que contarte.
- Sof(ía).* Que te pasa?
- Eug(enia).* Verdaderamente no debi venir acá esta noche.
- Sof(ía).* Por que faltar á una cita que quizás sea decisiva para tu porvenir?
- Eug(enia).* Debi quedarme acompañando á papá.
- Sof(ía).* Esta malo Juan?
- Eug(enia).* No: esta bueno; pero muy triste. Me da tanta pena verlo asi.
- Sof(ía).* Pero que tiene?
- Eug(enia).* (despues de vacilar) En fin ... para ti no tengo secretos. Papa ha tenido muy fuertes reveses en los negocios. Como es tan hombre de bien ...
- Sof(ía).* Habrá tenido que pagar culpas ajenas.
- Eug(enia).* Esta mañana adquirió de repente la certeza de su completa ruina. Parece que la baja de la Bolsa ... en fin ... no sé el motivo ... Pero no sabes lo que padezco viéndole tan acongojado, tan aburrido. Hoy ha tenido lugar en casa una escena que me ha conmovido.
- Sof(ía).* Cuéntamelo todo.
- Eug(enia).* Presentoseme papá con lagrimas en los ojos, y abrazandome con ternura, me dijo: “estoy arruinado” (conmovida) No puedes figurarte que impresion me hicieron aquellas palabras y el tono con que las pronunció. Luego dijo: “todo lo he perdido, y ni el honor me quedará, si no salgo de cierto terrible compromiso con lo que tu tienes, con la cuantiosa herencia de tu madre, que yo no puedo tocar, ni tocaré si tu no lo consientes.”—Por un rato no supe que contestar. Me sofocaba, me aturdia ver su afliccion; pero poco tardé en comprender que de mi voluntad dependia su honor y su reposo, y esta idea me causó la mas viva alegria:
- Sof(ía).* Eres menor, y aunque podia materialmente disponer de tu fortuna por no ser nominativa, él es hombre de conciencia, y ha querido tener tu consentimiento.

- Eug(enia)*. No habia yo de consentir? Como lo que tengo está en mobiliario no es preciso que llegue á la mayor edad para disponer de ello.
- Sof(ía)*. La ley te autoriza para comerciar á los veinte años.
- Eug(enia)*. Yo comerciar!
- Sof(ía)*. De modo que . . .
- Eug(enia)*. Yo me resigno facilmente á la pobreza. Si vieras que peso se me quitó de encima . . . (con satisfaccion) Ay! He devuelto á mi padre la honra y la tranquilidad: esto produce una satisfaccion y un alivio que no es posible espresar.
- Sof(ía)*. Y has perdido todo tu patrimonio!
- Eug(enia)*. Todo.
- Sof(ía)*. Tu abnegacion no tiene precio. ¡Que buena eres, que noble, que generosa, que grande! Conque eres pobre! . . . (ya estoy vengada!) (con cierta exaltacion) Oh! deja que admire á mis anchas la sublimidad de tus sentimientos.
- Eug(enia)*. Ay! que placer tan grande, tan puro proporciona hacer el bien y sacrificarse por los demas.
- Sof(ía)*. Pues es preciso que inmediatamente hagas una cosa.
- Eug(enia)*. Que?
- Sof(ía)*. Decir lo que te pasa al hombre que te pretende por esposa.
- Eug(enia)*. Se lo diré. Pero tu sospechas que porque soy pobre puede dejar de quererme?
- Sof(ía)*. No digo tanto. Pero estas cosas son delicadas, y hasta seria una falta muy grave ocultárselo.
- Eug(enia)*. Yo estoy segura de que aplaudirá mi conducta. El es tan admirador de las acciones generosas!
- Sof(ía)*. De palabra ya lo creo . . . Diselo. cuando yo te aconsejo que se lo digas.
- Eug(enia)*. Esta misma noche, si vuelve . . . Otra cosa. Como no hay pena que no lleve tras si un poco de alegria lo que ha pasado, al mismo tiempo que me entristece, considerando la desgracia de papá, me ha dado esperanza de conseguir . . . ya sabes lo que quiero decir.
- Sof(ía)*. Ahora tienes esperanza de que Juan consienta . . .
- Eug(enia)*. Eso es. Siempre conmovido y sin dejar de besarme con ardiente cariño, me dijo: "hija mía: mi voluntad es la tuya. Acabas de hacerme tu esclavo y no podré oponerme á ninguno de tus deseos." En aquella ocasion no me atrevi á hablarle del asunto; no me pareció oportuno; pero mañana . . . Estoy segura de que accederá.
- Sof(ía)*. Tal vez.
- Eug(enia)*. De modo que por esa parte estoy contenta. Ahora lo único que me contrista es lo que me dijiste anoche.
- Sof(ía)*. Que?
- Eug(enia)*. Que amaba á otra muger. Pero es cierto?
- Sof(ía)*. Tan cierto que
- Eug(enia)*. Pero quien, quien es? Cuanto he cavilado esta noche. Para trastornarme mas, ya oíste lo que decia Cárlos esta mañana. Habló

de una muger que visita á Alejandro—dijo que él lo habia visto y que sé yo . . . Aunque todo me parece una insensatez de mi primo, me hace pensar . . .

*Sof(ta).* No hagas caso de Cárlos; pero ten por cierto . . .

*Eug(enia).* Oh! Si fuera verdad! . . .

*Escena 7ª.*

*Dichas—Dn. Joaquín*

*Joaq(uín).* Señoras . . . dispénsenme Vds. la tardanza; pero estoy tan ocupado esta noche . . . Ahora me ha entrado otra visita . . .

*Sofia.* (vivamente) Alejandro?

*Joaq(uín).* No señora: es el majadero de Jacinto, que siempre tiene el don de la inoportunidad

*Eug(enia).* Oh! que posma!

*Sof(ta).* Que calamidad! Yo no quiero recibirle

*Eug(enia).* Ni yo.

*Simon.* (anunciando) El S. Dn. Jacinto . . . pasa aqui?

*Joaq(uín).* (a Sof[ia] y Eug[enia]) Pasen Vds. al cuarto de Adol[ina] (á Simon) Hay luz allá?

*Simon.* Si señor.

*Joaq(uín).* (Abre la puerta de la d[er]ec[h]a) Por aqui . . . al fin de ese pasillo: yo las acompañare a Vds. (vanse Sof[ia] y Eugenia, y detras Joa[u]n)

*Escena 8ª.*

*Jacinto, Simon*

*Jac(into).* (entrando) Pero no hay nadie en esta casa? Ola Simon!

*Simon.* Señorito Dn. Jacinto . . . Vd. por aqui. Y la señorita?

*Jac(into).* Buena. Que tal te va con tu nuevo amo?

*Simon.* (con pena) Oh! señorito. Desde que dejé el servicio de Vd. para pasarme al de Dn. Joaquín, todo ha sido . . . (bajando la voz) Aqui no hay mas que facha.

*Jac(into).* Pero Dn. Joaquín . . . ?

*Simon.* (en voz muy baja) Tronado, mas tronado que Carrasco.

*Jac(into).* Y me dejaste creyendo mejorar!

*Simon.* Harto me ha pesado.

*Jac(into).* Con que dime: esto esta perdido?

*Simon.* Tan perdido, que el señorito se va esta noche para Paris de ocultis.

*Jac(into).* Y su hija.

*Simon.* La señorita se fué esta mañana al Escorial. Nadie lo sabe. Guarde Vd. el secreto.

*Jac(into).* Y tu amo se marcha tambien esta noche.

*Simon.* Si. Como me voy á reir mañana cuando vengán los acreedores.

*Jac(into).* Ya sé que la casa la alquila Alejandro.

*Simon.* Asi parece; mas por ahora queda á mi cargo.

*Jac(into).* No he visto criados ni portero.



- Simon.* Todos han sido despedidos: no queda nadie mas que yo.  
*Jac(into).* (ap[arte]) Aqui hay misterio.) Di otra cosa. Aqui han entrado esta noche dos señoras. Yo las he visto.  
*Simon.* Si . . . y muy guapas las dos.  
*Jac(into).* Las conoces tu?  
*Simon.* No señor: como hace poco que estoy en la casa . . .  
*Jac(into).* (Juraría que una de las que vi entrar es Eugenia.) No entró tambien un caballero . . . ?  
*Simon.* Dn. Alejandro . . . le conozco. Ese que va á ser ministro . . . un hombre que me gusta.  
*Jac(into).* Demasiado pagado de si mismo. Como es hombre importante . . . No te cargan á ti las eminencias?  
*Simon.* Lo que es ese . . . Le voy á hablar á ver si me coloca.  
*Jac(into).* Tambien tu quieres ser funcionario publico?  
*Simon.* Tambien . . . esta vida es muy perra. Ya que uno sirve, lo que da mas lustre es servir á la nacion.  
*Jac(into).* Oye bien lo que te digo. La casa queda á tu cargo?  
*Simon.* Si señor.  
*Jac(into).* Si vuelvo esta noche solo ó acompañado, me dejaras entrar?  
*Simon.* Despues que se haya marchado el amo, por que no?  
*Jac(into).* (dandole dinero) Toma.  
*Simon.* No es preciso . . . El amo viene. (vase)

*Escena 9ª.**Dn. Joaquin, Jacinto*

- Jac(into).* Sr. Dn. Joaquin . . .  
*Joaq(uín).* (friamente) Amigo . . .  
*Jac(into).* Como anoche dijo Vd. que su hija estaba mala, venia á saber . . .  
*Joaq(uín).* Esta mejor.  
*Jac(into).* Me alegro . . . Sabe Vd. que hay crisis?  
*Joaq(uín).* Si?  
*Jac(into).* Si señor: ha sido una cosa imprevista como todo lo que pasa en este pais . . . Crisis total. No es preciso decir que Alejandro formará ministerio. Pero donde se ha metido ese hombre esta noche, que no se le ve en ninguna parte? Esta aqui?  
*Joaq(uín).* No.  
*Jac(into).* En su casa tampoco está. Vengo de allá . . . por cierto que esta noche nada hemos visto.  
*Joaq(uín).* De que?  
*Jac(into).* Se conoce que las entrevistas son en otra parte, para desorientar á los que les observan.  
*Joaq(uín).* De que habla Vd. . . . Ah! de la dama que visita . . . acabáramos. Y tambien esta noche . . . ?  
*Jac(into).* Si señor . . . hemos visto entrar una dama; pero no alli sino aqui.  
*Joaq(uín).* Aqui? no sé nada . . . Será alguna amiga de mi hija . . . estará en su cuarto.

*Ja(cinto)*. (¡Y su hija que esta en el Escorial! aqui hay algo). Pues al poco rato entró otra.

*D. Joaquin*. Dos! Hombre . . . pues no sabia.

*Jacinto*. (Lo niega!) Y diga Vd. . . . puedo ver á Adolfiná?

*D. Joaq(uín)*. Esta un poco mala . . . no sé si estaran ahí sus amigas . . . (Demonio de zascandil)

*Jac(into)*. Ah! D. Joaquin . . . Dispénsese Vd. la malignidad de mis juicios. Al ver entrar aquí á las dos muchachas, me ocurrió . . . Tambien Vd. pasa por aficionado al bello sexo . . .

*D. Joaq(uín)* (amoscado) De todos modos es una impertinencia . . .

*Jac(into)*. Es broma: no se enoje Vd. . . . Como seguimos la pista á nuestro eminente amigo, y estamos en camino de probar que es un libertino, un hombre inmoral . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. Eso cuenteselo Vd. á él.

*Jac(into)*. Pero me parece que alguien le ha de dar un gran disgusto el mismo día del triunfo . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. Quien?

*Ja(cinto)*. Carlos . . . ya le oyó Vd. anoche . . . Y como se le ha metido en la cabeza que Eugenia . . .

*Joaq(uín)*. Ama á Alejandro?

*Jac(into)*. Algo peor. Lo que cree es una locura, una monstruosidad, y como se confirman sus sospechas, habrá la de San Quintín . . . Hace un rato hemos estado hablando de eso, y ahora me espera en el Suizo, donde volveremos á hablar de lo mismo, porque no hay nadie que le quite su tema.

*Joaq(uín)*. Pues amigo . . . nada de eso me importa gran cosa.

*Jac(into)*. Molesto á Vd.?

*Joaq(uín)*. Estoy algo ocupado.

#### Escena 10ª.

*Dichos—Alejandro* (que entra muy inquieto)

*Jac(into)*. Gracias a Dios que se te ve.

*Joaq(uín)*. Es cierta la crisis?

*Alej(andro)*. Si . . . á todos nos ha cogido de sorpresa. El ministerio por una disidencia intestina ha presentado su dimision y le ha sido aceptada.

*Jac(into)*. Chico mil enhorabuenas.

*Alej(andro)*. Mira Jacinto: haz el favor de dejarnos solos.

*Jac(into)*. Ya, ya . . . (con intencion) Me marchó . . . (Sé lo que tengo que hacer . . . ¡que descubrimiento!) (alto) Adios . . . y en esta feliz ocasion seras desmemoriado con tus antiguos y leales amigos?

*Alej(andro)*. Descuida . . . dejanos.

*Jac(into)*. Ten presente mi pretension . . . aquel destino de que te he hablado mil veces . . .

*Alej(andro)*. No lo mereces pero lo tendrás . . .

*Jac(into)*. Bien se conoce que somos amigos desde la infancia . . . Gracias . . . adios, adios.

## Escena 11ª.

Joaquín—Alejandro

- Joaq(uín)*. Conque es decir que sube Vd.?
- Alej(andro)*. Probablemente. En todo pensaba hoy menos en eso. (rápidamente toda la escena) Por de pronto tengo que renunciar al proyecto . . .
- Joaq(uín)*. Del depósito, y . . . la chica . . .
- Alej(andro)*. No me parece oportuno en día de crisis.
- Joaq(uín)*. Esto no va bien. Aun esta ahí Sofía.
- Alej(andro)*. Pues es preciso que se marchen.
- Joaq(uín)*. Ya convencerá Vd. á Eugenia otro día . . . Además: ese tronera de Jacinto sabe que estan aquí, y podría . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Si esto diera margen á un escandalo, en que saliera perjudicada mi reputacion, ¡que horror! y en día de crisis . . . Haga Vd. que se marchen.
- Joaq(uín)*. Si yo me voy . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Tan pronto?
- Joaq(uín)*. No me puedo detener . . . el tren se va.
- Alej(andro)*. Yo tambien tengo que salir de aquí . . . las despediré como pueda. Diré que Vd. esta fuera.
- Joaq(uín)*. Entiendase Vd. como pueda . . . adios. No me escriba Vd. sino para decirme que mi sociedad anónima esta por esas nubes . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Adios.
- Joaq(uín)*. Adios. Buena suerte. (se despiden afectuosamente)

## Escena 12ª.

Alejandro, Sofía, Eugenia

- Alej(andro)*. (inquieta) Fracasó mi plan de esta noche. Y esas dos mugeres aquí . . . Es preciso que se marchen esta noche . . . Los días de crisis son muy delicados, y es preciso cuidar . . . (salen Eugenia y Sofía por la d[erec]ha)
- Eug(enia)*. Ah! aquí esta ya!
- Sof(ía)*. (con jovialidad) Aquí le tienes, Eugenia, El picaro te ha hecho esperar . . . pero ya le diras tu buenas cosas!
- Alej(andro)*. (con embarazo) Eugenia: habia pensado . . . tengo que hacer . . .
- Sof(ía)*. No se irá Vd. caballero. Es preciso que Vd. se quede y oiga.
- Alej(andro)*. (Que significa esto!)
- Sof(ía)*. Eugenia tiene que hablar á Vd. Me permitiran asistir á la conferencia?
- Eug(enia)*. Si: tu debes oirla: quédate.
- Alej(andro)*. Y que me vas á decir? (se sientan los tres)
- Eug(enia)*. (con amabilidad) Tengo que darte una buena noticia. Mi padre que hasta hoy se ha opuesto tanto, al fin . . .
- Alej(andro)*. (vivamente) Que te ha dicho?
- Sof(ía)*. (por Alej[andro]) (Como me gozo en su turbacion!)
- Eug(enia)*. Contesta antes á una pregunta. No es verdad que me amas desinteresadamente?

- Alej(andro)*. Has podido dudarlo?
- Sof(ía)*. Que pregunta tan impertinente! Como habias de poner en duda . . .
- Eug(enia)*. No es que yo dudara; pero hay una persona que te juzga capaz de no quererme desde que sepas lo que te voy á decir
- Alej(andro)*. (con curiosidad vivísima) Pues dilo.
- Eug(enia)*. Por ahora guarda el secreto. Mi padre ha tenido necesidad de vender todos los títulos que constituían mi fortuna.
- Alej(andro)*. (sin poderse contener) De veras? . . . Cuando? . . . y has consentido?
- Eug(enia)*. Pues no habia de consentir si se trataba de la honra de mi pobre papá? . . .
- Sof(ía)*. (a Alej[andro] con malicia) No es verdad que la generosidad llevada á ese extremo es quizas una falta? Antes debió consultarlo con Vd.
- Eug(enia)*. (con naturalidad) De modo Alejandro que ya soy pobre.
- Alej(andro)*. Pobre!
- Sof(ía)*. No cree Vd. que ha sido una imprevision?
- Alej(andro)*. (aturdido despues de vacilar dice) Oh! . . . no.
- Sof(ía)*. Cree Vd. que hizo bien?
- Alejan(dro)*. Si . . . lo creo . . .
- Sof(ía)*. Veo que Vd. es tan generoso como ella.
- Eug(enia)*. Si vieras que congoja sentí, cuando se me presentó mi padre llorando como un niño. Tu comprenderas la gran satisfaccion que he experimentado al saber todo el bien que podia resultar de una palabra mia.
- Sof(ía)*. (a Alej[andro]) Vea Vd. . . . estas niñas sentimentales son una calamidad. Ah! diga Vd. lo que quiera, no sirven para esposas de los hombres del dia. (a Eug[enia]) Crees tu que estamos en aquellos tiempos de *contigo pan y cebolla*? Hoy cuesta todo un ojo de la cara . . . es preciso mantenerse en cierto pié . . . y luego viene una plaga de chiquillos . . . (a Alej[andro]) Si no se les ocurre nada. En un momento de sublime alucinacion, renuncian á su fortuna, y creen que con cariñitos, con palabras blandas, y con tonterias se mantiene una casa. Por supuesto que, á pesar de no llevar nada en la carta dotal, se vuelven locas, . . . eso si . . . porque sus maridos sean ministros, derrochen, figuren . . . (a Eug[enia]) Hija mia: en estos tiempos la gloria es muy cara . . . (a Alej[andro]) No cree Vd. . . . que esta niña ha hecho una gran tonteria.
- Alej(andro)*. No señora: creo que sus buenos sentimientos la han impulsado á obrar asi.
- Eug(enia)*. Yo lo hice creyendo que mi generosa conducta mas bien te causaria agrado que pena.
- Alej(andro)*. Es cierto, si. (dominando su turbacion)
- Sof(ía)*. Veo que es Vd. desinteresado como pocos. (a Eug[enia]) Chica! me equivoqué . . . nada . . . me equivoqué.
- Eug(enia)*. Es claro: como ha de gustarle tener por esposa á una muger descorazonada y egoista?

*Alej(andro)*. Es mucha verdad.

*Eug(enia)*. (á Sof[ía]) Lo ves? Ya te dije que aplaudiría mi conducta.

*Alej(andro)*. Sin duda . . . (¡Me han cogido en la red!)

*Sof(ía)*. (a Alej[andro]) Francamente; lo que es yo, en el caso de Vd . . .

*Eug(enia)*. En premio de mi desprendimiento,—y del tuyo, porque yo comparto contigo el mérito de esta acción—Dios nos allana el camino para llegar á nuestro fin. Mi padre nos concederá el permiso que tanto anhelamos.

*Alej(andro)*. Lo crees tú?

*Eug(enia)*. Lo presumo. Casi estoy segura de ello.

*Alej(andro)*. Ya . . . de veras? (ap[arte]) (No: este matrimonio no puede efectuarse . . . (confuso) Que hacer . . . Es preciso salir por algun lado.)

*Sof(ía)*. Y al fin logran Vds. su deseo? Me gusta verlos conformarse con la pobreza. Pero el señor es hombre importante; será ministro. Ahuécate, chica. Crees que todas pueden alabarse de dar su mano á la celebridad en persona. Algun día no dejaré de ir á tu casa con cualquier pretencion.<sup>13</sup> (a Eug[enia]) Ay! hija no puedes negar que estas rebosando de satisfaccion. (A Alej[andro]) Alguna vez he oido decir á Vd. que toda accion generosa trae consigo un gran bien.

*Alej(andro)*. (ap[arte] con rabia) (Como se venga esta maldita!)

*Eug(enia)*. De modo que ya no tenemos que pensar en contrariedades. Tan segura estoy de obtener el consentimiento, que ya puedes publicar nuestro proximo matrimonio. Yo lo diré á todas mis amigas.

*Alej(andro)*. Ya . . . (Estoy perdido! Es preciso buscar una malla rota por donde escurrirme.

*Sof(ía)*. Si: lo anunciaremos oficialmente. Esto da cierto no sé que cuando somos parientes de la novia, y el novio es ministro.

*Eug(enia)*. Ahora que nos hemos explicado bien, tengo que hablarte de otra cosa. Tengo una queja de ti; pero una queja muy grave.

*Alej(andro)*. De mi?

*Eug(enia)*. Si: me han dicho una cosa, una cosilla . . . Me confesaras la verdad?

*Alej(andro)*. Explicate.

*Eug(enia)*. Yo me he resistido á creerlo; pero si fuera cierto . . . Me han dicho que has querido mucho á otra muger, y que la quieres todavia.

*Alej(andro)*. (con una idea repentina) (Ah! ya encontré la malla rota.) No hagas caso. Alguien ha intentado desunirnos.

*Sof(ía)*. Hablillas del vulgo envidioso.

*Alej(andro)*. (Buena ocasion para desviarme) No pienses en eso. Quien te lo dijo se fundaba en algun suceso remoto.

*Eug(enia)*. Con que hay algo?—Caballero: explíqueme Vd. ese suceso remoto.

*Alej(andro)*. No tengas celos: eso pasó.

*Eug(enia)*. Cuando, cuando?

*Alej(andro)*. (Con habilidad puedo echar las bases de un rompimiento. Es preciso romper) Pues . . . hace tiempo . . . Mas que amor aquello fué agradecimiento

<sup>13</sup> Pretensión.

*Eug(enia)*. (con ansiedad) Es joven?

*Alej(andro)*. Si.

*Eug(enia)*. Pues eso no me gusta. La querras, la querras todavía.

*Alej(andro)*. Es una persona á quien respeto.

*Eug(enia)*. Respeto! todavía! Caballero: no quiero que respete Vd. á ninguna muger.

*Sof(ía)*.<sup>14</sup> Que disparate!

*Alej(andro)*.<sup>14</sup> La ves todavía?

*Sof(ía)*.<sup>14</sup> Alguna vez.

*Eug(enia)*. Y os tratais?

*Alej(andro)*. Por que no?

*Eug(enia)*. Como se llama?

*Alej(andro)*. No puedo decírtelo.

*Eug(enia)*. (muy apurada) Veo que no me habian engañado. Pero quien es?  
Es hermosa?

*Alej(andro)*. Para que quieres saberlo?

*Eug(enia)*. Si señor, quiero saberlo.

*Alej(andro)*. Pues te lo diré: es muy hermosa.

*Eug(enia)*. Caballero: Vd. me insulta. Y has tenido valor para confesármelo.  
La amas mucho?

*Alej(andro)*. Solo una amistad profunda . . .

*Eug(enia)*. Jesus! que desgraciada soy!

*Sof(ía)*. (ap[arte]) (Conozco su intencion. Quiere romper con ella) (alto)  
Me parece que Alejandro bromea: cualquiera pensaria que su  
objeto es obligarte á reñir con él

*Alej(andro)*. Lo cree Vd. así?

*Sof(ía)*. Digo que podria creerse.

*Eug(enia)*. (á Sof[ía]) Y dices que será invencion suya? (a Alej[andro]) Tu la  
ves la visitas?

*Alej(andro)*. Hemos roto nuestras relaciones. Precisamente hace poco me pidio  
sus cartas.

*Eug(enia)*. Y se las diste?

*Alej(andro)*. Fui esta noche á su casa con ese objeto, y no estaba

*Eug(enia)*. Has estado en su casa! Donde estan las cartas?

*Alej(andro)*. (señalando el bolsillo del pecho) Aqui las tengo.

*Sof(ía)*. (ap[arte] con terror) (Oh!)

*Eug(enia)*. Quiero verlas.

*Sof(ía)*. (sin poderse contener.) No . . . no . . .

*Eug(enia)*. Que dices?

*Sof(ía)*. (procurando dominarse) Digo . . . que . . . pretendes unas cosas  
Como quieres que una persona delicada te entregue las cartas de  
otra muger?

*Eug(enia)*. No quiero ver mas que la firma.

*Alej(andro)*. (a Sofia) Como Vd. dudaba que fuera cierto lo que decia

<sup>14</sup> Although *Sofía* is possible, *Alejandro* would be more logical. *Alejandro* should be *Eugenia*.

- Eug(enia)*. Es facil probárnoslo: vengan las cartas.
- Alej(andro)*. No basta mi palabra? (acercando la mano al bolsillo)
- Sof(ía)*. Si . . . nos basta, nos basta.
- Eug(enia)*. Pero diga Vd. al menos el nombre de esa muger. Donde la conociste?
- Alej(andro)*. En Francia.
- Eug(enia)*. (a Sof[ía]) Tu tambien has estado allá . . . Has oido algo?
- Sof(ía)*. Yo . . . yo . . . no.
- Eug(enia)*. Si . . . tu debes de saber algo. Tu fuiste la primera que me lo dijo. Porque lo ocultas.
- Sof(ía)*. No lo averigues: que te importa? (sin poder disimular ni contener su indignacion se levanta y exclama) Pues di: no conoces ya bastante al hombre que has amado; no ves la mezquindad de sus sentimientos, su inmenso egoismo? . . . Asombrate ante este espectáculo de la ambicion y la codicia! No ves que te ha pretendido por interés; no ves como al conocer tu pobreza, te arroja á la cara sus antiguos amores, para que rompas tu misma unas relaciones, que le estorban desde que no eres rica!
- Alej(andro)*. Señora! . . .
- Eug(enia)*. Será posible . . . De modo que lo que Vd. me ha dicho es una impostura, una fábula, inventada para librarse de mi.
- Alej(andro)*. Oh! no creas tal cosa. Si crees que es farsa te enseñaré las cartas.
- Sof(ía)*. (vivamente) No, no: lo creemos.
- Eug(enia)*. Pues yo quiero verlas, quiero verlas.
- Alej(andro)*. (a Eug[enia]) A ti tan solo amo, Eugenia. La confesion que has oido de mis labios es hija de un sentimiento de lealtad. A esa otra muger, ya no (con calor) la amo, ni puedo amarla.
- Eug(enia)*. Que indigna fábula!
- Sof(ía)*. (exaltandose) No es fábula. Amó, es decir, engañó vilmente á la que le salvó la vida. No supo pagar sus beneficios sino abandonándola á la desesperacion y á la deshonra.
- Eug(enia)*. A la deshonra!
- Sof(ía)*. Aquella muger será el eterno remordimiento del impostor, y si este tuviera una sombra de conciencia, la memoria de conducta tan vil, amargaria todas las horas felices, que le proporcionara su ambicion satisfecha.
- Eug(enia)*. Y Vd. tuvo valor para acercarme<sup>15</sup> á mi, para pretender mi mano, con tan terrible antecedente.
- Alej(andro)*. (con energia e intencion) Ya no puedo amar á esa muger. Somos enemigos irreconciliables, aunque en mi pecho no se haya extinguido la gratitud, ni en mi mente el recuerdo de sus beneficios . . . Pero ella me ha perseguido encarnizadamente, y toda avenencia es imposible á causa de su tenacidad impertinente, de su cólera de su odio.
- Sofía*. Si: es cierto: esa muger ha luchado por impedir tu casamiento, y al

<sup>15</sup> Obviously it should read *acercarse*.

fin tiene la satisfaccion de haberlo conseguido. Resuelta á no tener con Vd. ninguna clase de relaciones, le rechazo con indignacion cuando Vd., ansioso de alcanzar su benevolencia, le manifesto que la amaria, aun despues de casado con otra!

*Eug(enia)*. Que indignidad!

*Sof(ía)*. Y esa muger considera como un triunfo el descubrimiento de los bajos fines de Vd., y es feliz señalándole al mundo como un ejemplo de la ciega ambicion, de las torpes conveniencias, del egoísmo insensato y corrompido que en nada repara para conseguir sus fines. *Eug(enia)*. (contemplando con estupor la exaltacion de Sofia) Pero tu . . . tu! . . . te exaltas! . . . tu tiembles! Sofia . . . que horrorosa sospecha! Serás tu!

*Sof(ía)*. (con emocion y desaliento) Oh! Eugenia! (se cubre el rostro con las manos. Eugenia permanece absorta)

*Alej(andro)*. (Ella misma se ha vendido!)

*Eug(enia)*. Tu, Sofia . . . has sido tu . . . !

*Alej(andro)*. (Es ocasion de retirarme.) (vase)

#### Escena 13ª.

##### *Eugenia, Sofia*

*Sof(ía)*. Mi propia indignacion me ha descubierto.

*Eug(enia)*. Ahora recuerdo . . . mil indicios vienen en tropel á mi imaginacion . . . Tu escribiste que habias dado asilo á un emigrado . . . despues se dijo que te ibas á casar . . . (con ansiedad) Desde tu llegada te opusistes<sup>18</sup> á mi amor . . . Oh! esa muger desconocida, á quien sorprendieron . . .

*Sof(ía)*. Yo, arrastrada por la ira, y deseando . . . Pero ya te contaré despacio esta triste y vergonzosa historia.

*Eug(enia)*. Que iniquidad! (con profunda pena) Oh! yo no puedo resistir esta terrible impresion . . . Le amas tu!

*Sof(ía)*. (con energia) Yo . . . no.

*Eug(enia)*. Como has llegado á aborrecerle de improviso? Dímelos para hacerlo mismo. (con un repentino arrebato de ira) Pero tu me engañaste, tu!

*Sof(ía)*. Cálmate: no guardemos ni una sombra de rencor sino para quien lo merece.

#### Escena 14ª.

##### *Dichas—Alejandro*

*Alejandro*. (entra por el fondo precipitadamente y muy inquieto) Eugenia, Sofia . . . que contrariedad . . . que compromiso! Dos hombres quieren entrar . . . (se asoma a la ventana izq[ui]erda) Que es esto? . . . Una indigna celada de mis amigos . . . terribles amigos! (Toda la escena hasta el fin rapidísima).

<sup>18</sup> Note the popular form of the verb.



- Sof(ía)*. (con sorpresa) Entran aquí!
- Eug(enía)*. Estamos en casa de nuestra amiga.
- Alej(andro)*. No: Joaquín ha partido al extranjero.
- Eug(enía)*. Y Adolfiná?
- Alej(andro)*. También: la casa está sola.
- Sof(ía)*. ¡Que indigna farsa!
- Alej(andro)*. No conviene que os vean . . . Escondéos . . . por Dios . . . Que no haya escándalo . . . un escándalo me hundiría en estos momentos . . . Hay crisis . . . (suplicando) Que no haya escándalo . . . os lo ruego, os lo suplico.
- Eug(enía)*. (atendiendo á fuera) Se sienten voces.
- Alej(andro)*. (se asoma á la ventana y dice precipitadamente y con la mayor turbación) El criado les permite subir . . . (volviendo al proscenio) Disimulad . . . decid . . . (con rabia) Este escándalo me perderá, y yo no quiero que se diga . . . Esos infames quieren desprestigiarme . . . (a Eug[enia]) Eugenia, si te ven: escóndete.
- Eug(enía)*. (con serenidad) Nada debo temer.
- Alej(andro)*. (vuelve á mirar) Uno sube . . . habrán sobornado al lacayo . . . Es Carlos!
- Sof(ía)*. (con terror) Mi hijo!
- Alej(andro)*. (a Eug[enia]) Sospecha de ti!
- Sof(ía)*. (sobrecogida) Si: sus viles amigos le han hecho creer que tú!
- Eug(enía)*. De mí! . . .
- Sof(ía)*. Sospecha que eres tú la mujer desconocida . . .
- Eug(enía)*. Eras tú! (con energía) Yo soy inocente, yo soy honrada, y si todo el mundo viniera aquí ante todo el mundo lo probaría.
- Sof(ía)*. Por Dios ocultémonos.
- Eug(enía)*. Eso sería declararnos culpables.
- Alej(andro)*. Y ese infame criado les permitirá registrar toda la casa!
- Eug(enía)*. Contaré todo, diré la verdad. Se trata de mi honor!, de mi honor!
- Alej(andro)*. (con ansiedad) Sí, Eugenia mía . . . Defiéndete: dirán que te he seducido . . . que te envilecido . . .<sup>17</sup> á una joven como tú . . . Esto es horroroso!
- Eug(enía)*. Yo probaré mi inocencia! (á Sof[ía]) Tú sola puedes temer . . .
- Alej(andro)*. Prueba tu inocencia . . . las cartas de Sofía . . . (saca precipitadamente del bolsillo un paquete de cartas y las da a Eugenia) Tómalas. (Eugenia las toma)
- Sof(ía)*. Estoy perdida!
- Eug(enía)*. Yo soy inocente . . . yo lo probaré . . . (con exaltación)
- Alej(andro)*. Ya están ahí. se siente ruido de puertas y pasos
- Sof(ía)*. (a Eugenia con desesperación) ¡Eugenia: es mi hijo!
- Eug(enía)*. (con una repentina transición) Su hijo!

<sup>17</sup> *te envilecido* is an interesting case of spelling according to sound.

*Escena 15ª.**Dichos—Carlos*

*Cárlos.* (deteniéndose en la puerta mira á Eugenia con indignacion y espanto) Ah! tu . . . estas aqui . . . al fin te encuentro . . . (viendo a Sofía dice con extrañeza) Y Vd.? . . .

*Eug(enia).* Vino, vino á buscarme . . .

*Carlos.* Si . . . ya me prometió no perderte de vista hasta arrancarte á la deshonra.

(Eugenia cae desmayada en un sillón. Sofía y Carlos acuden á prestarle auxilio.)

*Alej(andro).* (Ni un momento mas aqui. Corro á palacio).

*Carlos.* (vuelve el rostro buscando á Alejandro que sale precipitadamente, y esclama con rabia) Y ese miserable! . . . Oh! ya no esta!

*Fin del acto tercero*

## ACTO CUARTO

*La decoracion del acto primero**Escena 1ª.*

*El Marqués* (se pasea muy agitado por la escena con un papel en la mano)

*Marq(ués).* Veremos lo que ese hombre pretende (lee) Dice que este asunto le interesa á él tanto como á mi . . . y añade que no se atreve á venir aqui sin mi licencia. ¡Que humilde está! Su language no indica que hoy mismo será ministro, si la crisis se resuelve como parece . . . Oh! Bien dije desde luego que ese hombre traeria á mi casa alguna desgracia . . . El suceso de anoche . . . Veremos como él explica . . . ¿He de creer lo que dice Cárlos? . . . No . . . imposible . . . aqui ha de haber ocurrido una equivocacion espantosa . . . (entra Alejandro) Aqui esta: oigámosle.

*Escena 2ª.**El Marqués—Alejandro*

*Alej(andro).* Señor marqués . . .

*Marq(ués).* Le aguardaba á Vd. con impaciencia. Yo le exijo á Vd. esplicaciones terminantes, sobre el suceso de anoche, antes de tomar la determinacion que mejor cuadre á mi decoro.

*Alej(andro).* Si: como hombre de honor me apresuro á prevenirle á Vd. para que no dé oídos á las malignas interpretaciones que aqui pudieran hacer sobre un incidente que en si no tiene gravedad alguna.

*Marq(ués).* Eso precisamente es lo que quiero saber.

*Alej(andro).* Todo ha sido una travesura de muy mal género ideada por su sobrino de Vd. y otros jóvenes amigos míos. Eugenia fué como otras veces á visitar á su amiga, creyendola enferma Con esta

visita coincidió la partida clandestina de Joaquin para el extranjero, por motivos que Vd. sabe Yo me encontraba allí por casualidad y ya me disponia á salir, anunciando á Sofia y Eugenia que la casa estaba sola, cuando entra Cárlos de improviso, increpa á Eugenia, suponiendo que la infeliz muchacha se encontraba allí por sugestion mia, y obedeciendo á móviles que no pueden caber en un recto caracter é intachable virtud.

*Marq(ués)*. Oh! no: mi hija es incapaz de semejante infamia Por fuerza ha habido aqui una intriga de Vd.

*Alej(andro)*. Yo esclareceré<sup>18</sup> todas las dudas y cada cual quedará en su lugar. Seguiré contando. El escandalo fué pues inevitable, porque detras de Cárlos y Jacinto acudieron á la casa otros amigos ¡de esos amigos que viven atentos a nuestros actos, esperando que les demos el placer de cometer alguna falta para gozarse en nuestra humillacion!

*Marq(ués)*. Y habrá corrido la voz?

*Alej(andro)*. Si señor: aquellos infames propalaron por todo Madrid lo ocurrido; y á estas horas, precisamente en los momentos en que estoy indicado para subir al poder, semejantes murmuraciones me hacen un daño horrible.

*Marq(ués)*. (indignado) Eso á mi no me importa. Lo que me importa es la reputacion de mi hija, señor mio. Es preciso que esto se aclare hoy mismo.

*Alej(andro)*. Nadie tiene mas interés en ello que yo. Lo de anoche me ha disgustado mucho. Eugenia es tan inocente, tan pura, tan honrada como los ángeles del cielo. Si alguna duda . . .

*Marq(ués)*. No . . . yo no dudo.

*Alej(andro)*. Es inocente y yo quisiera tener mil bocas para decirlo mil veces á todo el mundo en estos momentos terribles en que la atencion pública se fija en mi, y comentando este suceso, me observa, me examina, me analiza, me desmenuza, y está abrumándome con sus tremendos juicios.

*Marq(ués)*. Comprendo caballero: veo que Vd. no se cuidaria de probar la inocencia de mi hija, si no le impulsara á ello su inmenso egoísmo. Oh! esto no tiene nombre.

*Alej(andro)*. Cállese Vd. por favor. Es que Vd. olvida que soy hombre político; que me debo á mi pais; que debo cuidar mi reputacion, como un tesoro que no es enteramente mio, sino . . .

*Marq(ués)*. Sino del país.

*Alej(andro)*. Justo. Yo he llegado tras largas fatigas al objeto de mi deseo. Mi legítima ambicion está en parte satisfecha. Ahora solo deseo hacer el bien: todo lo que trascienda á deshonra, á bajeza, á error me repugna, me indigna, me horroriza. Yo he hablado mucho en programas y discursos de la moralidad en la vida privada. Por esto me repugnaria entrar en el poder, dejando tras mi una reputacion

<sup>18</sup> The confusion of "x" and "s" in the prefix *ex* was common in the period of this play.

manchada. Lo diré claro: en estos momentos solemnes, no quiero que mi nombre se asocie á ningun escándalo. Quiero ser bueno y parecerlo. Quiero, cuando el poder viene á mis manos, tener la fuerza moral que da una honrosa fama en la vida doméstica

*Marq(ués)*. Y Vd. no teme la deshonor de mi hija, sino la propia!

*Alej(andro)*. La de los dos. La calumnia se ceba en mi. Lo de anoche es el madero en que me estan crucificando. Precisamente yo pronuncié hace días aquel discurso que hizo tanto ruido, y del cual repartimos medio millon de ejemplares.

*Mar(qués)*. Si: sobre la vida privada de . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Pues ahora mis propios argumentos caen sobre mi como una avalancha. Ya un diario de la mañana hace una ingeniosa parafrasis de mi discurso, explicando la moraleja á su autor, que es hoy objeto de la general envidia.

*Ma(rqués)*. (escandalizado) Y publican este suceso! Y el nombre de mi inocente hija, anda de boca en boca sirviendo de comidilla á la corrompida juventud. Esto es horroroso! Por que ha venido Vd á esta casa; porque entablamos una amistad que habia de serme tan funesta?

*Alej(andro)*. No hay culpa de mi parte. Yo lo deploro mas que Vd. En el momento en que mi orgullo parecia estar satisfecho, me anonada, me destroza la acusacion de que soy objeto.

*Marq(ués)*. Cual?

*Alej(andro)*. Que he seducido á una hija de familia, á una de las jovenes mas discretas, mas bellas, mas estimadas de Madrid.

*Marq(ués)*. (con furia) Eso dicen! Y Vd. no arranca la lengua á los miserables?

*Alej(andro)*. Yo trato de disipar las sospechas, de aclarar la verdad.

*Marq(ués)*. Pero Vd. lo hace por su propio interes, Vd. lo hace por si mismo . . . Demonio: ya me sulfura no oírle decir á Vd. mas que *yo, yo y siempre yo*.

*Alej(andro)*. Lo hago tambien por ella.

*Marq(ués)*. Diremos á todo el mundo que es inocente. Nos creeran . . . pues no han de creernos?

*Alej(andro)*. Oh! la torpe y vil difamacion rectifica dificilmente. Es muy difícil arrancar de las garras de esa terrible fiera lo que una vez ha caído en ellas.

*Mar(qués)*. Se convencerán. Todos los que me conocen . . .

*Alej(andro)*. El peso de un grano de arena basta á hun(dir) una buena reputacion, y todas las fuerzas del mundo no son suficientes á levantarla.

*Marq(ués)*. Pero habrá un medio de probarlo de un modo terminante, irrecusable.

*Alej(andro)*. Eso es lo que quiero. Pero es preciso que su hija de Vd. se determine á hablar.

*Marq(ués)*. A hablar que?

*Alej(andro)*. Quizas ella conserve alguna prueba material de su inocencia.

*Marq(ués)*. Entonces que ha pasado ahí?

- Alej(andro)*. Yo exijo a Vd. que interrogue solemnemente a su hija; que la interrogue delante de Sofia; que pida á esta su cooperacion para el esclarecimiento<sup>19</sup> de este hecho.
- Marq(ués)*. Sofia? Segun me dijo Carlos, ella tenia no sé que antecedentes.
- Alej(andro)*. Puede ser muy bien que ella pueda sacarnos de apuros. Eso. Vd. que tiene verdadero ascendiente sobre las dos . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Bien: yo les hablaré.
- Alej(andro)*. Cuente Vd. á Eugenia lo que se dice por ahi. Rueguele que sea franca . . .
- Marq(ués)*. No entiendo una palabra. De todos modos caballero, yo me reservo exigir de Vd. la reparacion que convenga, en caso de que aclarado el asunto, resulte distinto de como Vd. lo pinta.
- Alej(andro)*. (se levanta) Me ofrezco á obedecer á Vd. en todo lo q(ue) contribuya al esclarecimiento<sup>19</sup> de la verdad.
- Marq(ués)*. Y le exijo á Vd. que vuelva hoy mismo.
- Alej(andro)*. Si: ahora quiero dejarle á Vd. en libertad para hacer averiguaciones dentro de su propia casa.
- Marq(ués)*. Hasta luego.
- Alej(andro)*. Adios.

*Escena 3ª.*

*el Marques, Carlos, Sofia*

- Carlos*. (viendo salir a Alej[andro]) Ese hombre aqui! Vd. consiente! . . .
- Marq(ués)*. Calma, calma . . . Estoy loco . . . (aturdido) Dejad que ponga en orden mis ideas. Ese hombre ha dicho . . .
- Sof(ía)*. (con ansiedad) Que?
- Marq(ués)*. Que escándalo . . . lo de anoche . . . los periódicos hablan del caso, y mi pobre hija . . . (a Sof[ía]) Pero tu, tu, que estabas alli . . . cuenta . . . dime . . . tu fuiste tambien.
- Cárlos*. Al saber que Eugenia habia accedido á la cita, fué allá con objeto de evitar . . .
- Sofía*. Calla tu.
- Carlos*. Ayer mañana, al oir que yo insistia en mis sospechas, Vd. me dijo: "Descuida Carlos, yo estoy sobre aviso, y si se ven secretamente en alguna parte, yo me apresuraré á librar á Eugenia de un compromiso.
- Sof(ía)*. Si: lo dije.
- Marq(ués)*. Luego tu sospechabas tambien!
- Sof(ía)*. Si . . . pero . . . yo tambien estoy loca. No me confundais mas.
- Marq(ués)*. De modo que esas entrevistas . . . y yo las oia contar tan tranquilo! (a Sofia) Conque tu lo sabias tambien . . . Sofia por Dios, dime la verdad aunque sea terrible. Dimelo: es verdad que tu sabias todo, y fuiste alla con objeto de salvar á mi hija de la deshonra? . . . Oh! no puede ser . . . sin duda te has equivocado. Eugenia no es capaz de semejante envilecimiento.

<sup>19</sup> See note 18.

- Sof(ía).* Eugenia es inocente.  
*Marq(ués).* Entonces á que fuiste tu allá . . . Oh! esto es para volverse loco. Ese hombre me dijo que entre las dos podrias esclarecer el hecho. (llama) Eugenia, Eugenia!  
*Sof(ía).* (ap[artel]) (Mi cobardia es un crimen; pero me es imposible dominarla.)

*Escena 4ª.**Dichos—Eugenia*

- Carlos.* Aqui está.  
*Marq(ués).* Vamos á ver, Eugenia yo no me atrevo á creer lo que dicen de ti, pero ten franqueza . . . En esto no habrá falta grave; pero puede haber ocurrido un extravio, una alucinacion momentánea. Di la verdad a tu padre, que te perdona, que te ha perdonado.  
*Eug(enia).* Yo . . . la verdad!  
*Marq(ués)* Tu amas á ese hombre?  
*Eug(enia).* Le detesto.  
*Marq(ués).* Desde cuando le aborreces?  
*Eug(enia).* Desde anoche  
*Marq(ués).* Oh! que pasó? que ha sido? yo quiero saberlo.  
*Eug(enia).* No . . . desde antes comprendí la bajeza de su corazon.  
*Marq(ués).* (a Sof[ía]) Pero entonces . . . tu no sospechabas? Tu no fuiste á deshacer las intrigas de ese hombre? no fuiste á velar por la honra de mi hija . . . Esas entrevistas de que se ha hablado tanto . . . Di . . . porque callas?  
*Cárlos.* Mi madre no la acusará jamas.  
*Marq(ués).* (á Sofía en tono de repension) Tu benignidad es inoportuna. La situacion es terrible y conviene hablar claro. Y tu que dices? (á Eugenia que calla) Tambien callas!  
*Sof(ía).* (¡Dios mio! que horrorosa situacion!)  
*Marq(ués).* Poco puedo sacar en claro por vosotras . . . Quiero oir lo que se dice . . . quiero oir á todo el mundo . . . No puedo continuar en esta cruel incertidumbre. (vase precipitadamente por el fondo)

*Escena 5ª.**Carlos, Sofía, Eugenia*

- Carlos.* Mi tio se afana inutilmente; yo sé lo que conviene hacer en estos casos.  
*Sof(ía).* (á Eugenia) Quiero hablar á Carlos . . . Dejanos solas.<sup>20</sup> Y las cartas?  
*Eug(enia).* (id)<sup>21</sup> Las quemé todas al llegar aqui.  
*Sof(ía).* (id)<sup>21</sup> (Bien . . . Espero tener valor para echar sobre mi la culpa que me corresponde . . . no me juzgues mal . . . vete . . .)

<sup>20</sup> Should read *solos*.<sup>21</sup> The abbreviation is used rather awkwardly.

## Escena 6ª.

Sofía, Carlos

Sof(ía). Carlos: eres un insensato.

Carlos. Lo dice Vd. que sabe lo que ha pasado; que no ignora la ciega idolatría con que amaba á Eugenia . . . Cuando la he visto ultrajada y envilecida por ese hombre abominable, extraña Vd. que desee matarle, que le persiga como se persigue á un perro rabioso!

Sof(ía). Aquí ha habido un grande error que es preciso desvanecer Eugenia es inocente; cree lo que yo te digo. Es inocente: te lo repito y te lo repetiré mil veces.

Carlos. Aunque Vd. me lo diga no lo puedo creer. Lo que vi anoche que ha sido sino una confirmacion de lo que yo sospechaba, fundandome en indicios seguros? Es evidente que el tenia amores con una muger desconocida . . . es evidente que esa muger iba á su casa. Yo mismo la vi: . . . él, por desorientar á los que le acechaban, y deseando al mismo tiempo no comprometerla, traslado la escena de su vergonzoso libertinage á la casa de Dn. Joaquin; pero con tan poca fortuna, que Vd. y yo casi al mismo tiempo pudimos burlar sus planes inicuos, descubriendolo todo.

Sof(ía). Ciertó es, segun dicen que tenia amores con otra muger, cierto que esa muger le visitó alguna noche; cierto que tuvo la desgracia de ser vista . . . segun dicen . . . pero esa muger no era Eugenia.

Carlos. Yo no me convenceré sino con pruebas irrecusables. Para probarme que no es Eugenia la culpable, es preciso que Vd. me diga quien es.

Sof(ía). Tal vez puedo decírtelo.

Carlos. Que?

Sof(ía). (arrepintandose con espanto) No . . . no, no . . . yo que puedo saber?

Carlos. Entonces . . . Vd. lo sabe?

Sof(ía). Sospechaba . . . Pero Eugenia es inocente . . . Creelo, hijo mio. Yo te lo juro!

Carlos. Oh! si yo llegara á adquirir la certidumbre de que Eugenia no ha cometido la falta q(u)e que<sup>22</sup> atribuyo, seria el mas feliz de los hombres, aunque ella jamas fuera mia. La gran idolatría que siento por ella me hacia considerarla como la mas pura, la mas noble, la mas digna muger de la tierra. Mi desengaño ha sido terrible: yo creo que he de volverme malo tambien, y ser el mas indigno de los hombres, solo con la influencia de esta gran pesadumbre . . . Daria la vida por la creencia de que Eugenia es honrada, y si Vd. . . . llegara á convencerme de ello . . . la querria á Vd. mucho, muchísimo mas de lo que la quiero.

Sof(ía). (besandole conmovida) Hijo mio!

<sup>22</sup> Should read *le*.

- Carlos.* Aquí hay algun misterio.  
*Sof(ía).* Si . . . si: yo te explicaré.  
*Carlos.* Me parece que Vd. sabe algo.  
*Sof(ía).* (con terror) No . . . yo no sé nada . . . (vacilando) Espera . . . sí . . . dejame pensar. Pues te diré . . . ese hombre . . .  
*Carlos.* Es un miserable.  
*Sofía.* (con mucha energia) Si: un miserable (como resolviéndose a contar) Pues bien . . .  
*Carlos.* Siga Vd.  
*Sof(ía).* (con la mayor confusion) Si no tengo nada que decir . . .  
*Carlos.* Vd. sostiene que Eugenia es inocente.  
*Sof(ía).* Eso si.  
*Carlos.* Y que yo me habia equivocado.  
*Sof(ía).* Tambien  
*Carlos.* Y que Alejandro tiene ó tenia amores con una muger que no es mi prima.  
*Sof(ía).* Si: justo.  
*Carlos.* Pues siga Vd. contando.  
*Sof(ía).* Si . . . te diré (luchando angustiadamente) Ese hombre . . . Eugenia antes . . . pues . . . No . . . no puedo decirte mas . . . (ap[arte] con dolor) (A todo el mundo menos á él!)  
*Carlos.* Vd. no sabe nada y quiere disculparla. Yo he tomado mi resolucion y no vacilaré. (vase por la d[erech]a)

## Escena 7ª.

*Sofía, el Marques, despues Jacinto*

- Sof(ía).* (sofocada) Eso no puede seguir así . . . Me morire de pena, si no descubro la verdad . . . No tengo perdon de Dios; merezco el desprecio de las gentes y un remordimiento eterno, si no saco á Eugenia de la terrible situacion en que se puso por mi.  
*Marq(ués).* (entra por el fondo con mucha inquietud) Es horrible. Todos mis amigos lo saben; todos hablan de lo mismo . . . (con ira) Las frases compasivas que me han dirigido, me han desgarrado el corazon.  
*Sof(ía).* Juan: yo quiero convencerte. yo . . .  
*Marq(ués).* Nada me digas si has de aumentar mi confusion con tus vagos conceptos . . . Estoy aturdido . . . mi espiritu necesita reposo  
*Sof(ía).* Quizas yo pueda . . .  
*Marq(ués).* (con mal humor) No quiero oír nada, quiero estar solo. Entre todos me voy a trastornar el juicio. (vase por la izq[uierta])  
*Jacinto.* (entra y se dirige a Sof[ía]) Señora: yo quisiera explicarme con Vds. Por ahí se me acusa de haber, y . . . francamente, yo . . .  
*Sof(ía).* (sin hacerle caso, dice ap[arte]) Me avergüenzo de mi cobardia. Valor: se lo confesaré todo. (vase por la izq[uierta])



## Escena 8ª.

*Jacinto, Alejandro*

- Jacinto.* Pues me gusta. Se marcha sin contestarme una palabra.
- Alej(andro).* (entra p[or] el fondo) Estas aqui, bribon, Como te atreves á venir á esta casa?
- Jac(into)* Pues que? he tenido yo la culpa? Supongo que ya no te casaras con Eugenia. Es lo natural. Aquello habia de parar necesariamente en esto.
- Alej(andro).* Calla; persistes en creer como ese demente de Carlos que Eugenia . . .
- Jac(into).* Y lo negarás todavía? Vamos: acá entre los dos . . .
- Alej(andro)* Eugenia es la virtud en persona Yo haré que salga ilesa su reputacion de la miserable intriga urdida por ti, y otros juvenes tan corrompidos y tan holgazanes como tu.
- Jac(into).* (dominando su ira) A veces es preciso disculpar los insultos del amigo
- Alej(andro).* Yo no te insulto, te desprecio.
- Jac(into).* El orgullo, la ceguedad que te domina, te impide hasta la gratitud con los que han formado tu reputacion. Tu, con tus humos de hombre intachable . . .
- Alej(andro).* Yo no soy intachable, no yo podré cometer grandes faltas; pero no tengo como tu por único movil la baja pasion de la envidia
- Jac(into)* Convendremos en que eres un modelo de todas las sublimidades Si señor: eres la abnegacion misma y el pudor en persona Son unos tontos los que dicen que sedujiste á Eugenia . . .
- Alej(andro).* (amenazando con rabia) Si lo vuelves á repetir . . .
- Jac(into).* Son unos menguados los que dicen que el movil de tu amor fué la gran fortuna de esa muchacha . . . Bonitos antecedentes para subir al poder . . . Te has lucido . . .
- Alej(andro).* Tu todo lo mides por el nivel de tu bajo espiritu.
- Jac(into)* Si: convengo. Yo soy un miserable, un corrompido, un holgazan, un envidioso. Tu en cambio . . .
- Alej(andro).* Todo me lo debes . . y ultimamente para confundirte mas, y pagar con beneficios tu infame conducta, hasta te concedo el pingue destino q(ue) pretendias.
- Jac(into).* Será broma tuya No espero de ti sino venganza.
- Alej(andro).* Yo me vengo de ese modo.
- Jac(into).* Será posible?
- Alej(andro).* Si: el primer nombramiento que ha de firmar el nuevo ministerio será el tuyo.
- Jac(into)* De veras que me confundes . . . Fuertes razones habras tenido para eso . . . Sin duda el recuerdo de nuestra antigua amistad . . . Te diré . . . yo siempre te he defendido, me he interesado por tu reputacion . . .
- Alej(andro).* Si . . . eres buena pieza.

*Jac(into)*. Con que es cierto que ese destino . . . Chico: sabes que ahora se me presenta ocasion de hacerte un gran servicio?

*Alej(andro)*. A mi?

*Jac(into)*. Si . . . Carlos me ha llamado para tratar de ese desafio . . . Es un disparate! y en dia de crisis. Pero yo procuraré que todo concluya honrosamente. Luego dirás que no me intereso por ti . . .

*Escena 9ª.*

*Dichos—el Marques*

*Marq(ués)*. (a Alej[andro]) Ha venido Vd. á tiempo. Tenemos que hablar. Sr D. Jacinto. tendra Vd. la bondad de dejarnos solos?

*Jac(into)*. Con mucho gusto Precisamente tenia que ver á Carlos. No molesto á Vds (vase)

*Escena 10ª*

*el Marques, Alejandro*

*Marq(ués)*. Caballero Sofia me lo ha revelado todo.

*Alej(andro)*. Que?

*Marq(ués)*. Sus amores, sus relaciones, la ingratitud de Vd. Su revelacion me convence de la inocencia de mi Eugenia.

*Alej(andro)*. Lo ve Vd.?

*Marq(ués)*. Pero el nombre de mi hija anda de boca en boca; y el medio de devolverle su honor es decir la verdad, la verdad pura.

*Alej(andro)*. Eso precisamente es lo que yo queria; pero esta es cuestion delicada, y quise esperar á que la resolvieran ellas entre si.

*Marq(ués)*. La resolveremos nosotros, diciendo lo que ha pasado. El honor de Sofia me interesa mucho; pero sobre todas las consideraciones está el de mi hija. Publicaré todo, publicaré sus antiguas relaciones, diré que era ella la muger que le visitaba . . .

*Alej(andro)*. Oh! no . . . señor marqués.

*Marq(ués)*. Si ella me lo ha confesado.

*Alej(andro)*. Sofia fué una noche á mi casa para pedirme unas cartas que no pude devolverle entonces Oyendo despues que se hablaba de una dama encubierta, se dió por aludida, y en la turbacion de su conciencia, creyó que las inicuas observaciones de mis amigos se referian á ella.

*Marq(ués)*. Luego . . .

*Alej(andro)*. La muger á quien esos vieron entrar repetidas veces en mi casa debió ser otra, cierta joven casada . . .

*Marq(ués)*. Quien? Es que me importa saberlo.

*Alej(andro)*. Para que? Es una muchacha de facil honestidad, á quien ni siquiera me he tomado el trabajo de conquistar, porque ella lo ha hecho todo.

*Marq(ués)*. La conozco?

- Alej(andro)*. Tal vez. Su amor no era desinteresado. Proponiase conseguir para su marido la intendencia de Filipinas, y he tenido que prometérsela. Para que quiere Vd. saber mas?
- Marq(ués)*. Me basta . . . Todo esto se hará conocer de nuestros amigos.
- Alej(andro)*. Bien me alegro de que este asunto tome tan buen giro. Publicaremos lo de Sofia, contaremos todo *ce* por *be*. Esto no me perjudica en el concepto publico, porque Sofia es libre. Hechos tales se ven todos los días, sin que ningún hombre de bien sea censurado por ellos
- Marq(ués)*. Al contrario. (con pena) La corrupcion presente es tal que Vd. escitará la general envidia, adquiriendo tal vez un nuevo título de fama en el concepto de ciertas gentes.
- Alej(andro)*. Yo no me vanaglorio de esta clase de hazañas; pero del mal el menos. Vd. quedará convencido y Eugenia en el lugar que le corresponde . . . Oh! la suposicion de que yo la habia seducido me hacia un daño terrible.
- Marq(ués)*. Y entanto, esa infeliz muger avergonzada para siempre. Vd. no se conoce, Vd. no ve toda la fealdad de su conducta. Se disculpa todo menos esa horrorosa ingratitud. A ella debe Vd. la vida, la salud, todo!
- Alej(andro)*. Es verdad; pero despues las circunstancias me indicaron otro camino, y fué forzoso seguirlo.
- Marq(ués)*. Vd. no conocerá la fealdad de su conducta, hasta que la fortuna se canse de protegerle. Aquí se anda pronto el camino; Vd. caerá; Vd. se verá abandonado por sus propios amigos; será Vd. victima á su vez de la mas negra ingratitud, le perseguirán; será expulsado de la patria, y entonces . . . tal vez se encuentre en situacion igualmente triste; y enfermo, abandonado, miserable, pedirá un asilo, un pedazo de pan, una asistencia consoladora; pero hay en el cielo un Dios justiciero, y ninguna puerta se abrirá para Vd.
- Alej(andro)*. Amigo mio: le aseguro á Vd. que no deja de hacerme algun efecto ese sentimentalismo; pero ahora . . . ahora no tengo cabeza para pensar en eso, ni corazon para sentirlo.
- Marq(ués)*. Considere Vd. bien la situacion. Vd. y yo, porque estamos interesados en ella, vamos á salir por ahi publicando la deshonor de esa pobre muger. Haga Vd. cuenta de que cada uno lleva un puñal en la mano para matarla. Y cuando tal hacemos, ha de quedar esa infeliz entregada á la desesperacion? Es esto justo? Esto no clama al cielo? Habrá perdon para Vd. si tal cosa consiente?
- Alej(andro)*. Es verdad; pero yo . . . yo estoy pronto siempre á hacer lo que la sociedad me exige: estoy pronto á cumplir sus extravagantes leyes para tenerla siempre contenta, para que no me martirize<sup>23</sup> disparando sobre mi las terribles armas de la difamacion y la calumnia . . . Pero en este asunto considere Vd. que la sociedad no me exige nada.

<sup>23</sup> *Martirice*.

*Marq(ués)*. (exaltandose por grados) Pero lo que no exige una sociedad frívola, lo exige la conciencia, lo exige Dios. Por ventura ya no hay mas ley que el egoismo. Oh! ya veo que Vd. tan aficionado á hablar de moralidad, entiende por esto el artificio de guardar las apariencias, haciendo siempre lo que reclama el propio interés. Vd. es incapaz de toda accion verdaderamente grande y generosa, y si alguna vez hace el bien, no será porque el bien es un deber, y una religion, sino porque del bien le ha de resultar algun provecho . . . Dejeme Vd. solo. Publicare la deshonra de Sofia, la publicaré yo mismo que soy su hermano. No necesito de Vd. ni aun para cumplir este penoso deber.

*Alej(andro)*. No puedo consentir que Vd. me tenga por un malvado.

*Marq(ués)*. Pruebeme Vd. que no lo es.

*Alej(andro)*. Me exige Vd. una prueba terrible. El matrimonio es asunto demasiado serio para tratado asi. Si se tratara de Eugenia, que es hija de familia, no hubiera vacilado un momento. La deshonra, causada por mi, habria sido un oprobio indeleble en mi historia publica y privada . . . Pero Sofia es libre . . .

*Alej(andro)*.<sup>24</sup> Conozco su falta. Si mi cuñada tuviera una gran fortuna.

*Marq(ués)*.<sup>24</sup> Que acusacion!

*Alej(andro)*.<sup>24</sup> Si . . . Vd. no da un paso en su vida sino movido por el espiritu de las conveniencias, superior á toda razon y a toda ley. Una vez desarrollada y satisfecha su ambicion, elevado sobre los demas, enloquecido por la lisonja, embriagado por los goces de la celebridad adquirida á fuerza de audacia, Vd. no conoce mas Dios que si mismo; se me representa como el prototipo de esa inquieta juventud, que nos asombra lo mismo por su talento que por su gran corrupcion, y que ciega, insensible, desenfrenada, se precipita tras un torpe ideal, ansiosa del poder, porque con el poder lo tiene todo.

*Alej(andro)*. No es eso no . . . Ademas Sofia no me ama.

*Marq(ués)*. Le amará á Vd. si vé que lo merece.

*Alej(andro)*. En esta cuestion.

*Marq(ués)*. Esto no tiene nombre! (con grande energia) Pues bien: ya no se lo ruego á Vd. sino que se lo exijo. Si señor, Sofia es mi hermana, y si Vd. no se casa con ella, le insultaré publicamente hoy mismo; no será mi sobrino quien le desafíe, seré yo mismo, y con un escandalo de esta clase no podrá Vd. ser ministro. Soy enemigo del duelo; pero en este caso, exponiéndome á dejar huérfana á mi hija, me batiré con Vd., no por el mero placer de matarle, ni menos porque me mate Vd. á mi, sino con el deseo de hundirle, de arrojarle al suelo en este dia solemne. Iré al Congreso; alli donde haya mas gente allí entraré yo, para arrojarle á Vd. á la cara todas las ignominias imaginables. No será Vd. ministro; no manchará esa honrada carterá, que simboliza la autoridad suprema.

*Alej(andro)*. Pero Sr. Marques . . .

<sup>24</sup> The speakers should be *Marqués*, *Alejandro* and *Marqués* respectively.

- Marq(ués)* Lo dicho: estoy decidido. Elija Vd.
- Alej(andro)* Esa violencia!
- Marq(ués)* Es justicia.
- Alej(andro)* El escándalo me mata.
- Marq(ués)* Es lo que deseo. Y en vano querra Vd evitarlo. No hav remedio . . . No será Vd. ministro
- Alej(andro)* Vd. me asesina
- Marq(ués)* Es lo que Vd merece Pienselo Vd . . .
- Alej(andro)* (vacilando) Bien . . . hablaremos . . .
- Marq(ués)* No hay hablaremos . . . Es preciso decidirse.
- Alej(andro)* Pues . . . aguarde Vd. . . . (apurado) Lo pensaré.
- Marq(ués)* No hay que pensar mas.
- Alej(andro)* Pues bien: nos arreglaremos . . . tal vez . . .
- Marq(ués)* Hará Vd. lo que digo . . .
- Alej(andro)* Bien . . . pero renunciará Vd. á ese endiablado proyecto . . . Estoy á la orden de Vd.
- Marq(ués)* Doy á Vd. un cuarto de hora para contestar definitivamente.
- Alej(andro)* Bien volveré . . . (Será preciso ceder . . .)
- Marq(ués)* Le espero á Vd. aqui? Va á palacio?
- Alej(andro)* Ahora mismo.
- Marq(ués)* Pues aqui espero
- Alej(andro)* Volveré . . . (rapidamente) Creo que . . . quedaremos conformes . . . Es preciso ceder . . .
- Marq(ués)* Hasta luego . . . (vase Alej[andro])

## Escena 11\*.

Marques—Sofia, Eugenia

- Marq(ués)* (a Sof[ía] que entra por la izq[ui]erda) Descuida: espero arreglarlo todo
- Sof(ía)* Estoy decidida á partir.
- Eug(enia)* (entra por la d[ere]cha con mucha agitacion) Carlos, al ver entrar aqui á ese hombre por segunda vez, está poseido de un furor insensato . . . Recorre la casa como un loco . . . dando voces, y jurando que le ha de matar . . . Agita en su mano una pistola, y . . .
- Sof(ía)* ¡Que horror!
- Marq(ués)* (con inquietud) Es preciso contenerle. (llama) Carlos, Carlos Traele tu Sofia . . . Llévale á mi despacho. Allí hare un esfuerzo, y lo sabrá todo.

## Escena 12\*.

*Sofia, Eugenia, Carlos* (que entra revelando un gran desorden.  
Trae en la mano una pistola.)

- Sof(ía)* Hijo mio . . . oye ven . . .
- Carlos* (con furor) Ese hombre no entrará mas en esta casa!

- Sof(ía).* Escucha, Carlos . . . Tu tío quiere hablarte . . . Suelta esa arma terrible . . . Me da miedo . . . me parece que vas á matarme con ella . . . Dámela. (se la quita) (conmoviéndose) Ah! hijo: ya no te veré mas
- Carlos.* (con asombro) Como . . .
- Sof(ía).* Me voy . . . no volveré mas.
- Carlos.* Se va!
- Sof(ía).* Adios—adios . . . (á Eug[enia]) Y tu Eugenia . . . no olvides mi deseo . . . (ap[arte] á Eug[enia]) (Todo se sabe ya . . . no podia durar mas tiempo un engaño que era para ti una vergüenza y para mí un crimen )
- Cárlos.* (observando el llanto de su madre) Que es esto . . . ese llanto.
- Sof(ía).* (les abraza á entrambos muy conmovida) Adios, adios . . . (vase por el fondo)

*Escena 13ª.**Eugenia. Carlos—Jacinto*

- Cárlos.* (en la mayor confusion) Tu me diras que significa esto.
- Eug(enia).* Mi padre quiere hablarte.
- Carlos.* (con impaciencia) Corro al instante. (vase por la izq[ui]erda)
- Jac(into).* Me he encontrado á Alejandro en la puerta . . . parece loco . . . que ocurre? . . . parece que hay boda.
- Eug(enia).* Boda!
- Jac(into).* Si . . . Parecia trastornado . . . Quise que explicara la causa de su turbacion; pero no decia mas que “Me casaré, me casaré” . . . “tendre que casarme” . . . y de aqui no le pude sacar . . . Ya me lo figuraba yo . . . La felicito á Vd.
- Eug(enia)* A mí!
- Jac(into).* Oh! Alejandro vale mucho . . . Y aunque parece así . . . un poco . . . pues . . . Su fondo es bueno . . . Y muy amigo de sus amigos—muy leal, de costumbres arregladisimas, incapaz de ofender á nadie . . . de su talento no hablemos: en fin un hombre modelo. Hemos sido camaradas toda la vida, así no extrañe Vd que tenga por él verdadero fanatismo Cuando empiezo á elogiarle, no sé acabar nunca . . . Conque se casan Vds. al fin? . . . Ya él es ministro: acaba de jurar. .

*Escena 14ª.**Dichos—El Marqués, Cárlos*

- Eugenia.* (Lo sabe ya )
- Carlos.* (sale muy demudado) No . . . no puede ser—Esta es una indigna farsa . . . Mi madre!
- Marq(ués).* Ha llegado el momento de perdonar. (a Eugenia) Hija mia: Para devolverte tu honor ha sido preciso el sacrificio de una noble víctima. (á Carlos) Hijo mio. la vida suele curar las dudas mortales

con amargas certidumbres. Triste es el espectáculo que ofrece la debilidad humana espiando con terribles dolores la falta de un día; pero la inocencia calumniada es mas digna de lástima. Todo esta puesto en claro: la prueba ha sido horrorosa para ti, para mí, para todos; pero mi crueldad y tu doloroso convencimiento realizan una grande accion, el triunfo de la verdad, hija de Dios . . .

*Carlos.* (abrazando a Eugenia) Oh! Eugenia!

*Marq(ués).* (a Jacinto) Señor mio. Vd. es de los que mayor parte tienen en este embrollo. Sepa Vd. que mi hija es inocente; sepa Vd. que Alejandro se casara con Sofia á quien ama desde hace tiempo . . .

*Jacinto.* Ah! Luego . . .

*Marq(ués).* Pero ni mi hija, ni mi cuñada deben confundirse con la muger de cuyas visitas nocturnas sacó Vd tanto partido.

*Jac(into).* Y cree Vd. que yo podia sospechar que fueran ellas? ¡que disparate! Ya indique que aquella dama misteriosa debia ser alguna muger-zuela . . .

*Marq(ués).* Como que ella fué quien le conquistó á él, solo con objeto de conseguir para su marido la intendencia de Filipinas.

*Jac(in)to.* (con el mayor asombro) La intendencia de Filipinas! lanzando una fuerte exclamacion de terror) Mi muger!! . . . Tomaré una venganza terrible! (sale precipitadamente)

#### *Escena última*

#### *Dichos—Alejandro*

*El Marques.* Sofia me ha dejado esta carta (lee una que trajo en la mano) Se va . . . se separa de nosotros . . . Insiste en que se cumpla su deseo . . . ya sabeis . . .

*Carlos.* (a Eugenia) Tu tienes un corazon noble y recto y no puedes dejar de amarme (Alejandro se presenta en la puerta del fondo)

*Marq(ués).* Ah! ya esta Vd. aquí. Tambien la esquila dice algo para Vd.

*Alej(andro).* (entrando) Estoy pronto á ceder á la justa exigencia de Vd.

*Marq(ués).* (pasando la vista por la carta) Dice que ya ha espiado su falta . . . que cuando espiara Vd. la suya

*Alej(andro).* Y no accede . . . ?

*Marq(ués).* Dice que prefiere la deshonra á ser esposa de un hombre como Vd.

*Alej(andro).* (con interes) Ah! yo quiero verla . . . ha partido . . . ?

*Marq(ués).* (leyendo) Dice algo mas . . . Dice que puede Vd. verla, cuando vuelva á la emigracion.

*Fin de la comedia.*

It would be idle to discuss seriously the artistic merit of *Un joven de provecho*; it has all the rough edges and loose ends of the product of a novice. Yet, those unfamiliar with Galdós' presumably inevitable difficulties with the drama will be impressed precisely by the clear insight into dramatic technique of a highly stereotyped variety which he reveals in this instance. It all demonstrates that the nights which as a student Galdós spent at "estrenos" instead of at his desk afforded him vicarious experience in the exacting art of dramaturgy. In *Un joven de provecho* he practices all the traditional tricks of the trade with such telling effect that the comedy might well have been written by an accomplished playwright who regards as the essence of dramatic art devices like timely entrances and exits, coincident meetings and contemporaneous events, eavesdropping, misdirected letters, soliloquies, melodramatic emphasis, epigrammatic wisdom, ornate metaphors, etc. The plot is constructed with mechanical precision and moves smoothly and resolutely toward an effective ending, although the sophisticated spectator would not fail to see through the plot the perfectly functioning mechanism which propels it. It is curious indeed to find that Galdós the novice handles adroitly the very conventional patterns of dramatic art which years later he ventured to defy and, if possible, to banish from the Spanish stage. This is a detail of capital importance for those critics who maintain—and they are almost all those who have discussed Galdós' dramas—that Galdós' failure as dramatist is ascribable to a natural lack of ability accentuated by long years of practice as novelist and not to the desire to be an innovator. It cannot be that what Galdós was able to do well in the sixties he could not have done equally well in the nineties if he had wished to. *Un joven de provecho* is the handiwork of an intelligent dramatic technician, precisely the type of dramatist that Galdós did not choose to become when he seriously turned to the drama in 1892.

With respect to content, one misses in this comedy the basic qualities invariably associated with Galdós' art: his creative power, his humanness, his genial humor, his vivid and convincing realism, and, in a sense, even his personal and colorful language. The characters are for the most part animated pawns moved about quite deftly by the author in a set of stock and intricately interrelated situations. One feels that the persons of this comedy are either accurate reproductions of the stereotyped figures which Galdós had observed on the stage or figures purposefully conceived by him for the performance of stock tasks which dramatists are wont to assign to their characters. The sensitive father saved from dishonor by a financially independent daughter; the ruined industrialist who seeks an alliance with politics to rescue his interests; the romantic and love-starved widow who showers generosity and ultimately love



upon the first man in need of the hand of a woman to lift him out of despair; the ardent and impassioned youth of twenty who turns into a veritable symbol of Calderonian honor the very moment his mother, for reasons of state, chooses for him a keeper of his sacred honor—a virtuous young lady no older than himself, these and other familiar types carry out to perfection the dramatist's orders but fail to impress the reader with their realness. The hero of the play deserves to be featured independently, for in his delineation Galdós accomplished something noteworthy if not interesting. Alejandro is a villain in the full sense of the term, perhaps the only villain in all Galdós' works, and the author treats him with manifest disapproval and contempt. Every appearance of Alejandro seems to be a signal for his interlocutors to combine against him and to defeat him, and they fight him with crude weapons, striking where it hurts the most. The scenes in which Alejandro appears seem to be so many traps skilfully set for him by the author. One might perhaps explain the lack of Galdós' essential kindness in this instance as a case of youthful idealism out of patience with human behavior which does not spring from a pure and clear conscience. Alejandro is selfishly ambitious, scheming, unscrupulous, ungrateful, insincere, untrustworthy, and incapable of pure love, and Galdós the idealist rises in indignation to crush this foe of society. Only the earnestness of its moral tone stamps *Un joven de provecho* as a work of Galdós, to assign it further significance would perhaps amount to superimposing upon it qualities of which the author was wholly unaware. For all its shortcomings, however, the comedy remains a highly valuable document for the study of Galdós' dramatic career.

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## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### 1. THE THREE DAUGHTERS OF DEORMAN

IN earlier articles<sup>1</sup> I have argued that the *Ancren Riwe* was written originally for "Emma, Christina, and Gunhilda," to whom the abbot of Westminster gave the hermitage of Kilburn, with corrodies and other benefits, during the last years of the reign of Henry I. In a letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* (February 14, 1935) I mentioned that I would now identify the Kilburn recluses with the trio of whom we have record in a royal writ, as follows "Sciatis me concessisse deo et sancto Petro ac monachis Westm' illas terras quas tres filie Deormanni pro salute animarum suarum et sepulturis suis, et ut plenam haberent ejusdem ecclesie societatem, consilio et voluntate Ordgari fratris earum, in Lundon' eis dederunt."<sup>2</sup> The same sort of circumstantial evidence which led me to identify the three recluses of the *Riwe* with those enclosed at Kilburn now leads me to identify the latter with the trio of women mentioned in this writ of Henry I.

The identification of the Kilburn ladies with the three daughters of Deorman rests on the fact that two references would carry the recluses back to the period of the writ (though they were not enclosed till years later). In view of the extreme rarity of medieval trios of devout women, it seems most unlikely that there should have been two such, associated with a convent of men at the same moment. Dean Robinson has already conjectured that the fact that the Kilburn recluses were to commemorate especially Abbot Crispin (d. 1117) "may perhaps" indicate<sup>3</sup> that their foundation had been projected in Crispin's life-time. He is inclined to doubt the second retrospective reference attached to Kilburn: namely, the statement of Prior Flete that the first inmates of Kilburn Priory had been *domicellæ camerae* of "good Queen Maud." His doubts arose from the lapse of time between her death and the foundation, and the lack of provision of prayers for her soul.

Abbot Crispin was very learned and saintly, and linked to Queen Maud by the close relation of both to St Anselm. It would be very likely that pious girls in royal service at the palace might come under Abbot Gilbert's influence, during the last years of the queen's life, while she was living mainly at Westminster. She died in 1118. I believe that an effort was made to canonize "the good queen" (along with her uncle, the Confessor),<sup>4</sup> and it was probably in this connection that her devout maidens received very special favors from the abbot and convent. I now believe that Abbot Herbert's foundation of "canonesses" (as Flete

<sup>1</sup> *PMLA*, xxxiii, 474-546; xlv, 635-680. The research of which I now give a preliminary notice has been made possible by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies. I have profited by the facilities provided at Westminster Abbey by the Pilgraim Trust.

<sup>2</sup> Printed from Westminster Domesday, J. A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 147-148, also in B. M. Cotton MS Faustina A. iii, f. 77<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Op cit*, p. 34, *Church Quarterly Review* (1909), p. 353.

<sup>4</sup> See *PMLA*, xxxiii, 477 n. W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England* (Berlin), II (1931), to which I was directed by Professor Lunt, pp. 236, 250-251; Robinson, *Crispin*, p. 156, and *British Numismatic Journal*, (xii), 1916, pp. 53-54.

calls it) took place in 1127–28.<sup>4</sup> This was a time when to take devout women under their protection was a not uncommon act<sup>5</sup> for convents of men, the idea of the double monastery was in the air. But there have been special circumstances difficult to explain in the foundation of Kilburn, most of which I believe can now be accounted for.<sup>6</sup>

Who were the “three daughters of Deorman?” The answer to this question leads us to a most interesting genealogical study, but it should be said at once that the only absolutely certain fact which we have as to the pedigree of the trio of Westminster associates is that they were sisters of Ordgar, who was probably the head of their family at the time of their donation.

“Orgarus filius Deremanni” was one of the fifteen members of what Mr. J. H. Round called “that ancient and remarkable institution, the English Cnihtengild of London.”<sup>7</sup> This guild in 1125 became associates (in their turn) of a religious house (Holy Trinity, Aldgate, founded, under the influence of St. Anselm, by Queen Maud). The guild was said to be hereditary, and the fact that the brother of the three sisters belonged to it, might indicate that their family was of important Anglo-Saxon stock. Probably, therefore, Ordgar and his sisters (who owned land in London) were children of the Domesday tenant-in-chief, “Derman of London.” If so, Ordgar may have died before 1130, when the ultimate heir to Derman’s Islington property, “Tierri son of Derman,” seems to be in possession. Algar, son of Derman, prebendary of Islington at St. Paul’s, is dead by 1104, but Tierri is alive in 1137, and probably for some years later. He is dead by 1148. His heirs can be traced through a remarkable series of charters pointed out to me by Miss D. M. B. Ellis.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4a</sup> The foundation is generally dated 1134, but Westminster was in 1133 involved in a bitter quarrel with Gilbert the Universal, bishop of London (Holtzman, II, 241). It is unlikely that he would have later granted Westminster full power over this nunnery in his see (in any case a remarkable act, since the house was never Benedictine). See *PMLA*, XXXIII, 474, n., 489 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the late eleventh century Abbot Crispin’s mother retired with two companions to the abbey of Bec (see *PMLA*, XXXIII, 539, n.); in the mid-twelfth, in England, a countess of Oxford (who was by birth a Clare) retired to the house of canons at St. Osyth’s (J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* [London, 1892], p. 390). See also G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, I (Cambridge, 1923), 241.

<sup>6</sup> Letters of fraternity were often issued to great persons of no very real piety, but the present instance is likely to indicate a personal act. For women, rich enough to bestow sufficient land to buy Westminster fraternity, not to marry, probably in itself indicates piety. No such early case of lay private persons becoming associates of a monastery is cited in Prebendary Clark—Maxwell’s valuable articles in *Archaeologia*, LXXV, 19–60; LXXIX, 179–216. The Scottish royal family (the parents of Queen Maud), St. Margaret, her husband and children, were received into the fraternity of Durham (*ibid.*, LXXV, 27). I wish to thank Prebendary Maxwell for kind assistance.

<sup>7</sup> *The Commune of London* (London, 1899), p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, II, 71–72. In spite of all that has been written on this family this *inspeximus* has escaped notice. Cf., for Algar, W. Dugdale, *St Paul’s* (London, 1818), p. 256, Round, in *Domesday Commemoration, Domesday Studies*, ed. P. E. Dove (London, 1891), II, 558; on Derman and Tierri, *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.*, III,

It is probably significant of the position of this family in early London history that Tierri's daughter was the wife of William Blemund, who gave his name to Bloomsbury. We learn, from the charters discovered by Miss Ellis, that Tierri's wife was a *cognata* of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke. In other words, this Anglo-Saxon family, a century after the Conquest, had intermarried with the leading family of the Norman baronage. This fact makes more likely the identification, which has been suggested, of Derman of London with Derman, an important Anglo-Saxon thane of William the Conqueror (whose charter to "Deorman my man" is still preserved at the London Guildhall). And, if Derman of London had three daughters who were in the service of Queen Maud, an Anglo-Saxon princess, we would thus have another possible link of connection between the two Derman. Both the estates in question had been held by thanes of King Edward the Confessor (whose names might suggest a blood connection with "Derman" who inherited the properties, as I shall later show).

The relationship between Ordgar and Tierri is not proved, nor the identity of the two Derman. Other uncertainties enter this important family history (which is probably that of the first mayor of London). Nothing, therefore, is certain about the connections of the three daughters of Deorman except that they had a brother Ordgar. But it should be pointed out that Mr. Round would identify the thane, Derman, with a person lately dead in 1093-97,<sup>9</sup> and only on the supposition that daughters of his were infants at his death could, I believe, they have been the persons for whom the *Ancren Riwle* was written. As we have it, I believe that that work belongs to the period of the coming of the Cistercians and could not have been written before c. 1130. I believe that it was written for women who were mature, but not for women who were old.<sup>10</sup>

The conceivable possibility that the *Ancren Riwle* may have been written for the three daughters of Deorman presents a working hypothesis which from the historical side lights up so clearly the tradition of the treatise that it must be studied so long as any chance remains of its validity. Work which I have been

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153 ff.; Round, *V. C. H.*, Herts, I, 285-286, *Commune*, p. 106, *The King's Serjeants* (London, 1911), p. 13; W. Page, *London* (London, 1923), pp. 211, 253, etc. Mr. Page rejects the identification (*v. infra*) of the two Domesday "Derman" (taking, more positively than it was given, a suggestion of Mr. Round's).

<sup>9</sup> This person's brother probably lived till 1115 (Page, *op. cit.* p. 249, *LTLS*, Feb. 14, 1935, and *English Hist. Rev.*, 34, p. 369 n.). Cf. *V. C. H.*, Herts, *loc. cit.*; H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* (Oxford, 1913), No. 399, p. 101. I shall discuss later one or more contemporary more obscure persons named Derman.

<sup>10</sup> For my opinion as to the age of the anchoresses of the *Riwle* see *PMLA*, xxxiii, 477-478 (n.), and (by implication) *MLR*, xlix (April, 1934), 173, n. 1, where I suggest a date of "about 1140, or even possibly a few years later" (on the supposition that Kilburn was founded c. 1134). I now realise that *puella* in the foundation charter of Kilburn means merely *virgo*; see C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-List* (Oxford, 1935). I find no address to the sisters in the *Riwle* that certainly implies their youth at the moment. On the other hand, the tone is adapted to persons much younger than St. Aelred's recluse sister (see *PMLA*, xlv, 659). The range of possible age is probably that indicated by Latin *juvenis*; see my *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, *MLA. Monog.* III (1927), p. 539.

doing on the provenance of the extant manuscripts of the *Riwle* has brought out the extraordinary persistence of court connections with this English treatise. It may be said that all our extant clues as to who actually owned the existing copies bring us back to the court circles. It is therefore very interesting that Tierri, "the heir, perhaps the son, of Derman of London," as Mr. Round calls him, married a Clare. At about the time when our clues to the provenance of manuscripts of the *Ancien Riwe* begin, the countess of Clare owned the Cleopatra manuscript of the work, and Tierri's representative at that moment was closely linked to the court: she had married a Giffard, brother of the archbishop of York, of the bishop of Worcester (each, in turn, Lord Chancellor), of the abbesses of Shaftesbury and Wilton, the son of parents both in the royal service.<sup>11</sup> These facts naturally prove nothing for the possible connection with the *Riwle* of the putative sisters of Tierri, but they make it worth while to push the investigation of his family history to the uttermost. Herein would seem to lie the chance of final disproof of the theory of the origin of the *Ancien Riwe* at Kilburn; it would be a tremendous stroke of good fortune if the same investigation should, on the other hand, substantiate that hypothesis.

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<sup>11</sup> See *Charter Rolls, loc. cit.*, *Bishops and Reform*, M. Gibbs, and J. Lang. (Oxford, 1934), p. 192, *Register of Giffard*, Worcestershire Historical Society (1902), pp. xxiv ff.; *Register of Giffard*, Surtees Society, 109, xiv n. I shall show later other possible links, with the Clare connection, of the *Ancien Riwe* through the Merton copy and the "Dublin Rule."

## 2. THOMAS CHURCHYARD'S PENSION

NEITHER Mr. Gamzue (*PMLA*, XLIX, 1041-9) nor earlier writers on Churchyard seem to have noted that on July 19, 1597, the Queen granted the old poet a pension of 20d a day—or slightly more than 30£ a year—for life.<sup>1</sup> This was a respectable sum; certainly it was entirely commensurate with Churchyard's skill as a poet. It would have enabled Churchyard to live out his remaining six years in modest comfort; and there is no reason to suppose that the pension was not paid. Churchyard's annuity is of some interest, since it is recorded in an official document, and only the pension granted to Spenser enjoyed a similar distinction.

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<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1595-97* (London, 1869), iv, 466.

## 3. THEOPHRASTUS AND HALL: A CORRECTION

AN interesting illustration of one of the dangers incident to parallel passages is afforded by a paper of Professor Edward Chauncey Baldwin's, "The Relation of the English 'Character' to its Greek Prototype,"<sup>1</sup> in which, by error, the

<sup>1</sup> *PMLA*, XVIII (N.S. XI), 412-423.

words of Theophrastus are attributed to Hall and those of Hall attributed to Theophrastus. The lines should read:

## THEOPHRASTUS

*The Distrustful Man*

The Distrustful man is one who, having sent his slave to market, will send another to ascertain what price he gave. . . . He will ask his wife in bed if she has locked the wardrobe, and if the cupboard has been sealed, and the bolt put upon the halldoor; and, if the reply is "Yes," not the less will he forsake the blankets and run about shoeless to inspect all these matters, and barely thus find sleep.<sup>2</sup>

## HALL

*Of the Distrustful*

When he hath committed a message to his servant, he sends a second after him to listen how it is delivered. . . . After his first sleep, he starts up, and asks if the furthest gate were barr'd, and out of a fearful sweat calls up his servant, and bolts the door after him, and then studies whether it were better to lie still and believe, or rise and see.<sup>3</sup>

In Professor Baldwin's paper (p. 418) the last nine lines under HALL are from Theophrastus and the last eight under THEOPHRASTUS are from Hall.

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<sup>2</sup> R. C. Jebb, Tr., *The Characters of Theophrastus* (London, 1870), p. 145

<sup>3</sup> Fetherstone and Griffin Ed., *The Works of Joseph Hall* (London, 1617), p. 229.

#### 4. SPENSER OR ANTHONY MUNDAY?—A NOTE ON THE *AXIOCHUS*

FROM time to time during the past two hundred years there have been allusions to a certain translation of the *Axiochus* printed in 1592, possibly made by Edmund Spenser, but apparently not extant. The recent discovery of a copy of this lost work is the good fortune of Professor Padelford, well known as the principal editor of the Johns Hopkins Variorum edition of Spenser's works. It is now handsomely published in facsimile, with a brief introduction by the discoverer, under the title: "The Axiochus of Plato Translated by Edmund Spenser, edited by Frederick Morgan Padelford, University of Washington: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934."<sup>1</sup> The discovery was first announced at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in December, 1932.<sup>2</sup> The many months of delay in publication have been months of laborious research. The discoverer is confident, and he is not alone in his confidence, that we have here a genuine work of Edmund Spenser. But before receiving this work into the Spenserian canon, the basis of its claims should be examined.

First, as to what may be called the external authority as distinguished from the

<sup>1</sup> References are to this publication unless otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup> In an unpublished paper entitled "One of Spenser's Lost Works Comes to Light." See *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 1335.

internal evidence. The editor's introduction begins by citing the earliest known mention of the work, in the *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ*, 1744: "Dialogue concerning the Shortnesse and Uncertainty of this Life, by Plato, translated by Edw. Spenser 1592." Then in 1758 John Upton, in the preface to his edition of the *Faerie Queene*, speaks of a projected (but never published) "third Volume; which will contain his Pastorals, Sonnets, &c. together with his View of the State of Ireland, and a translation of a Socratic dialogue, entitled Axiochus or of Death; which is not taken notice of by any Editor of any part of his works." But even if by these words Upton meant to vouch for the genuineness of the work (which may be doubted), it should be noted that his reputation is not of the best. He is the putative author of a spurious "new canto" of the *Faerie Queene*.<sup>3</sup>

Next, in 1773, Steevens included in his edition of Shakespeare a list of "Ancient Translations from Classic Authors," in which he mentions "Axiochus, a Dialogue, attributed to Plato, by Edm. Spenser, 4to, 1592." This entry is so slipshod as to make it unlikely that he ever saw the book, and hence his mention of "Edm. Spenser" carries no weight. And in Herbert's edition of Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, 1785-90, in the list of books printed in Scotland is entered: "1592. Plato's Axiochus: on the shortness and uncertainty of life. Quarto." Whether Herbert actually saw the work or not, he makes no suggestion of Edmund Spenser being the translator.

The preface of Todd's edition of Spenser, 1805, is quoted in Padelford's introduction (p. 2): "I should have added to the present collection, the translation of Axiochus attributed to him, if my endeavours to obtain it had been attended with success." But Todd himself seems to have had little faith in the attribution of the work to Edmund Spenser. Elsewhere in his preface (p. clxxiii) he makes the rather obvious remark: "Some readers will wonder when it is asserted that Plato wrote no Dialogue of this name. . . . And if Edmund Spenser, the poet, be really the English translator, we cannot but be surprised that a scholar so accomplished should be misled in regard to the author of the original."<sup>4</sup>

The entry in Malone's Shakespeare of 1821 (II, 274) is muddled and signifies nothing: "a translation of Axiocha's Dialogues, attributed to Plato, by Spenser, . . . published in 1592."

According to the title-page of the work itself the translator is "Edw. Spenser." In the brief address "To the Reader" it is said that the dialogue "was translated out of Greeke, by that worthy Scholler and Poet, Maister Edward Spenser, whose studies haue & doe carry no mean commendation, because their deserts

<sup>3</sup> In H. J. Todd's edition of *The Works of Edmund Spenser* (1805), I, clxxxiii, in the list of "Imitations of Spenser," appears the following entry: "A [pretended] New Canto of Spenser's Fairy Queen. Now first published. 4to. Lond. 1747. Mr. Upton is stated to be the author, in Lockyer Davis's Catalogue, 1783, p. 242. I think it very probable. . . . The Notes also bespeak the hand of Upton."

<sup>4</sup> In this connection it may be noted that Padelford labors under some confusion in saying (p. 16) that in the sixteenth century "by most scholars it [the *Axiochus*] was attributed to Plato, although its authenticity was already being questioned." The fact is that the spuriousness of this dialogue has always been unquestioned.

are of so great esteeme." It is true enough, as Professor Padelford points out (p. 9), that the fact that the name was printed as "Edw." or "Edward" Spenser "is not surprising, in view of the fact that Spenser's full name had not appeared in any of his works published prior to 1592." But Burbie's ignorance of Spenser's exact name is equally a fact whether or not the work itself is genuine, and throws no light on the very point at issue. It should also be remembered that from 1590 to the end of Spenser's life Ponsonbie was his one and only publisher. Genuine or not, this publication was pirated by one who was eager to print "whatever would catch the public" (p. 7); and this being the case, we need not believe that it was the work of any Spenser, whether Edmund or Edward.

This leaves one and only one positive authority for saying that "Edward" is a mistake on Burbie's part. This is a certain H. Atterbury, a previous owner of the book, whose marginal note opposite "Edward," in the address "To the Reader," says "A mistake for Edmund" (p. 63). Of him no information is given except Padelford's own description of his notes as "much more superficial" than other notes found in the book in a different handwriting (p. 5).

As to internal evidence, the editor calls attention (p. 28) to "passages which fall into rhythmical patterns, notably the iambic five-stress verse, a characteristic which the *Axiochus* shares with the *View of the Present State of Ireland*," and cites the authority of Professor Osgood's paper in *ELH*, April, 1934. He adds that it is "further evidence, if such were needed, of the Spenserian authorship of the *Axiochus*." But Osgood, at the very beginning of his paper, is careful to emphasize that this is a characteristic which the translation of the *Axiochus* shares not only with the *View of the Present State of Ireland* but with a great many other prose works by all sorts of writers. Osgood says also (p. 4): "In the earlier prose of Spenser's familiar letters I do not observe the tendency." This is evidence against, and not for, Padelford's contention that the work belongs to Spenser's youth.

The editor proceeds to remark of the translation that "the alliteration, the antitheses, the balanced sentences, and the tendency to over-decoration are Euphuistic." As to this, it need only be said that Spenser himself never attempted to imitate *Euphuies*.<sup>5</sup>

Next he asserts that "the strongest evidence of early authorship is furnished by the translation of the snatches of poetry." He copies, with three mistakes, the following two passages:

Of all that in the earth are ordained by nature,  
Than man, is not to bee found  
a more wretched creature.

Him loued highest Iupiter and Apollo deare,  
yet could he not reache to his eldest yeare.

These verses are said to "recall the youthfull (*sic*) attempts at translation in the epigrams of *The Theatre for Worldlings*." They are not beyond the talents of lesser men than Spenser. The reader may easily compare them with the *Theatre* epigrams. He may judge whether there is any resemblance.

<sup>5</sup> E. Legouis, *Spenser*, p. 134: "He has none of Lyly's euphuism."



The editor, in speaking (p. 29) of the appeal of the *Axiochus* to a "Stoic" attitude, goes on to say. "It is interesting to reflect upon the extent to which the translation of the *Axiochus* in his formative years may have influenced the future outlook of the poet." But, according to the best living authority,<sup>6</sup> there is no trace of Stoicism to be found in the *Axiochus*. And it may be hoped that Professor Padelford will take occasion to inform us to what extent Spenser was influenced by Stoicism, or by whatever else there is in this dialogue.

Professor F. I. Carpenter<sup>7</sup> places this work among the Spenser Apocrypha, and remarks "In the case of Shakespeare almost every work of his time signed 'W. S.' has been ascribed to him, whether confidently or doubtfully. Something of the same sort is now happening in the case of Spenser."

It appears that there is no external authority of any weight whatever for ascribing this translation to Edmund Spenser. And the internal evidence of style and content is definitely against such an ascription.

If this work is not Spenser's, who can claim it? There is one obvious candidate. Originally there was annexed to the translation, and presumably by the same author, "a sweet speech or Oration, spoken at the Tryumphe at White-hall before her Maiestie, by the Page to the right noble Earle of Oxenforde." For many years Anthony Munday was the leading writer of "triumphs" and civic pageants on just such occasions.<sup>8</sup> In many of his works he describes himself as "servant" of the Earl of Oxford.<sup>9</sup> The inference is that whatever was spoken on these occasions by the Earl of Oxford's page was written by none other than Munday.

Munday was not averse to pseudonymity in its boldest form. It is well known that his play *Sir John Oldcastle* was published under the name of William Shakespeare.

While Burbie was never Spenser's publisher, he published Munday's translation *Gerileon of England*, and in this same year of 1592<sup>10</sup> Burbie also published Munday's translation of the first and second books of *Primaleon of Grece*, in 1595 and 1596 respectively.<sup>11</sup> And among the many other foreign books translated by Munday is *The Defence of Contraries*, dated 1593: this is a series of sophistical paradoxes, arguing for example that blindness is desirable, just as the *Axiochus* argues that death is desirable.<sup>12</sup>

The translator of the *Axiochus* does not base himself on the original as Spenser would have done. Padelford has elaborately demonstrated (pp. 17-25) that the translator used the text of Welsdalius, which gives Greek and Latin in parallel columns, that he followed the Latin version, and that he shows no sign

<sup>6</sup> See A. E. Taylor, *Plato, The Man and his Work* (1929), pp. 550-552: "The dialogue is a piece of anti-Epicurean polemic, intended to contrast the Platonic with the Epicurean answer to the perennial question *What may I hope for?* and to insinuate that the 'wisdom' of Epicurus is not even original. It is a mere revival of the ideas of a second-rate sophist, and a 'doctrine of despair' into the bargain. . . . I see no need to suppose a date later than the time of Epicurus, whose Greek is much of the same stamp."

<sup>7</sup> *Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser*, p. 129.

<sup>8</sup> Celeste Turner, "Anthony Munday: An Elizabethan Man of Letters," Univ. of California Publ. in Eng., II, pp. 152-168.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25-26.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>11</sup> Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, 1926, p. 468.

<sup>12</sup> Turner, pp. 90-92.

of having consulted the original Greek. But it should be noted that Spenser, like Browning's father, "was a scholar and knew Greek" as well as Latin,<sup>13</sup> whereas Munday knew Latin but not Greek. The translator's mode of procedure is what should be expected from such a hack as Munday, but not from Spenser (especially if the work was done while he was at, or fresh from, the University).

Stress is laid in the introduction (pp. 26-27) on several characteristic words and phrases in this translation which are compared with passages in Spenser's poetry. The parallel-passage argument is weak from overwork: it has been used to infer that all the works, not only of Spenser himself but of a dozen others more or less, were written by the same Bacon who wrote Shakespeare.<sup>14</sup> Writers of this school have only succeeded in proving, what hardly requires proof, that authors, and Elizabethan authors in particular, echo one another quite as much as they echo themselves. A leading authority on Munday writes:<sup>15</sup> "The annotations of Elizabethan editors are largely composed of such parallels, but the only deduction that can reasonably be drawn is that the writers all had good ears and retentive memories." What more natural than that the sedulous Munday, who twelve years before had been the first to imitate *Euphues*,<sup>16</sup> should have copied phrases here and there from the newly popular poet whose name he ventured to filch?

There is further evidence, "if such were needed." Miss Byrne has observed<sup>17</sup> that the habitual use of the double instead of single "o" in certain words is a distinctive mark of Munday's spelling; that just at this time, during the last decade of the sixteenth century, he used it in approximately half the cases in which these words occur (among them are "woonted," "moouue" and "woonder"); that he, singularly enough, persisted in writing "freend" instead of "friend"; and that these peculiarities may decide questions of disputed authorship. Applying this test (and not counting "doo," "doost," "dooth," which occur in the translation of the *Axiarchus* and in Spenser, but were quite common at the time), we find what is certainly never found in Spenser, namely: "woont" (A<sub>2</sub> verso, line 1), "moouue" (lines 12 and 13, and B<sub>4</sub> verso, line 2), and "woonderfull" (B<sub>4</sub> recto, line 18). And while "yoong" (B<sub>4</sub> recto, line 21) does not occur in Miss Byrne's list, it exemplifies the same habit, and moreover it never occurs in Spenser. There is also "freends" at B<sub>3</sub> verso, line 5. At the same time "wont" is properly spelled at A verso, lines 8 and 13, A<sub>2</sub> recto, line 22, and A<sub>3</sub> recto, line 1, and "wonted" at A<sub>4</sub> recto, line 1. This is just what we should expect.

In brief, to meet the essential conditions of the problem, a "Spenser" must be produced whose prose style was Euphuistic, who was attracted by sophistical

<sup>13</sup> "Perfect in the Greek tongue" is the well-known phrase of Lodowick Bryskett's *Discourse of Civill Life*.

<sup>14</sup> See E. G. Harman, *Edmund Spenser and the Impersonations of Francis Bacon* (London, 1914). Particular reference is made to pp. 133-142, 170, 191, 223, 330-332, 389-390, 492-494, 499-501, 529-566. Carpenter (*op. cit.*, p. 264) tersely comments, "A mad world, my masters!"

<sup>15</sup> M. St. Clare Byrne, in *The Library* (June, 1932), p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> In *Zelauto*, 1580. See Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 29-30.

<sup>17</sup> "Anthony Munday's Spelling as a Literary Clue," *The Library* (1923). Accompanying this article is a commendation from no less an authority than A. W. Pollard.

paradoxes, who wrote "triumphs," who labored at translation without knowing Greek, and whose spelling was his own. He is not the Spenser whom we know; his name is Anthony Munday.<sup>18</sup>

BERNARD FREYD

<sup>18</sup> The following errata have been noted. P. vii, last line, "Records" should be "Record." P. 1, line 13, "etc," should be "&c." P. 2, line 6, "five" should be "eight", and line 8, put comma after "added." P. 3, line 9, "man wise (1553)" should be "wise man (1533)." P. 4, line 30, and P. 5, line 19, "Records" should be "Record." P. 10, line 12, put comma after "Oration." P. 11, line 17, "Woods" should be "Wood's"; line 24, put comma after "Archaeologia", line 28, put comma after "street", line 29, delete comma after "benefaction"; and line 32, "the" should be "an." P. 12, line 2, "Life 3" should be "Life, in." P. 13, line 12, "Phillippe" should be "Philippe." P. 16, line 17, "Bilbaldus" should be "Wilbaldus." P. 18, line 18, "& also" should be "and also." P. 27, line 28, "having" should be "haung." P. 28, line 25, "That man is" should be "Than man, is", line 29, "reach" should be "reache"; and line 30, "youthfull" should be "youthful." P. 63, line 4, "Cynosargus" should be "Cynosarges"; and line 5, "took" should be "tooke." P. 64, last line, "Cynosargus" should be "Cynosarges."

MR. FREYD's criticism is an attempt to show that Anthony Munday and not Spenser was the author of the translation of the *Axiochus* published in 1592. This hypothesis was one which I carefully considered when engaged upon the editorial work, and I came to the conclusion, in which the Spenser scholars who reviewed the evidence with me agreed, that the translation could not have been the work of Munday. In the interests of scholarship, I therefore welcome the opportunity to present the evidence.

My critic strangely misconceives the opening paragraphs of the Introduction in which I review chronologically all previous mention of the translation, either by scholars or in bibliographies.<sup>1</sup> As should be obvious to any casual reader, this is given merely by way of background and is not employed to support the thesis that Spenser was the author.

The only external evidence to which I gave weight is the attribution of the work to Spenser on the title-page and in the brief address "To the Reader." It must be recognized that this creates presumptive evidence in Spenser's favor. I acknowledged that Burbie was ignorant of Spenser's first name, but I showed why this might well have been. In this connection it may be interesting to observe incidentally, as Dr. Heffner discovered after the publication of my book, that even Camden, whom we have reason to believe was a personal friend of the poet, in his *Remains*, 1623 (also 1629), at the end of the section on "Poems," p. 289 (p. 285 in 1629), refers to the poet as *Edward Spenser*.

As external evidence in support of Munday's authorship, Mr. Freyd stresses the fact that Munday prided himself upon being the "servant" of the Earl of Oxford, which would account for the inclusion of the "sweet speech" in the same volume with the *Axiochus*, that he was not averse to pseudonymity, and that

<sup>1</sup> The fact that Carpenter placed the *Axiochus* in the Apocrypha is of course readily to be understood, since he had never seen the work, and mistakenly thought that the 1607 translation, which does not suggest Spenser's style, might be the one in question.

Burbie printed certain of Munday's translations. As the "sweet speech" is not extant, and as we know nothing of its date or the occasion of its delivery, it is idle to conjecture as to its authorship. To be sure Munday employed the stereotyped epithet of "servant" in dedicating his *Mirroure of Mutabilitie* to Oxford, but he was only one of a group of satellites among men of letters who clustered around the Earl. Thus Spenser himself was at pains to address to the Earl one of the original series of dedicatory sonnets to the *Faerie Queene*, in which he acknowledges the love which Oxford bears to "th' Heliconian ymps" and professes his own love for the Earl with a warmth which differentiates this sonnet from all the others addressed to men save that to Lord Grey, but we do not know how much Spenser may actually have seen of Oxford during his first visit to England. We do not even know how long before 1600, when Jonson held him up to ridicule as Balladino, "pageant-poet to the city of Milan," Munday turned his attention to pageants. According to Withington (*Eng. Pag.* II, 26), there were no civic pageants in 1592 and 1593, and probably none in 1594.

There is no warrant for saying, on the basis of *Sir John Oldcastle*, that "Munday was not averse to pseudonymity in its boldest form." The edition of the play which bears Shakespeare's name on the title-page actually appeared in 1619, though dated 1600.<sup>2</sup> Where is the slightest evidence that Munday, one of the four authors, had any responsibility for this title-page?

The fact that Burbie published Munday's *Gerileon in England* in 1592 should not be overlooked, but in the light of the evidence as a whole cannot be given much weight.

The only internal evidence which Mr. Freyd offers in support of his thesis is the presence of a euphuistic element in the translation and certain double "o" spellings in words where the single "o" would be expected. The first is turned to Munday's account with the remark that "it need only be said that Spenser never attempted to imitate *Euphues*," and M. Legouis is quoted in a footnote to the effect that "He [Spenser] has none of Lyly's euphuism." The quotation as given is entirely misleading and places an eminent scholar in a ridiculous light. M. Legouis makes this observation in a passage where he is discussing the style of the *Faerie Queene*, not of the poetry as a whole; certainly so exact a student would be the first to recognize the use of alliteration, antitheses, balanced sentences, rhetorical questions, and paronomasia in *The Shepheardes Calender* (Cf. "Januarye," ll. 48-62) and of conventional conceits and artificial analogies in the *Amoretti*.

And now as to Munday's predilection for the double "o" in words where the single "o" would be expected, and for spelling friend "freend." As Miss Byrne points out, Munday preferred these more archaic spellings and they persist to some extent in his later works despite the tendency of compositors to normalize spelling. Miss Byrne gives the following list of these double "o" words found in *John A Kent* and *Sir Thomas More*: affoord, approoue, aboard, abooue, boorde, doone, vndoone, doost, dooth, foorth, looue, loouers, loouely, loouing, belooud, mooue, remoooue, prooue, reprooue, woord, woork, woorschip, woorth,

<sup>2</sup> Cf. William J. Neidig, "The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619," *MP*, III (1910), 145-163.

woorthie, woorthly Of this list it is interesting to note that the following are to be found in Spenser afford, aproue, aboard, boorde, doone, vndooone, doost, dooth, foorth, looue, mooue, prooue In addition we find in Spenser many similar words employing the double "o" which Munday did not happen to use in the above plays.

As we should expect to find, this tendency to employ the double "o" occurs more frequently in Spenser's earlier poetry than in the later, but these spellings are conspicuous in one late work, *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* (1595). soong (l. 92), doone (l. 127), aboard (l. 224), doo (l. 257), foorth (l. 330), goolds (l. 339), moo'u'd (l. 649), prooued (l. 664), hooued (l. 666), and woond (in the sense of dwelt, l. 774). If we are to assign the *Axiochus* to Munday on the basis of a few double "o" spellings, we must assign *Colin Clout* to him as well. Indeed we shall also have to acknowledge his authorship of the original version of Sidney's *Arcadia*, and also of Sidney's contribution (Chapters 1-6) to *Of the Trewnes of the Christian Religion*, since these double "o" spellings occur with some frequency in the former, and are strewn through the pages of the latter. Of course the fallacy is obvious: one cannot reason that because Munday employed the double "o" spelling, a work in which such spellings occur is therefore to be assigned to him. Again it was especially unfortunate to cite the spelling of friend as "freend," since this spelling occurs so frequently in Spenser and is the preferred spelling in *The Shepheardes Calendar* (cf. May, 167; May, 305, and July, 194).

The internal evidence upon which we must necessarily rely is that of style. In my Introduction I quoted a few of the words and phrases peculiarly characteristic of Spenser's diction. Mr. Freyd attempts to sweep aside this evidence with the observation that "The parallel-passage argument is weak from overwork." This of course is just begging the question. One could argue with equal logic that Darwin failed to establish his thesis because he furnished too much evidence. Mr. Freyd finds an easy explanation by proposing that Munday "copied phrases here and there from the newly popular poet." But the evidence rests not merely on these characteristic words and phrases but as well upon the musical and flowing style of the whole translation, written by one who had a most sensitive ear. Again and again the prose assumes a poetical character.

As opposed to the conclusions of a newcomer in the field, it is significant to contrast those of Professor Osgood, who is as well, or better, qualified than any other living scholar to pass upon the question at issue:

As for the genuineness of the translation as a work of Spenser, there is no doubt in my mind whatever. Not only the striking Spenserian phrases which you point out, and which would be apparent to anyone much read in Spenser, but the presence of metrical lines of Spenserian verse embedded in the prose after Spenser's habit, are such as no one else would use, or could counterfeit, at least in Spenser's day. I think after my work in compiling the Concordance to Spenser my ear is fairly quick to detect the Spenserian cadence; in reading the *Axiochus* I hear it again and again. Short of Spenser's own affidavit, the evidence is as strong as it can be

How anyone familiar with Munday's prose could assign *this* translation to him, is hard to imagine. Thomas Seccombe only echoed the verdict of Munday's

contemporaries when he characterized him as "destitute of originality or style" (*D N B*) Munday's translations are pure hack-work, his sentences are often clumsy, sometimes ambiguous, and his diction is singularly lacking in cadence. He has, moreover, certain mannerisms which are easily detected, such as bringing into unpleasant juxtaposition words with the same endings. Lest I seem to be begging the question, a few quotations are in order.

I have before me photostats, from the unique copy owned by Sir R. L. Harmsworth, of two essays translated by Munday from the French of Plessis de Mornay: *The True knowledge of a man's owne selfe* and *Of the immortalitie of the soule*,<sup>3</sup> along with *A Dialogue of the providence of God, written in Xenophon, his first booke of the deedes and sayings of Socrates*.<sup>4</sup> These are expository treatises and therefore comparable to the *Axiomachus*, and Munday's style may properly be tested by them. The following may serve as examples:

The fourth cōmaundement, consisteth in the obseruation of ceremonies and duties, thereto belonging, as also in their diligent regarding according to our entraunce into the knowledge of God, of which knowledge they are visible signes, exciting vs to obseruance of true religion (*The True knowledge*, p. 139)

Ye haue the very like combination betweene the powers of nature, and that the motions of the hart, doe iustly answer to the knowledge which a man hath of any thing but there is a difference in the complexions or temperatures of the hart, & the spirits, and the bloods present beeing, for, the hart beeing hotte and dry, is the sooner kindled, whereon wee see some more suddenly to bee enflamed with anger, then others are, & the moouings of the hart & the spirits, moueth the blood (not euermore) after one kinde, but diuersly, and according to the diuersitie of the affections. (*Ibid*, pp. 158-159)

That the soule is no way cōsisting or made of any part of the elements, is apparant and manifest by this reason. It is impossible, that nature being corruptible, should cōprehend and conceiue thinges vniuersall and incorruptible as to conceiue and apprehend God, with the vniuersality of thinges the numbers, the differences of thinges honest and dishonest yet naturally, and euen without teaching, men doe apprehend these things. It is then to bee rudded, that the seates of these apprehēsiōns, are not natures elementaries, but much more excellent thē corruptible things, & likewise that they are perpetual see heere what natural reasons are yeilded, for the immortalitie of the soule (*Of the immortalitie of the soule*, 195-197)

Thou hast in thee a little portion of thys earth, which thou seest to be so great, & a small quantitie of humour, which is of so large aboūdance in the world nowe, consideing eyther of these thinges to be so great, & yet thou hast of eyther some final portion, and altogether being so assembled [sic] in thy body, as thou couldest haue no vnderstāding at all, except they were in this sort ordered These thinges (I say) being so great, and in multitude infinite, howe doost thou imagine, but that they should be well ordained? (*Dialogue*, L 4 verso—l 5 recto.)

<sup>3</sup> Excerpted from Mornay's work on *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, which Munday states in the Epistle had recently come to hand and which he intended to translate in its entirety. He seems to have been ignorant of Sidney and Golding's translation, published in 1587.

<sup>4</sup> The inclusion of the *Dialogue* was seemingly an afterthought, since the pagination is indicated by signatures only.

Yes, hold and belecue it for most certaine that God sees, heares, regards, and hath care of thee, mee, & all thinges else whatsoeuer together. (*Ibid* , A 1 recto )

Wherever one dips into these translations he encounters the same bungling, jerky, and jangling prose. In many passages the style is not even decently pedestrian. Yet it is proposed that we assign the *Axiochus* to a hack who stumbled through a translation in this manner.

A few other points remain to be considered. My critic takes exception to the statement that "By most scholars it [the *Axiochus*] was attributed to Plato, although its authenticity was already being questioned." Since, for the first time, I have assembled the Renaissance versions and editions of the dialogue, no one else has been, or is, in a position to state what Renaissance scholars thought of the authorship. The facts are as follows: Agricola, Pirckheymer, Perionius, Dolet, Belprato, and Welsdalius attribute the dialogue to Plato: Ficino and Postel, to Xenocrates; and Mornay to "Plato, or some other Ancient Pagan Philosopher." It should be said that Belprato in his original manuscript assigned the work to Xenocrates on the title-page, presumably upon the authority of Ficino, but when he submitted his manuscript to Ludovico Domenichi for critical examination, that distinguished scholar changed the title to read "L'Assiocho . . . di Platone." In a letter to Belprato which serves as a foreword, Ludovico comments on this change as follows:

Ma ben vi voglio prepare, che non ui marauigliate, ch'io habbia mutato il titolo al Dialogo da voi tradotto col nome di Xenocrate perciocche anchor che sia openio ne d'alcuni, che non sia di Platone, ma di Xenocrate, & secondo certi altri d'altro authore non dimeno m'è paruto nõ errare seguendo il parer commune & quello dell' Agricola che lo tradusse in Latino.

Ludovico, writing in 1550, is thus authority for the statement that "the common belief" was that Plato was the author. Postel and Welsdalius are the other two editors who comment on the authorship. The title-page of Postel's version (1537-39) reads "AXIOCHVS DIALOGVE de Xenocrates Platonique . . ." and in the "Epistre a ma Damoiselle de Mesieres" is the following comment (a i recto) "Cest vn dialogue daulchuns attribue a Platon, mais quāt a la verite il est dun sien disciple nōme XENOCRATES." Welsdalius, in his *Argumentum*, remarks (3) "Νοθενόμενος) Suidas etiam hunc dialogum Aeschini Socratico ascriptum fuisse dicit."

As to Spensers knowledge of Greek. Despite the assertion of Bryskett that the poet was "perfect in the Greek tongue," there is division of opinion among scholars on this point, and this is not the place to go into the merits of so nice a question.

And now a word about the translations of the poetry. To be sure "they are not beyond the talents of lesser men than Spenser," but like the verses in *The Theatre for Wordlings* they illustrate the difficulty which the young poet experienced in throwing his accents on the important words. They scan as follows:

Ōf áll thát in thē eárrth áre órdáinéđ bý náttúre,  
Thán mán, is nóť tő bée fōund á mōre wrétchēđ créátúre.

Hím loúed hġhest Íúpġtġr ánd Ąpóllō déare,  
Yġt cóuld hġ nót réache tó hġs éldġst yġare.

Whġt thġnkġst thóu őf hġm thġt táught thġ chġlde tó crġe:  
Whġn frġst thġ Súnne brġght dáy hġ séeth wġth tġndġr ġye.

A comparison with the "Epigrams" and "Sonets" will substantiate the correctness of my statement.

In commenting upon my concluding paragraph (p. 29) Mr. Freyd denies traces of Stoicism in the *Axiochus*. My position there was that the dialogue manifests an undoubted characteristic of the Stoic philosophers, "an attitude of heroism in confronting the issues of life and death." There is no doubt that this, of itself, is not Stoicism in its complete and technical sense, but no one can deny that it is a genuine Stoic principle or that the *Axiochus* does contain it. His statement that A. E. Taylor finds no element of Stoicism in the *Axiochus* is not borne out by the quotation from that authority, for Taylor merely declares the dialogue to be a polemic contrasting "the Platonic with the Epicurean answer to the question *Why may I hope for?*" Mr. Freyd here implies that an anti-Epicurean polemic cannot show traces of Stoicism and that there were no traces of Platonic tenets in Stoic doctrine. His citation of authority is as irrelevant to his argument as the argument itself is to my position. As a matter of fact Spenser was appreciably influenced by Stoic philosophy. No Spenser scholar will be inclined to quarrel with the following statement by Professor Merritt Y. Hughes in his paper on "Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances" (*MP* xxiii, 73): "Spenser conceived temperance as the subordination of the passions to the mind, and was as much interested in the restraint of anger and grief as in that of the lust for pleasure. The conception was essentially stoic, and Upton's notes on the second book of the *Faerie Queene* leave no doubt that Cicero, Seneca, and Epictetus were Spenser's mentors." Likewise Professor Renwick (*Edmund Spenser*, p. 160) comments on the indebtedness of Book Six to Seneca, and is bold to remark that Cicero influenced Spenser more profoundly than did any other writer. That Spenser found the theme of the *Axiochus* congenial will hardly be questioned by those who know him well. The problems of mutability as opposed to stability and of the ultimate destiny of the human spirit are dominant in his latest works, the Cantos of Mutability and the last two hymns.

In conclusion, I regret that some errata escaped me. But on what authority does Mr. Freyd give Pirckheymer's first name as "Wilibaldus?" It appears as "Bilibaldus" on the title-page of his *Axiochus* and of all his works listed in the catalogue of the British Museum. Again, it is conjectural whether or not Spenser correctly transliterated "Cynosarges."

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## 5. ASTERY'S TRANSFORMATION IN *MUIOPOTMOS*

It may, I think, be postulated that the chief source of the transformation of Astery in Spenser's *Muiopotmos*<sup>1</sup> is to be found in the following passage in Lactantius's commentary on Statius:

<sup>1</sup> Stanzas 15, 16 and 17.



Venus and Cupid, having once alighted on a certain beautiful meadow, strove in playful contest to see who should pick most flowers. Cupid, though aided by his swift wings, which readily overcame the weight of his body, was nevertheless vanquished, for the nymph Peristera hastened to the assistance of Venus and gave the goddess the victory. She did so to her cost. Cupid, full of indignation, transformed the nymph into the bird called *περιστέρα* by the Greeks. But a notable honor softened the punishment inflicted on Peristera. Venus, in order to comfort the hapless and innocent nymph, took the dove under her special protection.<sup>2</sup>

In *Muopotmos* it is Venus that is enraged and that vents her anger on the nymph. In this difference we may perhaps see reflected Apuleius's famous story of Cupid and Psyche,<sup>3</sup> but if I am right in conjecturing that Venus stands for Queen Elizabeth and Astery for Penelope Devereux,<sup>4</sup> it may well be that the poet had special reasons for altering Lactantius's tale.

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<sup>2</sup> Lactantius Placidus, *Commentarii in Statii Thebaida* (Teubner: Leipzig, 1898), iv. 226: Venus et Cupido, cum quodam tempore voluptatis gratia in quosdam nitentes discendissent campos, lasciva contentione certare coeperunt, qui plus sibi gemmantes colligeret flores. Quorum Cupido, adiutus mobilitate pennarum, postquam naturam corporis volatu superavit, victus est numero. Peristera enim nympa subito accurrit et adiuvando Venerem superiorem efficit cum poena sua. Cupido siquidem indignatus mutavit puellam in avem quae a Graecis *περιστέρα* appellatur. Sed poenam honor minuit. Venus, namque consolaturam puellae et innocentis transfigurationem, columbam in tutela sua esse mandavit.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I. E. Rathborne, "Another Interpretation of *Muopotmos*," *PMLA*, xlix, 1061.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lemmi, "The Allegorical Meaning of Spenser's *Muopotmos*," in *PMLA*, xlv (1930), 732-748.

## 6. THE DATE OF SPENSER'S *MUTABILITIE* CANTOS

THE date of composition of Spenser's *Mutabilite* cantos has been the concern of several articles and a variety of evidence has been offered to prove that they were composed after the first three books of *The Faerie Queene*, if not after the second three also—or else was early as 1579-80.<sup>1</sup>

Except for Miss Albright, scholars in general believe that the *Mutabilite* cantos are a mature, and so a late, work of Spenser's, and that they rightly belong where tradition has placed them, immediately after Book vi. My paper, depending upon the same *type* of evidence as was used by Professor Padelford, will at least cast doubt upon some of the evidence presented in support of the argument for a late date of composition. I come to directly opposite conclusions.

As there seems to exist no definite external evidence for determining the date of the *Mutabilite* cantos, scholars depend for proof upon the cantos themselves.

<sup>1</sup> The evidence is summarized in *A Spenser Handbook* by H. S. V. Jones (1930), Chap. xx. The chief articles on the subject are as follows: "The Cantos of *Mutabilite*. Further Considerations Bearing on the Date" by Frederick M. Padelford, *PMLA*, xlv (1930), 704 ff.; "The Date of Spenser's *Cantos of Mutability*," by Douglas Bush, *Ibid.*, pp. 954-957; "On the Dating of Spenser's 'Mutability' Cantos" by E. M. Albright, *SP*, xxvi (1929), 482 ff.

In a recent article<sup>2</sup> Professor Fletcher points out what appears to be a definite change in Spenser's style, as reflected in his use of words denoting and connoting color, light, and shade, between the first three and the second three books of *The Faerie Queene*. If Professor Fletcher's study is a dependable indication of Spenser's changing method as a writer, an examination of the color, light, and shade words in the *Mutabilitie* cantos might supply probable evidence as to whether these cantos were composed before or after Spenser's style changed, that is, before 1590 or between 1590 and 1596. If the *Mutabilitie* cantos were composed before 1590 the probabilities are that they were not part of the uncompleted Book VII, but were probably discarded from one of the earlier books.

For this study I have taken the same lists of words that were used by Professor Fletcher, but since the *Mutabilitie* cantos are two only, and each completed book contains twelve cantos, it is best, as more clearly showing the relationship existing between the *Mutabilitie* and the other books of *The Faerie Queene*, to make a percentile table. Therefore I have taken the total number of times the color, light, and shade words occur in each book and divided these totals by the number of stanzas in each book.<sup>3</sup> This gives us percentile figures which may be used for comparison with each other, and with the percentile findings for the *Mutabilitie* cantos.

The following is a color word frequency table for the *Mutabilitie* cantos. I leave out, for economy's sake, those words of Fletcher's list which are not found at all in the *Mutabilitie* cantos, and I shall repeat only the totals per book as given by Professor Fletcher.

Blood, bloody, gore, gory	2	ivory	2
gold, golden, gilt	5	lilly	1
silver	4	red	1
green	5	gray	2
black, cole black	4	yellow	1
purple empurpled	1	marble	1
hore, hoarie	3	browne	1
white	2	Total	35

The total number of stanzas, the total number of color words per book, and the percentage of color words to stanzas, are as follows:

	Stanzas	Color words	Percentages
Book I.	617	222	35.98
Book II	683	243	35.57
Book III	677	193	28.508
Book IV	599	121	20.20
Book V.	565	98	17.34
Book VI	554	86	15.52
Mutabilitie.	114	35	30.70

<sup>2</sup> James V. Fletcher, "Some Observations on the Changing Style of the *Faerie Queene*," *SP*, xxxi (1934), 152-159.

<sup>3</sup> I exclude the two stanzas of *Mutabilitie* canto VIII because this fraction of a canto is too small to work with satisfactorily.

Professor Fletcher has pointed out one of the facts presented in this table—that there is a decided falling off in Spenser's use of color words between the first three and the second three books of *The Faerie Queene*. If this is, as he believes, an indication of Spenser's changing style, then the figures for the *Mutabilitie* cantos need explanation, for the proportion of color words to stanzas in these cantos is much closer to the proportions of Books I, II, and III, than to those of Books, IV, V, and VI.

Similar conclusions must be drawn from an examination of Spenser's use of light and shade words. These words and the number of times each appears in the *Mutabilitie* cantos are as follows (again I exclude words in Fletcher's list which do not appear in *Mutabilitie*):

bright . . . . .	7	burn, burning. . . . .	3
light . . . . .	9	cristall . . . . .	1
dark, darksome . . . . .	3	flasht, flashing . . . . .	1
flame, flaming . . . . .	2	moon . . . . .	7
fire, fiery. . . . .	7	glas, glassy. . . . .	2
twinkling. . . . .	1	lightning, levin . . . . .	1
shady, shadow. . . . .	1	sun, sunny, sunshiny . . . . .	4
beames, beamy. . . . .	3	blaze, blazing . . . . .	1
stars, starry. . . . .	5	clouds, cloudy . . . . .	1
		sparkling . . . . .	1
		Total. . . . .	60

The total number of stanzas, the total number of words denoting and connoting light, shade, and darkness, and the percentages of their appearance in the various books of *The Faerie Queene*, are as follows:

	stanzas	light and shade words	Percentages
Book I. . . . .	617	312	50.56
Book II. . . . .	683	210	30.74
Book III. . . . .	677	213	31.46
Book IV. . . . .	599	111	18.53
Book V. . . . .	565	116	20.53
Book VI. . . . .	554	100	18.05
Mutabilitie. . . . .	114	60	52.63

This table shows that the proportion of light and shade words in the *Mutabilitie* cantos is decidedly nearer those of Books I, II, and III of *The Faerie Queene* than to the proportions of Books IV, V, and VI. Our evidence proves, therefore, that the style of the *Mutabilitie* cantos is more nearly like that of the first three books than of the last three books and so of about the same time as the earlier books.

Professor Padelford's study of Spenser's use of compound words, and the conclusions he draws from Floyd Stovall's article on Spenser's use of feminine rimes,<sup>4</sup> do not agree with these findings. If, however, my conclusions are wrong, Professor Padelford's must be wrong also, for exactly the same method, though

<sup>4</sup> Floyd Stovall, "Feminine Rimes in the *Faerie Queene*" *JEGPH*, xxvi (1927), 91-95. For Padelford's article see note 1 above.

a different set of words, is used in both; and if my conclusions seem to lead Professor Fletcher further than he might wish to go in his analysis of Spenser's style, nevertheless I have used exactly the same material in exactly the same way.

From these various studies analyzing Spenser's style—Padelford's, Fletcher's, and the present article—it is safe to draw only one conclusion; that is, that the counting of words in a partial analysis of vocabulary is not satisfactory evidence for determining the dates of composition of portions of *The Faerie Queene*. As to Professor Fletcher's findings, my study may well indicate that even if there is a difference of style between the first three and the second three books of *The Faerie Queene*, it may have been deliberate on Spenser's part and not the result of a weary or flagging imagination.

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## 7. UNA AND DUESSA

It has long been thought that Spenser got the suggestion for the name of his heroine Una in Ireland, where the name was a common one.<sup>1</sup> There is every reason for accepting this conjecture,<sup>2</sup> though it should be added that the poet, with his classical training and background, was doubtless confirmed in his decision to use the name by its Latin implications.

Less attention has been given to the source of Spenser's name for Una's foil and antagonist, Duessa, the first syllable of which also suggests a Latin origin, quite in keeping with the duplicity of the witch's character. But the ending *-essa* is not so readily accounted for. As a matter of fact, the name Duessa is even more incontrovertibly Irish than the name Una. The following occurrences of it are drawn from documents dealing with the period between 1000 A.D. and the time of Spenser.

(a) A.D. 1050. Dubheassa ingen Briain moritur. "Dubheassa, daughter of Brian, died." (*Chronicon Scotorum*, ed. Hennessy, p. 280.)

(b) A.D. 1078. Dubesa ingen Amhalgadh, comarba Patraic, ben righ Airther, do-eaibh. "Dubesa, daughter of Amhalgaidh successor of Patrick, wife of the king of the Airthir, died." (*Annals of Ulster*, ed. MacCarthy, II, 30.)

(c) Dubeasa ingen Augairi (ob. 1112?) hUi Lorcain. "Dubeasa daughter of Aughaire Ui Lorcain." (The Banshenchus, *Revue Celtique*, XLVIII (1931), 196.)

<sup>1</sup> See P. Woulfe, *Sloinne Gaedheal is Gall* [Irish Names and Surnames], (Dublin, 1922), II, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Henley, *Spenser in Ireland*, (Cork, 1928), p. 127, after claiming an Irish origin for Spenser's Artagall, Ferraugh, Brianor, and Briana, is less positive about Una. "Dr. Grosart is convinced that Spenser got the name Una in Ireland. Perhaps he did. He may have heard during that first visit, of the Una who was queen of the fairies of Ormond, and the double meaning would have appealed to that love of covert allusion that characterized the Elizabethans." The "covert allusion" theory applies equally well in the case of Duessa. In legendary history, the best-known Una is the mother of the famous second-century king, Conn of the Hundred Battles. See Keating, *History of Ireland*, ed. Dinneen, II, 262; T. O'Donnchadha, *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* (Dublin, 1931), pp. 70, 203, *Revue Celtique*, XLVIII, 211.

(d) Dubesa ingen hUí Anluain, mathair Aeda (ob 1114) hUí Eochada rig Uladb. "Dubesa daughter of Uí Anluain, mother of Aed Uí Eochada, king of Ulster." (*Ibid.*, 194)

(e) Dubeasa ingen hUí Brain mathair Eochada (ob 1133) hUí Nuallain rí Fotharta "Dubesa daughter of Uí Brain, mother of Eochad Uí Nuallain, king of Fotharta" (*Ibid.*, 195)

(f) Dubeasa ingen Aeda hUí Conaing (*Ibid.*, 199)

There can be no doubt that the name Dubés[s]a (Duibésa, Dubéasa) was originally a compound of *Dub*, "Black," and *Ésa*, itself a woman's name.<sup>3</sup> The pronunciation of the Middle-Irish form *Dubhéasa* would be well represented, to an Englishman of the sixteenth century hearing it, by the spelling *Duessa*. [For the loss of the *b* through aspiration, compare the corresponding development of other Irish compounds of *Dubh*, such as Douglas, Duffy, Doyle, MacDowell. More strictly parallel with *Dubhéasa*, where the aspirated *b* is intervocalic, are names like *Dubhagáin*, which becomes in English Dugan, *Dubhdáin* (Duane), and *Dubhaltach* (Dualtagh, Duald).]

For the modern reader, as for the contemporary of Spenser, it would be perfectly natural to make an erroneous partition *Du-bhéasa*, to accord with a noun current long before<sup>4</sup> and after Spenser's day:

*doibhéas*, "vice, bad manners" (O'Reilly's *Irish-English Dictionary*, with Supplement, 1864);<sup>5</sup>

*do-bhéas*, "a bad habit, an ill custom" (Dinneen, *Irish-English Dictionary*, 1927)

The plural of this noun would be identical in form with the proper name Dubhéasa, which would consequently (divided *Du-bhéasa*) have the connotation "wicked customs," or "evil usages," just as *Una* to one familiar with Latin would suggest "uniqueness" or "singularity." Some such significance would seem to have been in Spenser's mind when he described his "false *Duessa*" (the phrase occurs 22 times in *The Faerie Queene*) or when in connection with her he referred to "her malicious use" (iv, i, 31), "the wicked driftes of trayterous desynes" (v, ix, 42), her "mischievous arts" (i, ii, 34), "her wicked arts" and "her wicked will" (i, xii, 32), "her false sleights" (i, xii, arg.). With the *Duessa* "Whose secret filth good manners biddeth not be told" (i, viii, 46) compare the meaning "bad manners" assigned by O'Reilly (above) to *doibheas*.

<sup>3</sup> On the group of Irish legends in which *Ésa* figures, see Gwynn's notes on the Dindsenchas of Ráth Ésa (*Metrical Dindsenchas*, Part II, 89); also Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, pp. 617-619, 621, 629; *Revue Celtique* XLVIII, 170. In the *Bunsenchus* (*Revue Celtique*, XLVII, 294 f.) the lines on *Ésa* are translated (p. 320) as follows. "Ésa was her (Étan's) daughter—evil were her rites [better practices, customs]. Her name is given to a lofty spot, allied by her crimes to pollution . . . By her methods manners (*bésa*) were coarsened."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, I, 222; Pedersen, *Vergl. Keltische Grammatik*, I, 475; II, 9; Dottin, *Manuel d'Irlandais Moyen*, I, 57, 106.

<sup>5</sup> For Scottish Gaelic see MacBain, *Etymological Gaelic Dictionary*, s.v. *doibheas*. See further Windisch, *Worterbuch, Irische Texte*, I, s.v. *dobus*. For the opposite, *sobés*, "good custom, manners," cf. *Revue Celtique* XLV (1928), 88, §16.

It is quite reasonable to suppose that Spenser, knowing from his Irish tutor<sup>6</sup> the name he spells "Duessa,"<sup>7</sup> was struck by the single and dual (Latin) implications in the Irish names Una and Duessa.<sup>8</sup> That Una has continued to be a popular name in Ireland while Duessa has dropped out of existence, may be due in some degree to the influence of *The Faerie Queene*.

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<sup>6</sup> On the possible identity of Spenser's Irish tutor, see Miss Henley, p. 103. In connection with the poet's possible familiarity with the poetry of his Irish contemporary Tadhg Dall O'Huiginn (p. 107), it is worth noting that Tadhg's poem to Brian O'Rourke refers to the Una who was mother of Conn (cf. note 2 above). Knott, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall O'Huiginn*, Irish Texts Soc. edition, II, 73.

<sup>7</sup> If Spenser knew, for instance, a tale concerning the "Dubheassa daughter of Brian" (cf. the first entry above), it might help also to explain his slightly disguised names Brianor and Briana.

<sup>8</sup> On Spenser's habit of cloaking characters from Irish folklore under the names of their classical counterparts, see my "Spenser's Irish River Stories," forthcoming in *PMLA*.

## 8. HENRY VI AND THE CONTENTION PLAYS

I HAVE no wish to plunge into the controversy as to the relation of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* to *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedy*, but there is one point in Mr. Greer's elaborate article in the *PMLA* for September, 1933 to which I should like to call attention, since it is open to a very different explanation from that offered.

In 2 *Henry VI* the last item of the articles of peace is read differently by Duke Humphrey (I, i, 50-52) and by the Cardinal (57-62). In *The Contention*, on the other hand, the words read by each agree exactly. (A somewhat parallel case is found in one of the questions read in the conjuring scene (I, iv, 37, 69), but it is more complicated since it is only in *Henry VI* that the reading is repeated.)

Mr. Greer assumes that the text free from inconsistency must be the original, and that it was a reviser who in *Henry VI* altered the wording in one instance and forgot to make the corresponding change in the other.

His assumption, however, appears to be a risky one. An author, repeating a passage, might not trouble to turn back to what he had already written and might unconsciously alter its form in some inessential manner. Messages and conversations are often not exactly repeated, and probably no greater care would be thought necessary in rendering a written document. But the significant point is that the passage is to be read, and would be actually read from a script on the stage. This script would not vary, and the words, therefore, would not vary on the stage. Neither would they vary in a report, so far as this was correct. The fact, therefore, that the inconsistency occurs in *Henry VI* and not in *The Contention* may be evidence that the former is the original and the latter a report.

That *The Whole Contention* was printed from manuscript, as Mr. Greer contends, seems on general grounds highly improbable, and though I do not know that any positive proof can be produced, the typographical evidence points to

printed copy. It seems probable, however, that both parts were set up from the original editions rather than the reprints of 1600.

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## 9. AN ELIZABETHAN TOURNAMENT

THE tournament in England had one final burst of glory before it fell into oblivion. Elizabeth recalled this magnificent chivalric pastime in which her father had taken such great delight, but the Renaissance transformed it into a vehicle for spectacular display and expanded the masque-like elements. In the reign of James the tournament gradually degenerated into the masque. Accounts of these Elizabethan tournaments furnish quite a body of literature and are worth recording in order to follow this development of the masque.

*Kenilworth Illustrated*, edited by William Hamper and published in 1821, contains a fragment of a masque, a group of speeches declared at a tilting. The editor in his preface has made several gross errors in attempting to fix the authorship and date of this piece.<sup>1</sup> It was preserved, along with other masques, in a manuscript volume of collections gathered together by Henry Ferrers, a descendant of the Elizabethan writer George Ferrers. Mr. Hamper believed the latter to have been the author of the masques, but unfortunately for this theory George Ferrers died in 1579 and the work, as may readily be seen from internal evidence, was written after 1590. The only Ferrers who could have composed the piece is Henry Ferrers, Elizabethan authority on heraldic matters.

The masque which is labelled Part 1 in *Kenilworth Illustrated* consists of the challenge to a tournament, an explanation of a challenger's device, and the speech of the Owld Knight. The challenge follows:

To all the Noble Chosen and Hopefull Gentlemen, in this most notable assemble. The strange forsaken Knightes send greeting, &—

Whereas the question hath ben long and often, and yett resteth doubtfull and undiscussed, whether that wick Menne call love be good or evill; and that it is manifest that there be manie woorthye Knightes, in this presence, to whom Love is most delightfull, and his lawes no paynes; I bring this scedule, to signifie to all the Gentlemen here, that love Armes, and list to defend this Cause, that there be three armed and unknown Knightes here at hande, of one minde and divers fortune, that, with stroke of Arme and dynt of sworde, be come to maintaine against all that will defende the Contrary, that Love is worse than hate, his Subiectes worse than slaves, and his Rewarde worse than naught; And that there is a Ladie that scorns Love and his power, of more vertue and greater bewtie than all the Amorous Dames that be at this day in the worlde.

A group of challengers, then, fight on the side of Despair against the knights of Hope and Fortune. The Lady who scorns Love and his power is, as is generally the case in these Elizabethan tournaments, Elizabeth herself.

The second item is labelled "Sir Henry Lee's Challenge before the Shampanie." Sir Henry Lee was the instigator of the annual Queen's-Day tournaments that were held on November 17th, the day of Elizabeth's accession to the throne,

<sup>1</sup> This masque is reprinted in Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, III, 195-213.

and retired in 1590 on account of old age in favor of the Earl of Cumberland.<sup>2</sup> As will be seen, it is extremely doubtful that the old champion himself ran at this time; however, the speech may have been delivered by him to introduce the green knight, who seems to have been Lee's protégé.

There is a strange Knight that warres against hope and fortune, who, overturned with griefe, hath cast himself into the Crewe of Care and to maintain his passion, as an enemy to all that live in delight, determineth to be here forthwith; and hath sent mee to tell the Procurer of this Asseble, that under the hue of a grene [suit] is covered that unfortunate Carcas that scornes at others joyes and weepes at all delightes. And knowing that there be manie Servants to Hope and Frenedes to Fortune (whom he treadeth under foote), meaneth to maintaine, as farr as his posting horse will give him leave, that the servants of Dispaire have as much Vertue, and carry as much Goodwill to the guide of his Troupe, as those that serve the other turning and trustless Goddes.

And so this green knight took the side of the despairing gentlemen.

The third section is called "The Supplication of the Owld Knight." This is truly Sir Henry Lee's speech and must have been delivered after the tilting.

In humble wise, sheweth unto your honorable lordships, and the woorthie Gentelmen of this Asseble, and serveres of this English Holiday, or rather Englandes Happie Daye; a poore faithfull feeble Knight, yet once (thowe unwoorthie) your fellowe in Armes, and first Celebrator, in this kinde, of this sacred memorie of that blessed reigne, which shall leave to this land an eternall monument of Godes favoure, and great glorie. That whereas Age, the Foe of Love and Armes, hath disabled me (as you see) to performe with my handes the office of my harte, and hath turned me from a staffe to run with, to a staffe to rest on, making me a glasse for Joylite to looke in, since all strength and bewtie upon Earth, and whatsoever we most lyke and strive for, muste alter and end, eyther soddenlie, by chaunce, or certainly, by small contynuaunce. It may please you of your honourable favoures and curtesies, in regard of my past services, and present humble sute, to accept to your fellow-shippe, in his father's rome, this onely sonne of mine, young, and honest, and toward, though I say it; thus shall you incurrage a young gentlemanne in vertuous exercises, that is labouring the waies of Hope, comfort an aged Knight, worn and weried with thoughtes and travales, drawing to his ende, and binde him with his force, and me with my prayre, to do you ever the service wee are able and further, least I forfait my tenure (which I would not for my lyfe) of this daies honoring her excellent Majestie, being not able in person to paye with the launce this rent of my service, I must beseeche somme noble, or woorthie Gentleman, that is most lyke to have next access to her sacred personne, lowlie to present this little from me, as the yearly syne of his faith: which no cause shall make light, and no tyme can make less. So the high and mercifull preserver of all things best, preserve hir that thus preserves us all, and send you, most noble Gentelmen, and all that be woorth anie thing, best bodies to serve her, best hartes to love her, and best happes to honor her, and her most gracious Majestie the longest life, the most felicitie, the heavens did ever give, or the earth did ever take. Amen. Amen.

It is obvious from this passage that the tilting was one of the annual Queen's-Day tournaments, but not the 1590 one celebrated by Peele and Segar (as Mr. Hamper believed), because it is clearly stated that Lee was no longer champion and because the Queen, contrary to her wont, was not present in person. The

<sup>2</sup> For a biography of Sir Henry Lee, see an article by the author "The Queen's Champion," in *Western Reserve University Bulletin*, vol. xxxiv, N.S.



language is reminiscent of the lyric sung at the 1590 affair and of the extant Lee letters, especially the 1586 one quoted in part below. It is possible, then, for this speech to have been composed by the "Owld Knight" himself. The expression "English Holiday, or rather Englandes Happie Daye" reminds one of George Peele's poem on the 1595 tilting entitled *Eliza's Holiday*; consequently, to proceed on this slight basis would mean that the masque was composed after that year. Another possibility is to discover those tournaments which Elizabeth was unable to attend. Record could be found of only one, the 1591 celebration, at which time she was visiting Christopher Hatton in his last illness at Ely Palace. She went there on the eleventh of November and he died on the nineteenth.

The "onely sonne" was apparently a nephew, for Lee's own children died in youth. Mention of this relative may be found in a letter of Lee's to Walsingham, dated February, 1586, where the knight wrote of his ill-health and increasing old age, and of this "nevew of myne who I have brought uppe and muche love, and is better able to serve her [Elizabeth] than to my self."<sup>3</sup> It is quite probable that this is the same young man mentioned in the masque where Lee is seeking for his protégé membership in the Society of Knights Tilters.

These speeches then are certainly the remnants of an Elizabethan masque spoken at a late Queen's-Day Tournament, after 1590. The whole can be easily reconstructed: the challengers upholding the cause of Despair tilt against the defendants representing Hope and Fortune; a Green Knight enters on the side of the challengers who was probably encouraged by Lee and indeed might have been his nephew; the "Ladie who scorns Love and his power" is the queen, after the running Lee, upholding the tradition of the 1590 tournament, appeared in the character of the old knight turned hermit and made his supplication to the fellowship of gentlemen-tilters.

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<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. MS Harley, 286, fols. 100 and 101.

## 10. THE IDEA OF TASTE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IN an extremely interesting article in *PMLA* for June, 1934, Mr. E. N. Hooker has bravely plunged into the problem of Taste in the eighteenth century, with particular reference to the decades from 1750 to 1770.<sup>1</sup> No doubt this subject

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hooker also has an article in *PQ* for April, 1934, on "The Reviewers and the New Criticism, 1754-70," but it is merely a cursory summary of a few reviews of some prominent critical texts produced in this period. The ideas of "Gothic" and "Genius," for example, were aptly handled some time ago by Longueil [*MLN*, xxxviii (1923), 453-460] and by Kaufman [*Essay in Memory of Barre Wendell* (Harvard, 1926)], but Mr. Hooker mentions neither of these men. The reviews of Johnson's *Preface* were already developed by Raysor [*MLN*, xlii (1927), 1-9], but Mr. Hooker fails to give acknowledgment—he mentions Raysor casually in another connection. He would also do well to orient himself on the position of imagination in neo-classic theory by reading Mr. F. B. Kaye on Babbitt in *PQ* (April, 1928), p. 178, and Mr. R. S. Crane in *PQ* (April, 1932), p. 189.

greatly needs discussion, and also no doubt Mr. Hooker brings to it an ample background and a distinct critical perspicuity. But the present writer does not believe that sixteen pages can ever do full justice to twenty years' discussion of taste in the late eighteenth century, having had bitter relevant experience in writing *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry* a few years ago.

The problem involves many more texts and points of view than Mr. Hooker was able to introduce in his brief but illuminating study. Consider, for example, the following figures. Professor Draper, according to Mr. F. T. Wood,<sup>2</sup> listed, in his *Eighteenth Century English Aesthetics: a Bibliography* (1931), 110 general books on æsthetics, 103 treatises on pictorial art, 65 on gardening, and 244 literary discourses—all of these for the period of 1752–1800—a total of 522 texts, many of which would necessarily fall within Mr. Hooker's chosen years, 1750–70. Yet nowhere in Mr. Hooker's article is Mr. Draper mentioned. To continue with figures, the reviewers of Mr. Draper's work of course added items to the tremendous list. Mr. R. S. Crane suggested four more pieces<sup>3</sup> for the period, 1750–70; Mr. R. D. Havens sixteen<sup>4</sup> for the same period, and Mr. W. D. Templeman seventeen,<sup>5</sup> together with the interesting addendum that previous reviewers, working separately, had produced only four duplicates. Against this amazing mass of texts—Mr. Crane himself asked for additional newspaper and periodical material, which Mr. Draper had had to neglect—Mr. Hooker offers something like ten items (Whitehead, Hogarth, Kames, Burke,<sup>6</sup> Gerard, Melmoth, Blair, Hume, Reynolds, and Armstrong), one literary periodical (the *Connoisseur*), and a few reviews of a few of the above ten texts (from the more significant general periodicals). It is an inadequate statement of the case for Taste from 1750–70.<sup>7</sup>

And Mr. Hooker's analysis of ideas within the few critical pieces he has used is something of "an over-simplification of experience,"<sup>8</sup> to use his own words on the essays themselves. He comes out of his discussion with three main ideas: (1) there were "old assumptions of literary criticism"<sup>9</sup> (i.e., those of "critics of the old type, who based their rules upon Aristotle and the classics");<sup>10</sup> (2) these "assumptions" were being undermined in the period studied (1750–70) by "psychological investigation"<sup>11</sup> (i.e., by Kames, Burke, Gerard), and also by (3) "The emphasis on taste, as meaning individual sensibility"<sup>12</sup> (i.e., "Taste, in fact, is more than once described as a kind of intuition").<sup>13</sup> There are a few other minor ideas dropped in a little confusingly, such as. "... there is a norm for the sense and mental structure of man";<sup>14</sup> "There were other essayists who accepted public approval as being identical or consonant with the standard of

<sup>2</sup> *Englische Studien*, LXVI (1931), 279–81.

<sup>3</sup> *MP*, xxix (1931), 251–252.

<sup>4</sup> *MLN*, XLVII (1932), 118–120.

<sup>5</sup> *MP*, xxx (Feb., 1933), 309–316.

<sup>6</sup> The date of Burke's essay on Taste Mr. Hooker confuses twice as of 1770 and 1756 (p. 581 n). It was really prefixed to the edition of 1759.

<sup>7</sup> Why, also, should Mr. Hooker ignore such a point of view as Mr. Havens' in "Changing Taste in the Eighteenth Century," *PMLA*, XLIV (June, 1929), 501–536? There is, further, such semi-popular material as E. E. Kellett's *The Whirligig of Taste* (Hogarth, 1929) and *Fashion in Literature: A Study in Changing Taste* (Routledge, 1931). And what of Mr. F. P. Chambers' *The History of Taste* (Columbia Univ., 1932)?

<sup>8</sup> P. 590.

<sup>9</sup> P. 577.

<sup>10</sup> P. 579.

<sup>11</sup> P. 579.

<sup>12</sup> P. 586.

<sup>13</sup> P. 586.

<sup>14</sup> P. 580.

taste",<sup>15</sup> and "an artist is permitted to depart from the rules governing one sort of beauty in order to attain beauty of another sort."<sup>16</sup> The ultimate conclusion Mr. Hooker draws from all this is, in his own words again, "hopeless confusion",<sup>17</sup> "chaos in aesthetic criticism";<sup>18</sup> "confusion among the essayists on taste."<sup>19</sup>

The present writer wrote a chapter originally for his *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry* entitled "Shakespeare and the General Idea of Taste [in the Late Eighteenth Century]." He too fell promptly and readily into Mr. Hooker's "over-simplification" of the subject on the basis of the Intuitionists and the Psychologizers. Into the former category he put, rather glibly, Shaftesbury, Welsted, Hutcheson, Akenside as background material and Mrs. Montagu, Sherlock, and possibly Richard Hole as direct critics of Shakespeare; into the latter group he dropped Addison, Hume, Burke, Kames, Blair, Jackson, Beattie, W. Richardson, and Alison. But all this splendid simplicity fell perfectly flat when Mr. R. S. Crane wrote the present writer a letter, Dec. 10, 1928, demolishing the chapter and setting up *seven different pairs of conflicting ideas* on Taste in the eighteenth century: "... a good dissertation could be written on this subject," Mr. Crane concluded (he said he had been working on the subject the previous summer). Hence the chapter on "Shakespeare and Taste" was never written, though some of the material was necessarily incorporated in other chapters in the book. It is now a curious fact that Mr. Hooker's concluding summarizing antitheses<sup>20</sup> distinctly echo a few of Mr. Crane's. Mr. Hooker is on the right track.

The present writer wishes to present some periodical items in a feeble response to Mr. Crane's request in his review of Mr. Draper's bibliography. This material is offered merely chronologically, with here and there a comment or excerpt inserted from "the chapter never published." An attempt will be made to avoid duplicating both Mr. Draper and his followers.

[Not all these pieces, of course, discuss taste in formal theoretical style.]

*Spectator* (1712-14). Nos. 29, 447, 502.

*Englishman* (1713-4). No. 7.

T. Reresby's *Miscellany* (1721), p. 371.

"Fine Taste."

*New Memoirs of Literature*, III (1726), 330.

*London Magazine*, I (1732), 224. "Reasons of the Present Want of Taste."

*London Magazine*, III (1734), 180. "Essay on Taste." "Tis hard to determine whether there is an eternal Difference in the Essence of Souls."

*Gentleman's Magazine*, VI (1736), 260. "Of Modern Taste and Novelty." (Not in general index.)

*London Magazine*, VII (1738), 69. "Of Taste."

*British Magazine*, II (1747), 240.

*Universal Magazine*, x (1752), 33. "Prologue to *Taste*." Garrick's Prologue to Foote's play.

*Covent Garden Journal* (1752). Nos. 10, 18.

*The World* (1753-6). Nos. 30, 67. Mr. Havens added to Mr. Draper Nos. 6, 15, 26, 32, 76, 118, and 119, but Mr. Draper already had 15, 118, 119.

*Connoisseur* (1754-56). No. 120 (Mr. Hooker uses this).

*Universal Spectator*, II (1756), 274-276; III (1756), 46.

*Universal Magazine*, XX (1757), 309-310.

*Critical Review*, VI (1758), 389: "Taste is a delicate, acute perception, in the powers of fancy, as well as in faculties of the understanding."

<sup>15</sup> P. 580.

<sup>18</sup> P. 589.

<sup>16</sup> P. 587.

<sup>19</sup> P. 585.

<sup>17</sup> P. 591.

<sup>20</sup> P. 591.

*Critical Review*, vii (1759), 440 (Mr. Hooker uses this item, a review of Gerard).

*London Magazine*, xxxi (1762), 387. "A Search after Taste."

*Monthly Review*, xxviii (1763), 308 (not in general index).

*Dublin Magazine*, iii (1764) 221. Shenstone on Taste.

*Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxvi (1766), 405. "What we call taste, is a kind of extempore judgement, it is a settled habit of distinguishing, without staying to attend to rules, or ratiocination, and arises from long use and experience." This item is in the general index (to 1787), along with eleven other essays under "Taste."

*Royal Magazine*, xvi (1767), 313 "Discussion of the Question, whether there is an Universal Standard of Taste in the Soul of Man?"

*Scots Magazine*, xxix (1767), 17. (From "Sketch of an Essay on Style".)

*Universal Magazine*, li (1772), 179-180. "An Essay on Taste." "It [taste] may be defined to be 'the power of receiving pleasure from the beauties of nature and art' . . . To form good taste, are requisite a sound judgment, a thorough acquaintance with the liberal arts, and let me add a good heart" (p. 180).

*Universal Magazine*, lxx (1776), 188-189. "On the Progress of Taste."

*Monthly Review*, lvii (1777), 204-205. "Taste and Nature"—a review. This item is in the general index, together with thirty-one other entries under "Taste."

*Hibernian Magazine*, viii (1778), 20. "On the Fluctuation of Taste."

*London Magazine*, xlvii (1778), 360: "Taste consists in discerning the different beauties interspersed in the works of nature and art, so far as this knowledge is accompanied with sentiment."

*Mirror* (1779-80). No. 47. "Delicacy and Taste."

*Universal Magazine*, lxxvii (1780), 193 ("Taste and Genius": "a certain elegance of soul"—from Donaldson's *Elements of Beauty*); lxxxi (1782), 180; lxxxi (1783), 120 ("Birth of Taste").

*London Magazine*, xlix (1780), 526. Review.

*Critical Review*, lvi (1783), 45. Review of Blair.

*Monthly Review*, lxxviii (1783), 13. A review (not in general index).

*Critical Review*, lvii (1784), 101. Review of W. Richardson.

*European Magazine*, vi (1784), 186. "On True and False Taste."

*Wit's Magazine* (1784-85), p. 176. "Search after True Taste."

*Lady's Magazine*, xv (1784), 640. "On False Taste."

*Universal Magazine*, lxxvi (1785), 290 ("On a General Taste for the Fine Arts"); lxxvii (1785), 19 (Excerpt from Reid's *Essay on the Intellectual Powers of Man*).

*The Observer* (1785-90). No. 68. "On natural and acquired taste." Mr. Templeman had the title of this right but mis-numbered it 84.

*Gentleman's Magazine*, lvii, Pt. 2 (1787), 1163. And see second general index (1787-1818) for others.

*Analytical Review*, iv (1789), 216. A review. *Monthly Review*, iii (1790), 361-73. Review of Alison. The review is continued in iv (1791), 8-19.

*Universal Magazine*, lxxxviii (1791), 263. "On the Literary Taste of the Present Day." *Hibernian Magazine*, 1791, Pt. 1, p. 439. "Literary Taste of the Present Day."

*Analytical Review*, lxx (1791), 528. "Taste and Morality."

*Looker-On* (1792). No. 74. Experience and training play a large part in every person's sense of taste; comparison with music and painting. No. 77: Taste is a combination or "imagination," "memory," "reason," "understanding," and "judgment."

*The Bee*, xi (1792), 113. "Essay on the Influence of Taste."

*Literary Magazine and British Review*, xii (1794) 205. "Essay on Taste."

*Anthologica Hibernica*, iii (1794), 16. "On Taste."

*Scots Magazine*, lvi (1794), 322. "On Taste and Elegance."

*Monthly Mirror*, I (1795-96), 265. "General Reflections on What is Called Taste."

*Analytical Review*, XXI (1795), 106 (a review of a French book); XXVI (1797), 589 (review of *The Philanthrope*).

*Monthly Magazine*, III (1797), 279.

*Monthly Mirror*, IV (1797), 47. "Modern Writers and Modern Taste."

*Analytical Review*, XXVIII (1798), 19. Review of Goldsmith's essays (nos. 13 and 14 of vol. II are on Taste).

*Universal Magazine*, CII (1798), 117 (Ethics and Taste), CIII (1798), 92 ("Corruption of Taste"—by H. Walpole), CV (1799), 7, 238

*Scots Magazine*, LX (1798), 683 "Effect of Taste on the Heart."

The above list, not duplicated in either Draper or his followers, does not by any means exhaust the total potentiality of periodical material even in the late eighteenth century (see Crane and Kaye's *Census*), from which it is largely drawn and with which *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry* properly dealt.<sup>21</sup> For the specific years 1750-70, it adds some fifteen to twenty-five items to Mr. Hooker's dozen, and in the course of the whole cursory list above there are ideas suggested which do not fit nicely into the scheme of Mr. Hooker's article: note especially the accent on taste and morality, natural and acquired taste, taste and elegance, taste and sentiment, taste and novelty, taste and the soul, taste and delicacy, etc. One can only glean from this brief, suggestive list of periodical references a hint of what the full scope of the problem of taste will involve, for all of Mr. Draper's books and the reviewers' additions should be taken into account, to say nothing of newspaper items which have so far, apparently, been presented by nobody. The present writer counted twenty-seven newspapers beginning in the years 1700-20, in the British Museum, and then left the newspaper room in despair. The task of surveying all the newspapers for the late eighteenth century would be simply enormous. Yet that is what Mr. Crane has asked for, and no doubt something should be done with it.

To return to Mr. Hooker, one can only grant him considerable admiration for his bravery in attempting such a tremendous subject, even for the limited period of 1750-70. He has made a fair beginning, which is more than the rest of us have dared.

R. W. BABCOCK

Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.

<sup>21</sup> One might even add to it pieces on Beauty, such as the following: *New Memoirs of Literature*, I (1725), 51; *British Magazine*, II (1747), 49; *Rambler* (1750-52), No. 92; *Adventurer* (1753-54), No. 82; *Critical Rev.*, III (1757), 366; *European Magazine*, VI (1784), 187; *Universal Mag.*, LXXXIX (1786), 4 and LXXXIV (1789), 322, 364; *Hibernian Mag.*, 1790, Pt. 2, p. 104 and 1799, Pt. 1, p. 255; *Lady's Magazine*, XXII (1791), 205; *Monthly Rev.*, XXV (1798), 584 (rev. of Kant on the Beautiful)—not in index; *Universal Mag.*, CIII (1798), 197 and CV (1799), 10; *Monthly Mirror*, VII (1799), 148. And see indexes to the *Gentleman's Mag.* (1731-87 and 1787-1818) and the *Monthly Rev.* (vol. II). There is also a second series of the *Monthly*, beginning in 1790.

## 11. THE RAMBLER, No. 191

IN the closing number of *The Rambler*, Dr. Samuel Johnson states:

The essays professedly serious, if I have been able to execute my own intentions, will be

found exactly conformable to the precepts of Christianity, without any accomodation to the licentiousness and levity of the present age.

We would suggest that No. 191 is worthy of note as a possible exception to this dictum, and the only exception. Not only does it fail to point the usual moral, but a charge of immoral suggestion might even be defended without the necessity of reading between the lines. Its tone is quite different, nor is the authorship of this particular issue disavowed by Johnson in his closing number.

Of special interest, perhaps as partly explanatory, is the following extract from the letter which makes up the issue, from a sixteen-year-old correspondent, "Bellarial":

. . . Mr. Shuffle, a grave gentleman, who has daughters older than myself, plays with me so negligently, that I am sometimes inclined to believe he loses his money by design; and yet he is so fond of play, that he says he will one day take me to his house in the country, that we may try by ourselves who can conquer. I have not yet promised him, but when the town grows a little empty, I shall think upon it, for I want some trinkets like Letitia's, to my watch.

The date of *The Rambler* No. 191 is January 14, 1752. The *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington* had appeared in 1748, the third volume being published in 1754. A third edition of the first two volumes appeared in 1751. "The town rang with her name."<sup>1</sup>

The only reference to "trinkets" which I recall in the *Memoirs* of this intimate of Dean Swift occurs in her relation of one of the questionable visits to the "Deanery House":<sup>2</sup>

When we came into the parlour, the Dean kindly saluted me, and, without allowing me time to sit down, bade me come and see his study; Mr. Pilkington was for following us, but the Dean told him merrily: "He did not desire his company"; and so he ventured to trust me with him into the library. "Well," says he, "I have brought you here to show you all the money I got when I was in the Ministry, but do not steal any of it." "I will not indeed, Sir," says I; so he opened a cabinet, and showed me a whole parcel of empty drawers. "Bless me," says he, "the money is flown!" He then opened his bureau, wherein he had a great number of curious *trinkets* of various kinds, some of which he told me: "Were presented to him by the Earl and Countess of Oxford; some by Lady Masham, and some by Lady Betty Germain"; at last, coming to a drawer filled with medals, he bade me choose two for myself, but he could not help smiling when I began to poise them in my hands, choosing them by weight rather than antiquity, of which indeed I was not then a judge. The Dean amused me in this manner till we were summoned to dinner.

Presuming on the popularity of the *Memoirs*, Johnson may rightly have assumed a ready recognition of this reference to Letitia and her "trinkets" on the part of the reading public, and intended further to call attention to the relations of Letitia Pilkington with Dean Swift, whom Boswell tells us Johnson usually "treated with little respect as an author," and attacked "on all occasions."

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington* (N.Y.: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1928), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

*The Rambler* had been appearing regularly for more than two years prior to this issue, and in two months was to cease publication, with the death of Mrs. Johnson. It is possible that Johnson foresaw the end at this time, and judging reader interest by the popularity of the Pilkington memoirs had temporarily lowered his standards in a bid for increased circulation.

MALLIE J. MURPHY

Washington, D. C.

## 12. JOHNSON ON THE SANCTITY OF AN AUTHOR'S TEXT

EVERY student interested in Johnson's attitude toward the responsibilities of an editor is probably familiar with the following passages which touch upon the subject. In the *Preface* to his Edition of Shakespeare he wrote (Paragraph 138): " . . . the history of our language, and the true force of our words, can only be preserved, by keeping the text of authors free from adulteration."

The text of Shakespeare, however, provides problems somewhat different from those presented by texts which have been prepared for the press by their authors. Such a different case occurred with Thomson's *Liberty*, and Johnson further defined his attitude toward the writer's property when he wrote in the *Life of Thomson* (Paragraph 26):

The poem of *Liberty* does not now appear in its original state, but when the author's works were collected after his death was shortened by Sir George Lyttelton, with a liberty which, as it has a manifest tendency to lessen the confidence of society, and to confound the characters of authors by making one man write by the judgement of another, cannot be justified by any supposed propriety of the alteration or kindness of the friend.—I wish to see it exhibited as its author left it.

But for a clear statement of precept followed by a concrete example we are indebted to Edmond Malone in the following report of a conversation with Johnson, an item of Johnsoniana hitherto unpublished.<sup>1</sup>

March 15, 1782. In a conversation with Dr Johnson this day, he mentioned that Pope owned to a Mr. Brindley<sup>2</sup> at one time that he was the author of the Translation of *Ambubaiarum Collegia*<sup>3</sup> &c tho' he afterwards thought proper to disown it.\*

<sup>1</sup> Bodley MS Malone 30 folio 64v and 65 r contained in the second of two paper-backed notebooks labelled "Pope"

<sup>2</sup> Probably James Brindley, who had a bookshop in New Bond Street from 1726 until his death in 1758. Curll is quoted as saying that he was among the sellers of *Sober Advice*. (Elwin, vi, 437; the initial "F" is erroneously given.)

<sup>3</sup> These are the first two words of Horace's Second Satire, Book I, imitated by Pope as *Sober Advice from Horace to the Young Gentlemen of the Town*. This was included in Dodsley's 1738 edition of Pope's works and, as Elwin has remarked, "certainly did not appear there without the connivance of the poet." It is interesting in this connection to notice that among Malone's papers (Bodley MS Malone 30, folio 70) is a sheet in some other hand than Malone's containing the dates of Pope's writings, which had evidently been submitted to Dr Johnson, perhaps to assist in the preparation of the *Life of Pope*. It concludes with this paragraph: "*Sober Advice from Horace* not being in Dr Warburton's Edition is sent for Dr Johnson's perusal. If he desires to see the pieces by Lord Hervey & Lady MSW

I mentioned to him a scheme I had for a new ed<sup>n</sup> of Pope's Works—He said he thought whatever Warburton had done ought to be retained. Add as much as you will to his notes—but suppress nothing. He supposed that the new arrangement that W. had made of P's works was concerted between them before the death of Pope—& that therefore I had no right to alter it—So also of the Letters (w<sup>ch</sup> I thought might be better arranged in the order of time<sup>4</sup>)—"P choose to class them as written to particular persons—The most you have a right to do is by a table to direct how they may be most conveniently read.—An author's disposition of his own works is sacred, & an ed<sup>r</sup> has no right to vary it—For the same reason he said, he s<sup>d</sup> not insert the Satire of Horace nor the paraphrase on the 1<sup>st</sup> Psalm—tho' undoubtedly Pope's—

He once he said had thought of publishing a new edit<sup>n</sup> of Hooker's Eccl. Polity—to which book it was an obj<sup>n</sup> that there was not a sufficient number of breaks or pauses in it.—But if he had executed his scheme, he said he sh<sup>d</sup> have thought it incumbent upon him to distinguish the beginning of all Hooker's Paragraphs by a certain mark, & his own by another—lest perhaps he sh<sup>d</sup> break sentences which the author perhaps would have thought more properly conjoined.

\* Mem. a line of it in the first ed<sup>n</sup> of the Dunciad—Show'd her fore buttocks &c.<sup>5</sup>

Doubtless few conjectures would be less fruitful than to attempt to estimate the extent of Johnson's influence on subsequent conceptions of the sanctity of an author's text and the humble responsibilities of an editor. But Johnson could hardly have chosen a better pupil to transmit his principle to the world than Edmond Malone.

*Oxford University*

JAMES M' OSBORN

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Montague after the publication of the 1<sup>st</sup> Satire of 2 book of Horace they are in my possession & shall be ready for Dr Johnson whenever they are wanted."

<sup>4</sup> Malone later stated this principle of epistolary editing in the Foreword to his collection of Dryden's letters. (*Prose Works of John Dryden*, 1800, Vol. I, Part ii, page 4.

<sup>5</sup> This is a misquotation of line 141 of the 1728 "Owl" *Dunciad* where it is part of the attack on Eliza Haywood. In the *Sober Advice from Horace* line 34 is parallel, which carries the footnote "A Verse taken from Mr Pope."

### 13. MARIANELA Y DE L'INTELLIGENCE DE TAINÉ

CLASIFICÁNDOSE a Galdós generalmente en la escuela naturalista y sabiendo el valor que concedían los escritores de esta escuela al documento humano y la observación, se puede pensar fácilmente, al leer en *Marianela* la manera de reaccionar de Pablo—ciego de nacimiento, al que se le devuelve el sentido la de vista extirpándole las cataratas—ante la realidad, que nos encontramos con uno de tantos ejemplos de observación de la vida real como nos ofrecen los novelistas de los últimos treinta años del interesante siglo XIX. Es posible que sea así; pero, por todas las confrontaciones que voy a citar inmediatamente, me parece mucho más probable que la fuente de Galdós no sea en este caso la realidad, sino un tratado de Psicología.

Comienza diciendo Pablo, que no conoce "el mundo más que por el pensamiento, el tacto y el oído";<sup>1</sup> luego se habla de las posibilidades de la operación y,

<sup>1</sup> *Marianela* (Madrid. 1902), p. 15.



como es natural, al lado de voces de uso común hay otras de un vocabulario más estrictamente científico: *cornea, cristalino, hialoides, humor vitreo, estado pigmentario, calóptica*. Se lleva a cabo la intervención quirúrgica con resultado positivo y en seguida se nos presenta la manera de reaccionar de Pablo al ver por primera vez, quien es observado con viva curiosidad por su doctor, Teodoro Gólfín, "porque era aquél el segundo caso de curación de ceguera congénita que había presenciado"<sup>2</sup>

Pablo al poder ver, lo primero que sintió fué, que

las imágenes entraban, digámoslo así, en su cerebro violenta y atropelladamente con una especie de brusca embestida, de tal modo que *él creía chocar contra los objetos*; las montañas lejanas se le figuraban hallarse al alcance de su mano, y veía los objetos y personas que le rodeaban *cual si rápidamente cayeran sobre sus ojos*<sup>3</sup>. . . Principia a hacerse cargo de los colores. . . Aun no posee bien la adaptación a las distancias.<sup>4</sup> . . . Trajeron un espejo y Pablo se miró en él. Este soy yo . . . -dijo con loca admiración. Trabajo me cuesta el creerlo . . . ¿Y como estoy dentro de esta agua dura y quieta? ¡Qué cosa tan admirable es el vidrio! Parece mentira que los hombres hayan hecho esta atmósfera de piedra.<sup>5</sup>

Taine nos cuenta que, "Dans un cas rapporté par M. Nunnely, "le jeune patient disait que les objets *touchaient ses yeux*, et il marchait avec précaution, tenant les mains élevées devant ses yeux, pour empêcher ces objets de les toucher et de les blesser."<sup>6</sup> Al ciego de Cheselden

quand avec les yeux il eut connu le visage de ses parents, on lui montra le portrait de son père en miniature sur la montre de sa mère, on lui dit ce que c'était, et il le reconnut comme ressemblant. Mais il s'étonna fort qu'un grand visage pût être représenté dans un si petit espace; auparavant, disait-il, cela lui aurait paru aussi impossible que de mettre un boisseau dans un setier<sup>7</sup>

Respecto a las distancias dice:

Il leur faut du temps pour accorder les diverses sensations visuelles que le même objet leur fournit selon ses diverses distances, et pour les raccorder toutes ensemble avec les musculaires et tactiles que l'objet leur a déjà fournies<sup>8</sup>

Sobre los colores, al citar el caso de la operada por Waldrop: "Cependant elle apprenait peu à peu le nom de couleurs, et les distinguait vite."<sup>9</sup>

No creo aventurado afirmar que la relación de los pasajes citados de Taine con los de Galdós es clara y nos permiten ver su procedimiento de trabajo: elaboración del documento científico buscado en el libro, no sólo para hacerlo entrar más naturalmente en la narración, sino para acomodarlo a su nuevo papel que ya no es científico, es poético. Los dos últimos ejemplos—distancias, colores—quedan reducidos a una referencia brevísima, que al mostrarnos el lento progreso de la acomodación del ojo a su función da una sensación de completa realidad a la convalecencia de Pablo.

En cambio los dos primeros ejemplos los transforma Galdós convenientemente, aprovechando el sentido dramático que contiene el primero—el tocar y el herir

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> H. Taine, *De L'Intelligence* (Paris, 1923), II, 156.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 157.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 158.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 159.

son en manos del autor de *Marianela*, "una entrada violenta y atropellada en el cerebro"; "una brusca embestida"; "un rapido caer"; y los objetos se han desdoblados en montañas, objetos y personas; haciendo que sea la reacción de Pablo al abrir por segunda vez los ojos; pues, claro la primera nos muestra sólo el terror de Pablo ante la luz. La mutación del segundo pasaje es más completa, porque el retrato del padre se cambia en espejo en el cual el mismo Pablo se contempla y se adivina fácilmente que la intención de Galdós ha sido lograr un valor lírico.

Por esto, aunque Taine dice: "D'ordinaire, leur cristallin, quoique opaque, laisse déjà passer un peu de lumière",<sup>10</sup> Galdós escribe: "Pero pienso otra cosa. (Es el doctor que habla). La fisura y la catarata permiten comúnmente que entre un poco de claridad, y nuestro ciego no percibe claridad alguna,"<sup>11</sup> porque quiere que Pablo desconozca totalmente lo que es la luz hasta el momento de la operación. Y donde podemos seguir todo el proceso de elaboración que sufren los materiales empleados por Galdós es al comparar la cita que hace Taine de un caso contado por Franz, *On the eye*: "Gaspard Hauser donne les détails suivants sur ce qu'il éprouva lorsque, pour la première fois, il fut tiré de la prison obscure où il avait passé seul tout sa vie . . .",<sup>12</sup> con lo que dice el padre de Pablo refiriéndose a su hijo: "Pero lo más raro es que arrastrado de su imaginación potente, la cual es como un Hércules atado con cadenas dentro de un calabozo y que forcejea por romper hierros y muros . . ."<sup>13</sup>

Este Hércules con cadenas y forcejeando por romper hierros y muros lo debemos a la asociación, para un español tan natural, de la prisión obscura con el recuerdo de Segismundo, reforzando así el elemento dramático que se encuentra ya en la metáfora de Franz.

JOAQUÍN CASALDUERO

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 155.

<sup>12</sup> Taine, *O.c.*, p. 158.

<sup>11</sup> *Marianela*, p. 140.

<sup>13</sup> *Marianela*, p. 133.

# The Modern Language Association of America

ORGANIZED 1883  
INCORPORATED 1900

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The next annual meeting of the Modern Language Association will be held in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the invitation of the *University of Cincinnati,* December 30, 1935-January 1, 1936.





VOLUME L OF *PMLA* IS DEDICATED TO PROFESSOR  
CARLETON BROWN, SECRETARY OF THE MODERN  
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, 1920-1934,  
AND FIRST VICE PRESIDENT 1935, ON THE OC-  
CASION OF HIS TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY AS  
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH  
(BY VOTE OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL)

*Resolution unanimously adopted by the Modern Language Association of America at its fifty-first annual meeting, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, on December 28, 1934:*

THE Modern Language Association of America wishes to express its recognition of the distinguished work of its Secretary, Professor Carleton Brown, who retires after fifteen years of arduous and devoted service. Professor Brown's contribution to the development of our Association and to the promotion of its welfare may be partly appraised by a review of its expansion during his long secretaryship from 1920 to 1934. In 1920 the membership was 1507; it is now over 3700. In 1920 the publications of the M.L.A. printed 483 pages; they now cover over 1500 pages, printed in more compact form. In 1920 the total invested funds amounted to less than \$10,000; they now exceed \$80,000. The Monograph Series, the Revolving Fund Series, and the Rotograph Service were established through the efforts of our Secretary. The Discussion Group system was inaugurated and developed with striking increase in productivity. Large projects of research were initiated, as the Middle English Dictionary and the New Shakespeare Variorum Series. A Research Fund has been established. The Eastern and Western Divisions have been united into one truly national organization, which is administered by an Executive Council of which the Secretary is the Appointee.

To Professor Brown's guidance and leadership, to his industry and faithfulness, to his painstaking administration of every detail, the Association owes more than to any one else its immense increase in resources, service, and prestige. Our secretary has as well gladdened the heart of many a member by the cordiality of his manner in personal conference and professional correspondence. His loyal and unselfish services will be remembered with the grateful esteem which they so abundantly deserve.

ERNEST BERNBAUM,  
ARTHUR BURKHARD, *Chairman*,  
J. D. FITZ-GERALD,  
*Committee on Resolutions.*

## CARLETON BROWN

THE Modern Language Association of America, acting through its Executive Council, dedicates this the fiftieth volume of its *Publications* to Carleton Brown, in recognition of his services to the Association, his eminence as a scholar, and his worth as a man. Carleton Brown was born in Oberlin, Ohio, on July 15, 1869. He did his undergraduate work at Carleton College, in Northfield, Minnesota, where he was awarded the A.B. degree in 1888. Having decided to become a minister of the gospel, he entered the Andover Theological Seminary in 1890 and took there the three-year course of study. In 1894 he was ordained a Congregational minister, and until 1900 served as pastor in Minnesota and Montana. He gradually became aware, however, that scholarship was his true calling, and in 1900 gave up his pastorate and entered Harvard University as a graduate student in English.

Carleton Brown had hardly begun his graduate studies when he linked his fortunes with ours. His name appears as a member of the Modern Language Association in the *Proceedings* for 1901, and in 1903 he contributed to the *Publications* a paper on Cynewulf and Alcuin which he had read at our Baltimore meeting of 1902. To be more precise (and this début calls for precision), he began reading the paper at 10:10 A.M., Wednesday, December 31, in McCoy Hall. Unluckily the all too scant records of the day do not tell us how long it took him to finish the reading, but we learn that his paper was discussed by J. M. Garnett and J. W. Bright, and we gather that the new star had indeed swum into their ken. At this time Carleton Brown was still a graduate student, but by 1903 he had his Ph.D. and a Harvard instructorship, and two years later he went to Bryn Mawr as Associate in English. Thereafter his promotion was rapid: he became Associate Professor in 1907 and Professor in 1910. This is not the place to give a survey of his activities at Bryn Mawr. It will be enough to say that largely through his work and that of his students this newly founded woman's college came to be better known than most universities as a center for medieval research. In 1917 Carleton Brown left Bryn Mawr for the University of Minnesota, but returned in 1921. He entered in 1927 upon his present duties as Professor of English in New York University.

From the beginning Carleton Brown showed himself firm in the faith and fellowship upon which our Association rests. He came to our annual meetings, he took an active part in our proceedings, and before many years he won general recognition as a loyal member and a leader. His move to Minnesota in 1917 took him into the old Central Division of the Association, and brought to his attention the unhappy consequences of



our separation into eastern and western branches. We have it on good authority that the Modern Language Club of the University of Minnesota, when in 1920 it urged, among other reforms, "that the Association be no longer split into Eastern and Central Divisions but meet as a whole," followed the promptings of Carleton Brown. The five proposals of the Club<sup>1</sup> were voted down at the time, but since then they have nearly all been put into effect. The year 1920 stands out in our annals, however, for another reason: on March 31 of that year, at our Columbus meeting, Carleton Brown was elected Secretary of the Association. This election marks a turning-point in our history. Under our first two secretaries, Elliott and Bright, we learned to walk, in the leading-strings of Johns Hopkins; under their successors, Grandgent and Howard, we advanced to maturity, in the shadow of Harvard; when Carleton Brown took the helm, we became aware of our years and struck out for ourselves. With the new Secretary the national period of our Association had begun.

In his recent "Survey of the First Half-Century"<sup>2</sup> Carleton Brown has himself given us an admirable account of all three periods of our history. With characteristic modesty, however, he passes over in silence his own leadership as Secretary of the Association, a leadership so wise and so fruitful that we must always remain deep in his debt. At the Swarthmore meeting of 1934, when Carleton Brown retired as Secretary to become Vice President of our Association, a resolution was adopted which sets forth his services in words that we should seek in vain to better. Let us conclude, then, with a prophecy. In our history, alongside the name of Marshall Elliott, our founder, will stand the name of Carleton Brown, our upbuilder.

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG,  
KEMP MALONE, *Chairman*,  
EDUARD PROKOSCH,  
*Committee.*

<sup>1</sup> Published in our *Proceedings* for 1919, pp. viii-ix.

<sup>2</sup> *PMLA*, XLVIII, 1409-22.

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K. M.



# PMLA

PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA  
*Issued Quarterly*

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VOLUME L

DECEMBER, 1935

NUMBER 4

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LVII

## HEOROT

IT IS increasingly the tendency of *Beowulf* students to stress the importance of the historical passages of the poem. Since Grundtvig established the date of Hygelac's last raid, one is inclined to expect corroboration of other parts of the narrative. But the extent to which one may reasonably accept the poet's statements is a matter for dispute. When he says that Beowulf was present at the last raid of Hygelac, there is no reason for doubt. Not so when he says that the hero swam off with thirty suits of armor. When the swimming match with Breca is mentioned, one may reasonably suppose that the hero distinguished himself in a swimming contest in his youth. But when he swims for days and fights off all manner of uncouth beasts, there seems to be sufficient grounds for skepticism. Or when Beowulf, filled with years dies fighting the dragon, we may feel sure that he died a violent death, without accepting the existence of dragons in the sixth century. Thus in general, we may limit confidence to simple facts simply asserted.

In no place does this principle require to be applied with greater circumspection than in the effort to localize the action of the poem and to identify the spot upon which Heorot stood. It may be well to summarize the material offered by the poem itself; that is, to consider the testimony, topographical, personal, and historical, which is contained in *Beowulf* and which may assist us in the attempt to find the ancient terrain.\* But we must first recall, and constantly recall, the fact that all that we have is a single manuscript of about the year 1000, of a poem written perhaps two or three centuries before that time, dealing with events a quarter of a millenium earlier still. Additions, contaminations, misunderstandings, and scribal alterations may have occurred in the in-

\* I wish gratefully to acknowledge aid generously given by my friend, the late Professor Aage Brunsendorf of the University of Copenhagen.

tervening centuries and they may have impaired the value of the poem as an historical document.

The circumstances attending the building or reconstruction of the hall are so familiar that they need no rehearsal. No indication is given of its actual location, outside the reference to the people who held it, who were Spear Danes ruled by members of the Scylding dynasty. One of these kings, the builder of the hall, according to *Beowulf*, gives it a name, Heort, Hiort, or Heorot. Very little is told about the land which these people inhabited. It is not said whether the capital city was on an island or not. We are not informed as to the size of the town that was about the castle, except for an occasional reference to the bower and other outbuildings.

One very important note is to be found in the text, referring to pagan worship and to some sort of structure in the vicinity for such rites. This has been turned to Chistian uses by someone at a later time, perhaps. It occurs in lines 175 and following:

Hwilum hie geheton æt hærgratfum  
wigweorþunga, wordum bædon,  
þæt him gastbona geoce gefremede  
wiþ þeodþreaum. Swylc wæs þeaw hyra,  
hæðþenra hyht; etc.

For the rest of the settlement, all is silence. It must have been something of a town, being, as it was, the royal seat of the Scyldings; but this is an inference, not a stated fact in the text. The remark of Beowulf on landing, which ends: "þenden þær wunað/on heahstede husa selest"<sup>1</sup> may mean that Heorot was on a hill. It may equally be interpreted as a figure of speech.

The news of the inroads of Grendel reaches the ears of Beowulf, and he sets out to the court of Hrothgar. But the departure, the journey, and the landing are shrouded in a fog of hazy speech that not only makes the geographical identity of their destination a matter of question but has given modern scholars cause to write reams about the nationality of the Geats. The journey is safely accomplished and the warriors disembark. They are met by a mounted sentry, who challenges them and then points out the hall:<sup>2</sup>

Guman onettan,  
sigon ætsomne, oþ þæt hy [s]æl timbred  
geatolic ond foldfah ongyton mihton;  
. . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 284-285. [Ed. used, Fr. Klaeber (D. C. Heath & Co., 1922).]

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 306-308, 312-314.



Him þa hildedeor [h]of modigra  
 torht getæhte, þæt hie him to mihton  
 gegnum gangan; etc.

This seems to indicate that the distance from the ship to the hall was not very great. The warden of the coast rides with them a little way until the hall may be seen in the distance and then lets them follow the path. If the march were long, it seems reasonable to suppose that there would be a definite reference to a somewhat more involved journey. Then comes the "Stræt wæs stanfah" line,<sup>3</sup> whatever "stanfah" means, and the warriors have arrived.

The morning after the fight, the Danes mount and seek out the nicker's mere where Grendel crawled off to die. On their return the poet extends himself with a description of the racing and leaping of the horsemen and the tales of the scop who sought to magnify the deeds of the hero by comparison with those of others. "Ða wæs morgenleoht/scofen and scyended."<sup>4</sup> Now this may be taken in two ways: (1) that the trip to the mere took all morning to accomplish in going and returning, or (2) that it was a day of rejoicing for the Danes and was celebrated by games and a general rejoicing before the drinking bout and gift-giving in the hall. We are not, in the opinion of the present writer, to assume that the poet's intention was to picture the dying Grendel dragging himself off the distance of a couple of hours ride, his shoulder torn out, bleeding to death. At any rate, the distance to the pool is only hinted at, though it was not likely far away.

After the fight, and the further depredations of Grendel's Dam, we do get a definite statement on the subject from the lips of Hrothgar: "Nis þæt feor heonon/milgemeanres, þæt se mere standeð";<sup>5</sup> Following the description of the mere, the warriors mount again and ride off, over the murky moor, the steep stonefells, and narrow tracks, in close by-paths, many an unknown way by beetling cliffs and many a nickers' lair.<sup>6</sup> Evidently a plain contradiction of Hrothgar's remark.

Of the return from the mere, naught of consequence is said. No further bit of evidence may be adduced from the description of the departure of Beowulf from the hall of Hrothgar. No mention is made of the "stanfah stræt"; in fact, the poet says:<sup>7</sup>

Him Beowulf þanan,  
 guðrinc goldwlanc græsmoldan træd  
 since hremig;

which looks as though the poet had forgotten about the cobbled street

<sup>3</sup> L. 320.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 917-918.

<sup>5</sup> Ll. 1361-1362.

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 1408-1415.

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 1880-1882.

or was having his hero go home cross-lots. Such, then, are the efforts of the composer to surround his scene with landmarks that identify the spot. If he had deliberately sought to deny all aid, he could not have been much more successful. He is not even consistent, and plainly shows that he was creating a landscape from his own imagination and from the store of poetic commonplaces that formed his heritage. Far from picturing a typical Danish landscape, he provides his audience with a combination of topographical characteristics that cannot be duplicated anywhere in that flat little land. His ignorance of Danish affairs is further demonstrated by the fact that he fails to mention a single place-name of undoubted Danish origin, excepting, of course, Heort.

All that we are entitled to assume about the location of the hall from the testimony of this poem is readily summed up. Heort is in Denmark, near the sea, but not directly upon the coast, possibly on a hill-top, some little distance from a haunted mere. A heathen fane of some sort is in the immediate vicinity.

But there is other information to be drawn from English sources. Who were these kings who held the hall? Have we any further information about them? Heorot was the seat and high hall of the Scyldings, as we are definitely told in the early lines of *Beowulf*. It is likewise mentioned in *Widsith*,<sup>8</sup> with reference to two of the persons appearing in the longer poem; namely, Hrothgar and Hrothulf. These persons are found in the Scandinavian monuments with the names Hroarr and Hrolf (or Roe and Rolf in the Latin chronicles) and are connected with the great royal hall and capital, Leire. Thus (unless one wishes to postulate the existence of *two* halls) it seems justifiable to equate, geographically, Heorot and Leire.

But here is an unusual and rather amazing fact about the place-names. The English poems invariably refer to the hall of the Scyldings by the name Heorot. Never in these poems is the word Leire, or any similar appellation, employed. On the other hand, the Northern monuments with great consistency refuse to acknowledge the existence of any such name as Hart Hall, using instead the name of the town, Leire. This fact encourages speculation as to why the palace name should be preserved in England and no mention made of the settlement, while in Scandinavia exactly the opposite literary convention should be in force. It is very difficult to speak with any certainty about the reasons for such a condition, but one can assume that both names were at one time existent and hope to find justification for such a theory. If we could find a Heorot in the vicinity of Leire, we might justly assume that our search for the

<sup>8</sup> LL. 45 ff.

treasure-seat of the Schyldings had come to an end and leave the question of the curious preferences of the two literatures for later reflection.

The village of Leire exists to the present day. It is a not unattractive hamlet, a few miles from the cathedral city of Roskilde and surrounded by cultivated land, in part the elaborate estate belonging to the family of Holstein-Ledreborg. On every side, but unevenly distributed, are grave-mounds of nearly all shapes and sizes. There is thus an abundance of evidence pointing to a protracted habitation of this immediate district in ancient times. A body of local tradition and a few place-names of the "Kongsgaard" type give support to this belief. It has been generally accepted from Sven Aageson to the present as the locality at which the court of Hrolf Kraki was established and by generations of *Beowulf* scholars as the scene of the visit of that hero to the Danish court.

In the opinion of the present writer this view is utterly untenable. The Leire of Hrolf Kraki, and therefore the hall Heorot, was located on a hillside miles away from the present village of Leire, on a spot now doing service as a cornfield, part of a farm in Vixø parish: To demonstrate this fact, it will be necessary to examine the evidence which has caused the misascription and also the merits of the contradictory claims. The conventional view will be discussed first.

The place-name *Leire* is derived from the Middle Danish *Lethrae* and eventually from the Old Norse *Hleithrar*, in which form it is to be found repeatedly in the older literature, notably, of course, in the Hrolfs Saga Kraka. The name occurs in the Latin chroniclers, Saxo and the rest, as *Lethra* and the fame of the court was sufficiently widespread to account for the name being transported to Iceland, where it appears as a new place-name in a stanza in the *Brennu Njals Saga*.

In the medieval chronicles, besides Saxo, the place-name occurs with great frequency, nearly to the exclusion of the other royal residences, for in spite of occasional references to Ringsted, Sigerssted and Roskilde, it was Leire that captured the imagination of the Danish writers and which stood in legend and in history as the Camelot of Northern chivalry. However, the definite identification of the humble village which we now know as Leire with the royal seat of Hrolf Kraki is asserted only in the chronicle of Sven Aageson. He says;

Huic [Helgi] in regno successit filius Hrolf Kraki, patria virtute pollens, occisus in Lethra, quae tunc famosissima regis extitit curia, nunc autem Koskildensi vicina civitati inter abjectissima ferme vix collitur oppida.<sup>9</sup>

The other references in the *SRD*, some twenty-seven in number, do not specify the exact district in which Leire is to be found, save an oc-

<sup>9</sup> *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* (Langebeck), I, 45.

casional reference to Sjaeland. Thietmar of Merseberg, the earliest writer of all, does not mention "Lederun" as being near Roskilde, but simply says that it is in the island of "Selon."<sup>10</sup>

The most important confirmatory evidence is the existence of the multitude of grave-mounds that dot the landscape surrounding the hamlet. These are far from unimpressive, and it may be readily felt how strongly they convinced the early writers that the district in which they stand was one of great historical importance and the burial spot of many kings. These ancient monuments inspired the imaginations of the beholders and gave rise to a series of local traditions and legends that have not lost their currency even down to our own day. The most conspicuous of the mounds were given the names of bygone kings and the implication was naturally that the bones of these heroes were enclosed therein. Olai Worm and others in the seventeenth century accepted these vain imaginings of the rural antiquarians at face value, and the traditions thus begun found their way into the immortality of printer's ink. The futility of putting one's faith in such material is shown in the case of one of the most striking of the eminences which lies near Leire Brook, not far from the cross-roads southwest of the settlement. This is known as "Hestebjerget" (Horse Hill) and has appropriate local traditions connected with royal stables, mounted corpses, and other horsey affairs. The elevation is not a mound at all, but a perfectly natural hill, without the least probability of its having received its name from equine contents. An article based upon the extravagant fantasies of the present inhabitants of Leire and vicinity will be found in the *American-Scandinavian Review*,<sup>11</sup> together with some excellent photographs of Leire as it exists.

The claims of the present-day Leire for identification with the Hleithra of Hrolf Kraki, and therefore with the scene of the first two episodes of *Beowulf*, may then be summarized as follows: (1) There is a perfect correspondence of names, historically considered; (2) There is a written tradition of centuries standing; (3) There is archaeological evidence tending to support a claim for considerable importance in ancient times; (4) There is a mass of local tradition that has found its way into print, appropriately identifying the mounds with definite heroes of great fame.

The thinness of this testimony has frequently been noted. The nearby cathedral city of Roskilde with its impressive edifice and its silent host of buried kings has been thought a worthy place to establish as the still more ancient capital of Denmark. This attempt has been given the support of dubious etymology, those who seek to advance it asserting that the town was originally Roe's Kilde, the spring of Roe or Hroarr (Hroth-

<sup>10</sup> *Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi Chronicon*, ed. Lappenburg and Kurze (Hanover, 1889), p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> March, 1923.

gar). This may be dispelled by the consideration of the more probable (if not positive) derivation, Hros Kilde, i.e. the horse's spring,<sup>12</sup> indicative perhaps of the importance of the spot as a horse market, a distinction which it maintains to the present day.

It is the proximity of the cathedral town which rouses skepticism. The establishment of Roskilde as a political and religious center for Denmark took place at a comparatively late date when the country had already a very distinguished history. With the founding of the cathedral and its scriptorium, Roskilde became a center of learning. What could be more normal than that scribes and clergy should attempt to claim historical importance for the locality and attach all possible significance to the appropriately named village nearby? Especially can one understand this when the manifold mounds are considered. Whether in the early centuries of our millenium there were definite traditions connected with specific mounds cannot be proved and does not matter.<sup>13</sup> The mounds were there, the monks were not archæologists, and the very existence of the clusters was sufficient proof that Leire had been a royal burying place; and what more glamorous personage could be desired than Hrolf Kraki, king at Leire, to illuminate the newly founded capital through the mists of obscure centuries?

That such an interpretation of misplaced local zeal is reasonable, is to be supported by the example of better equipped scholars of our own day who see a reference to Hrothgar in the name Roskilde and thus endeavor to give to the royal city itself an antiquity that is not highly probable. It is the opinion of the present writer that the monastic chronicles are not to be admitted as testimony at this point because of the laudable and comprehensible effort that they make to add luster to Roskilde at the expense of archæological accuracy.

The value of the grave-mounds themselves is open to even greater suspicion. Not all of them have been opened, thanks to the foresight of the government authorities who are saving them from tampering in our time for the benefit of future generations of students. For this reason the last word on the subject of their contents cannot be said for many years. But the obvious fact is that there has been no evidence obtained from any of the large group that have been opened pointing to an Iron Age origin. In fact, one authority freely states<sup>14</sup> that in his estimation these interesting relics of the past are from the Bronze Age and the Stone Age, and therefore not of the least advantage to those who would use them as an argument for the location of the Danish capital in Leire in the sixth century.

<sup>12</sup> R. W. Chambers. *Beowulf, An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 19 (quoting Sophus Larsen).

<sup>13</sup> In this connection.

<sup>14</sup> La Cour, *Danske Studier* (1921), p. 166.

One important observation should be made here. Saxo makes reference to a King Olaf in the ninth century as being buried near Lethra in a mound named for him.<sup>15</sup> This, Olrik asserts,<sup>16</sup> must mean the tumulus called Olufshøj, midway between Roskilde and Leire. On the opening of this howe nearly a century ago a silver spur was found in the center, although the structure was obviously of Stone Age origin. It is perfectly true that Stone Age barrows were occasionally crowned by Iron Age structures, but it seems far-fetched to postulate the identity of Leire by a single find of questionable occurrence in a fairly distant grave, and still more so to use the spur as a corroboration of Saxo's statement when there is no proof save the name of the mound that the object was the property of the man in question. It seems at once a pitiful relic of a royal burial, and from its composition exactly the sort of thing that plunderers would not leave behind. Further, this is not the only Olafshøj in the vicinity of Roskilde; at least one other might have been the one described.

In general, then, the gravemounds surrounding Leire, instead of supporting the claim of that town to the honor of Hrolf's court, give no evidence of such a late importance to the vicinity and cannot be used to bolster up the dubious distinction of the spot in the sixth century.

Thus if we throw serious doubts upon the validity of the points (2), (3), and (4) of the case of Leire, the only unquestioned matter is that of the name. And this should be the starting point of the investigation of the whole matter. The first question that arises is: what was the meaning of the original name and why was it applied to the particular locality under discussion? Axel Olrik says:<sup>17</sup>

The name *Hleithrar* itself probably means *huts* (cf. Gothic *hlaiþrs*, hut) and would seem to indicate a settlement that grew from a small beginning. Besides, we have the name Heorot (hart, stag) applied in the English epics to Hroar's slender hall.

It is with diffidence that one attacks a statement made by this accomplished scholar, but if there is any close connection between those two successive sentences it is very carefully disguised. Certainly Hrothgar's broad gabled palace as described in *Beowulf* cannot be designated as a "slender royal hall," much less a "hut." In point of fact, *hlaiþrs* as used in Ulfilas probably should not be translated as a hut, and may mean something quite different, a tabernacle.<sup>18</sup> This meaning casts a flood of light upon the problem.

<sup>15</sup> Saxo, Bk ix, "Olavus Gotrici" etc. to "congestus excepit"

<sup>16</sup> Axel Olrik, *The Heroic Legends of Denmark* (New York, 1919), p. 334, and "Danmarks Aldste Kongegrav," *Nordisk Tids. f. Fil.* (1908), 138 ff. <sup>17</sup> H. L. D., p. 340.

<sup>18</sup> Ulfilas uses the word to render the Greek *σκηπός*, Luke, ix, 33; xiv. 9, 2 *Corinthians*, v. 1 and 4, which his contemporary, Jerome, translates thrice by *tabernaculum*, once by *ædificatio*.

If Leire is derived from a word which means a tabernacle or a place of worship, one may readily understand why it was used to name a royal residence, the centralization not only of civil but of religious authority. Furthermore, if the word were a common noun before it became a place-name, it is unreasonable to suppose that its use was restricted to this particular locality. In fact, it seems justifiable to postulate as many potential Leires in Sjaeland as there were pagan places of worship. If this is the case, and doubts are thrown upon the identity of the present spot with the ancient king's seat, it becomes necessary to go on a hunt for modern Leires, existing, of course, under altered names, and to investigate the possibilities of these localities as aspirants for the honor, such as it is. It may be assumed from the first that, to avoid confusion, the names will have been linguistically altered, the present town having had the advantage of proximity to a scriptorium and an important city to keep its own intact.

Sorting out the references to Lethræ in the documents assembled in the *SRD* is a nearly hopeless task. If there might have been a diversity of Leires, the events said to have happened in Lethræ might have taken place all over the map, except where that town is definitely located in Sven Aageson. In all likelihood there is not such a wide distribution. Undoubtedly the same Leire was meant by all save a Saxo reference<sup>19</sup> which pretty plainly indicated Sþborg and Esrom. A thorough investigation of the merits of Sþborg, which is superfluous to introduce here, has convinced the present writer that there is nothing to be expected from that quarter. No evidence of royal occupation of that locality in the sixth century is forthcoming.

A third spot that offers some promise is the district about Udleire, a small hamlet lying between Leire and the ocean, some miles to the north. This will be found on the Danish Ordnance map (1:16,000) a little southwest of Fredericksund. This place-name is obviously to be translated "Outer Leire," and perhaps means a village farther out toward the open sea than Leire itself. Such has been the view taken by students who have noted the spot. While such an interpretation is perfectly reasonable, it is not justifiable to dismiss the importance of the coincident names. Particularly is this so when one finds traces of another Udleire, now no longer existing as a name on the map, but at one time so to speak a flourishing little suburb (which was recorded as late as 1663) of the other and better known Leire (hereafter to be called Leire ved Roskilde (LvR) to avoid confusion). If LvR had its own Ud-Leire, it is fantastic to believe that the present town of that name could have had anything to do with LvR and it becomes proper to search east of it for a suspected "Leire" with-

<sup>19</sup> Saxo., Bk. xrv, "Tunc rex urbem in solido Lethricæ" etc.

out the "Ud." Such fortunate preservation does not occur, as indeed there is no reason to hope, but there is found a Løjesø nearby, in Vexø (Vixø, Vig-Sø)<sup>20</sup> parish which one may justly connect with the object of the search. In fact, the development of the name has been suggested as following some such process as this:

<i>Lethresø</i>		<i>Leirsø</i>
alternating with	>	<i>Leiresø</i>
	>	or
<i>Ledresø</i>		<i>Leiesø</i>
	>	<i>Løiesø</i> <sup>21</sup>
		<i>Leiesessø</i>

Only the last step offers any difficulties, and the change seems explicable as a late dialectal distortion when the original meaning of the word had become forgotten. Quite properly one may suppose the "tabernacle" that gave its name to the lake to have been located not far from the existing Løiesø.

A further search for likely place-names in the same district is rewarded by the discovery of a lesser pond now known as *Praestesø* (the priests' lake) not far from the collection of houses having the name of Hove (the temple) and a place-name nearby gives us *Lund* (the grove).<sup>22</sup> Quite evidently this has been sacred ground. The holy lake, the grove, the temple, and all familiar essentials to a place of heathen worship—we may feel perfectly certain through the preservation of these names that the immediate locality once was revered as a pagan sanctum of more than passing importance. This is more strongly impressed upon the curious when in the local parish history one reads (*Vigsø Sogns Historie*, C. Carstensen, 1884) of the unexplained tradition that Løiet Sø demands an annual victim. This seems to point fairly directly to a forgotten custom of a human sacrifice, and causes one to recall Thietmar of Merseburg and the fortieth chapter of Tacitus' *Germania*.

The district about LvR abounded in grave-mounds and so gave tangible evidence of importance in the remote past. In this respect it does not greatly differ from dozens of less advertised localities elsewhere in Sjælland and Denmark. Vixø Sogn and Smorum Amt also can boast an impressive number of these monuments. In this district there are dozens, literally, of tumuli and barrows of various descriptions. The contents of these cannot be stated with accuracy. Some of them are preserved by the crown, others have been neglected and abused by the local farmers. A systematic opening of them has not been undertaken. Quite obviously, the objection to the validity of the LvR graves as testimony in behalf of that village is equally applicable here. The last word cannot be said until the last mound has been investigated. But if any importance is to

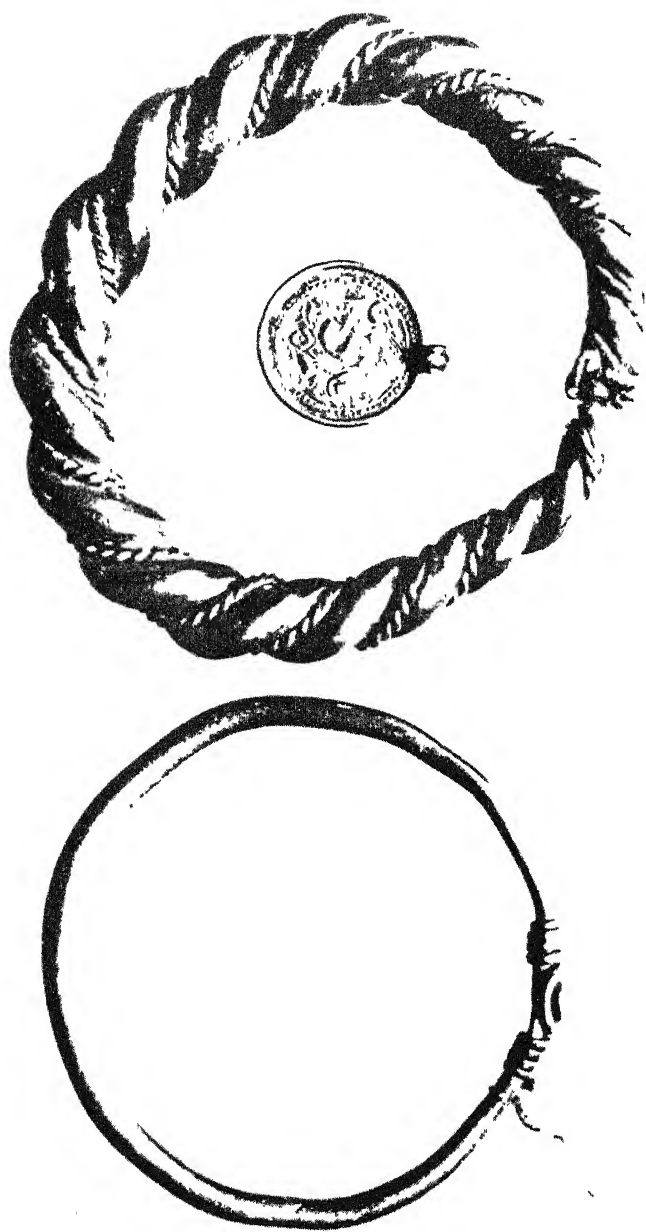
<sup>20</sup> *Anglice*, "Sacred Lake."

<sup>21</sup> See Knudsen, *Annaler f. nordisk Oldkyndighed* (1838), p. 363.

<sup>22</sup> Compare the first verse extract of the Hrólf's Saga Kraka.







A bracteate and *wunden gold* from the vicinity of Heorot.

be given to the profusion of such structures at LvR, the same value must be placed upon the similar objects near Vixø.

The argument for locating Hrolf's stronghold at LvR by the nearby mound of King Olaf is further vitiated by the existence of an Olehøj about a kilometer south of Hove, i.e. in the direction of Roskilde. The contents of this mound cannot be stated; local testimony on the finds would seem to indicate a Neolithic origin. Otherwise, it has as much validity as the similarly named howe farther south.

A census of the finds from the district which are preserved in the Royal Museum in Copenhagen brings forth a mass of interesting material. Those from the Stone and Bronze Ages are, of course, to be ignored, however interesting. Late finds from the Middle Ages are likewise of no relevance, but there is a profusion of Early and Late Iron Age finds that are important. Three of gold are particularly noteworthy. There is a gold bracteate, (C 8780) from Vixø, two gold arm-rings (C 3438-3439) from Smørum Sogn, and one of the most magnificent silver fibulae ever found (10739-10740), together with five large beads. One of the arm-rings deserves especial mention. C 3438 is a very heavy ornament composed of two thick gold rods and a finer two-part strand of gold twisted together in such a way as to resemble hawser-laid rope. The workmanship is not remarkable as in the case of the fibula, but there is a very noticeable massiveness and richness to this splendid object. It is an example of the "wunden gold" mentioned in *Beowulf*. The presence of such finds shows a definite inhabitation of the district during the Iron Age. Further, one would like to suppose, although this does not of necessity follow, that the presence of so rich objects in this locality may be used to corroborate the theory of nearby splendor and wealth.

For present purposes this exhausts the possibilities of current place-names. Of course, there are hundreds which have gone out of use and are preserved solely in early maps. One could wish for a fuller preservation of such documents relating to Vigsø parish. The earliest now in existence is Originalskort no. 1, in the Matriculs Kontoret Archiv. It dates from 1780, and is not very well preserved. Sufficient interest still attaches to it, however, for in the immediate district which is now under consideration, we find a hill-top farm-land called *Stor Hjort* and one directly adjoining called *Lille Hjorte*. This might not seem so extraordinary were it not that Hjort as an independent, uncompounded place-name is of the greatest rarity in Denmark, if indeed it is not otherwise unknown. There seems small reason to doubt that the field in question was the spot upon which Heorot stood, and the adjoining land from its name might well have been the place occupied by the lesser buildings connected with the great hall, the bower, or what not.

Further, at the foot of the hill upon which Stor Hiort is found, there was a body of water, now a swampy waste land, which is called on the map *Halekier*, and which had near its center an island called *Trollholm* (the trolls' island). This looks suspiciously like a reference to Grendel.

The one piece of archæological evidence that would clinch the whole matter is wanting. It is impossible to dig up the foundations of Heorot and display them as the final argument. We have unshakeable testimony from four sources, *Beowulf*, *Widsith*, Saxo, and the Hrolfs Saga Kraka, that the hall of Hrolf was burned by his conquering enemies. It is useless to hope that this was not a thorough destruction of the palace and all connected with it. If this destruction took place about the middle of the sixth century, any remains of a wooden building would be gone by now, unless a miracle occurred to save some significant vestige. Nevertheless, excavations on large scale at this place might still turn up single finds of corroborative importance.

The evidence may be summed up, then, in the same manner as was employed for the case of LvR. (1) There is a good correspondence of place-names historically considered. This holds equally well for both localities. (2) There is no written tradition of long standing as was the dubious case with LvR. (3) There is archæological evidence that this district was inhabited at the period under consideration, and that it has been a burial place for distinguished men as far back as the Stone Age. (4) There is sufficient local tradition to justify the claim of antique religious importance, and this is not open to the suspicion of relatively modern manufacture. (5) Finally, there is a correspondence of now forgotten place-names that indicates definitely the proper name of the palace in *Beowulf*, and one archæological find is illustrative of objects described and named in that poem.

It may now be profitable to note whether there is any correspondence between the topography as set forth in the English poem and the surroundings of Heorot as above localized. As has already been suggested, the English poet is both ignorant and unreliable in his attempt to describe Danish geography.

The localization of Heorot on a hill-top in Vixø Parish is not hindered, though not greatly supported by his information. LvR is near the sea but not actually on the coast. Sarrazin<sup>23</sup> has tried to identify the haunted lake with a nearby indentation of the ocean, but this is open to the suspicion of being forced. Certainly the miracles of Christian times are of but little value in explaining the unholy terror that fell upon Hrothgar's capital in the fifth or early sixth century. The present attempt to identify the hall has this to be said for it, though the hill under discussion is now some considerable distance from tide water, the sea came

<sup>23</sup> *Beowulf Studien* (1888), p. 11 ff.

much nearer to it than the present maps show. The naval battle of Vaerbro in 1133 took place at a spot between the locus of Heorot and the present coast, i.e. to the west, where now there is dry land. The sea might have come very much closer, judged from the contour lines of the ordinance maps, but whether it did or not cannot positively be asserted. All that we can definitely set forth is that the hall was not actually on the coast, but was no great distance away. As to the proximity of the mere, one has the option of accepting either Løiet Sø or Halekier. If the former, it is separated by enough distance to warrant the mounting of the warriors. If the latter, it might be reached in a five-minute walk by the most heavily armed man. But, as has been asserted above, the poet was in the greatest confusion about his geography. All that he knew, evidently, was that a haunted mere existed; what its relation to the place was, he had no idea. The present attempt to discover the high hall of the Scyldings fulfills all the requirements of the poem, but these are not sufficient to exclude an almost infinite number of possible localities.

The more valuable evidence is the preservation of the names on the old map. These assist, but do not finally conclude, one of the most puzzling problems of Beowulfian lore. The hall of the Scyldings is known to the composer of *Widsith* and *Beowulf* as Heorot, and yet this name has never been observed in the writers of Scandinavian literature. To them the capital is known, but not the name of the palace. It seems reasonable, though not demonstrable, that the capital was of greater interest to the Scandinavian story tellers than was the hall itself.

A word like *Eleithargarth* carried with it a connotation that might have been lacking in Heorot. The glamour of the old seat of royalty was in the name of Leire. The palace was not given its name of Hart Hall until after its erection (or extensive alteration) by Hroarr, by which time Leire may well have been already very famous. On the other hand, there was no great national tradition associated in the minds of the English with this spot. It may have been that they had a better understanding of the royal hall as a social institution which might have preserved the description of life at Heorot, while the pagan center of Leire gradually lost meaning and interest and so was finally lost track of, as a proper name. This suggestion does not by any means dispose of the matter beyond discussion, but may serve as a possible explanation. It is noteworthy that the name Heorot was never quite lost sight of in Denmark, although the literary monuments do not mention it. For the existence of the name in Vixø Parish confirms the name in *Beowulf* and shows us that the glory that was Hrothgar's and the importance of his efforts as a builder were reflected, unconsciously until the end of the eighteenth century.

STEPHEN J. HERBEN, JR.

SOME IRREGULAR USES OF THE INSTRUMENTAL  
CASE IN OLD ENGLISH

PROBABLY the chief reason for many of the linguistic irregularities of Old Northumbrian is the fact that the great bulk (about 98 per cent) of its literary remains exist in the form of glosses, in which a scribe is often so intent upon conveying the general meaning of a concept in the Latin parallel that he lets the outer dressing of the vernacular—the grammatical or syntactic form, even the spelling, of a word—take care of itself. The fact, however, that these glosses may be in consequence entirely untrustworthy as a basis for an acceptance or a rejection of linguistic rules need not detract from the interest that their anomalies may happen to afford us. Thus, in a recent survey of Northumbrian relics to observe the treatment therein of the instrumental case, there appeared no fewer than ten constructions which have not as yet been recorded in any systematic study of Old English case-syntax as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

Our materials for a study of Old Northumbrian are comparatively limited in extent to (1) a small collection of antiquities: Caedmon's Hymn, Bede's Death-Song, the inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross, on the Newcastle Column, on the Franks Casket, and on the Falstone Ring; (2) interlinear native glosses to the four gospels in two manuscripts—the older manuscript being designated as the Lindisfarne Gloss and the younger as the Rushworth Gloss;<sup>2</sup> (3) interlinear glosses to a Latin Ritual Book from

<sup>1</sup> The finest of these studies of Old English case-syntax is that of J. E. Wulffing, *Syntax Alfreds des grossen* (Bonn, 1894); somewhat later is the monograph of H. Winkler, *Germanische Kasusyntax* (Berlin, 1896). There are many other works on individual problems. The most complete bibliography is included in Morgan Callaway's "Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels," *Hesperia* no. 5 (Baltimore, 1918). Note also G. K. Anderson, *A Study of Case-Syntax in some Old Northumbrian Texts*, summarized in *Summaries of Harvard University Ph. D. Theses for 1925* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928).

<sup>2</sup> Of the two glosses, the Lindisfarne gloss is the more reliable for the student of Old Northumbrian. The Rushworth gloss is mixed—that portion of the gospels from Matthew i, 1 to Mark ii, 15 (Rushworth i), the work of the scribe Farman, is Mercian with Northumbrian admixture; from *geliionade* in Mark ii, 15 to the end of John, the work of the scribe Owun, is Northumbrian with Mercian admixture. John xviii 1-3, however, is the work of Farman. R. J. Menner's recent article in *Anglia* for January, 1934 (LVIII 1 ff), not only affords a fine review of the whole vexed matter, but establishes clearly the individuality of the glossator Farman. The most cautious statement, in a mass of rather fine-spun inferences, is that of K. Bulbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1902), §25: "Spät-mercisch (aus der zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts)—jedoch mit nordhumbrischen und sächsischen Formen gemischt—ist die Interlinear-glosse zum Mattheus-Evangelium im Rushworth MS" [Rushworth i]. In §24 he affirms the Northumbrian nature of Rushworth ii. But Owun's portion (Rushworth ii) needs more investigation. Other scholars have detected even West Saxon peculiarities in Rushworth i (cf. Menner's bibliography in his

the cathedral at Durham. These texts have all been described at length: the first by Sweet in Volume 83 of EETS (original series); the second by Skeat in his definitive editions;<sup>3</sup> the third by Stevenson in the publications of the Surtees Society, Volume 10. These are the texts to which all subsequent references in this article are to be made. It is sufficient here to repeat the general dates usually assigned to the writing of the texts: the archæological fragments about 700; the Lindisfarne interlinear text about 950; the Rushworth glosses about 975; and the Durham Ritual Book, "tenth century." By way of further repetition, I should like to emphasize the exhaustive nature of Callaway's bibliography on the entire field of Old Northumbrian.<sup>4</sup> Since the valuable *Liber Vitae*<sup>5</sup> has no bearing on the subject of the present study, it has been omitted from further consideration.

I find ten constructions of interest, only the first of which makes use of an instrumental *without* preposition, and even in this instance the preposition may be used.

I. This is the construction in which the instrumental is employed to express the *indirect object* of a transitive verb. The remaining constructions to be discussed are:

II. The instrumental with a prepositional *æc* or *æc to* (the Northumbrian equivalent of the West Saxon *eac* or *eac to*).

III. With *from*.

IV. With *in*.

V. With *of* in a variety of relations.

VI. With *æfter* in a nonce-case to express cause(?).

VII. With *for(e)* to indicate interest or reference.<sup>6</sup>

VIII. With *berh* (through).

IX. With *to*.

X. With *on*. Although this is not a stranger to West Saxon texts, I add one or two rather queer uses of it in Northumbrian.

Only when the instrumental can be found in a distinct and characteristic form is the construction noted. I have thought it best to discuss together those constructions which resemble each other and so have violated a

article mentioned above), but such details do not come into the province of my present study.

<sup>3</sup> *The Holy Gospels: Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions* (Cambridge, 1871-1887).

<sup>4</sup> In the afore-mentioned *Hesperia*, no. 5 (Baltimore, 1918).—I might add here that the only subsequent contributions to the field are the thesis of Anderson (already noted), a collation by Lindelof of the Durham Ritual Book in *MLR* for June, 1923, and a complete discussion of Caedmon's Hymn by M. G. Frampton in *Mod. Phil.* for August, 1924, and Menner's article in *Anglia*, LVIII, mentioned in note 2 above.

<sup>5</sup> in *EETS* 83.

<sup>6</sup> *pro* rather than *coram*.

strictly alphabetical order. It is understood that, unless otherwise stated, every reference to the gospels is to the Lindisfarne manuscript.

I. The instrumental *without* preposition to express the indirect object of a transitive verb.

1. "Gionn *higo þine* (praesta . . . familiae tuae) . . ." the direct object being an *ut*-clause following (Ritual 14, 6).<sup>7</sup>

2. "Bodigaþ godspel *elce gescafte* (Prædicare evangelium omni creaturæ)" (Mark 16, 15). This is clean-cut. Here the same passage in Lindisfarne, perversely enough, has the normal dative construction *eghuelcum sceafta*. A variant reading in Lindisfarne, however, gives *alle sceafta*. We may, in other words, assign two examples to this particular construction.

II. The instrumental used with *to* to express the indirect object of a transitive verb.

1. "To *hwon* . . . þa tosceades (cui . . . ea exposcit)" (Int. Luke 2, 7).<sup>8</sup>

2. "Cwoeþ to *Simoni Petri*<sup>9</sup> (dicit Simoni Petro)" (John 21, 15). Here the likelihood is great that *Simoni* has been copied boldly from the Latin dative *Simoni*, case-ending and all. Note, however, that the Latin dative *Petro* has not been so treated. Perhaps this is a typical case of analogy in the scribe's mind.

III. Closely connected with this instrumental expressing the indirect object of a transitive verb is the combination *aec þon*, found frequently to gloss the Latin *etiam*, *etsi*, or *quoque*, apparently in pure adverbial relationship. Sometimes the combination exists as *aec to þon*, with precisely the same value that the shorter form has. Wulfing in his *Syntax Alfreds des Grossen* speaks of *eac* in such a combination as a preposition of substantival origin,<sup>10</sup> but notes its union with the dative only. I have collected thirteen examples, of which the two following are typical:

1. "Fordraf of þæm temple þa scipo æc to þon and þa exin (Eiecit de templo oves quoque et boves)" (John 2, 15).

2. "God . . . gilef . . . þætte (we) life æc þon bisen ginime bisene (Deus . . . concede . . . ut nos vitæ quoque imitemur exempla)" (Ritual 57, 9).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> All references to the Ritual Book and to the Introduction to the gospels are to page and line; for the gospels proper, to chapter and verse; for the archæological fragments, to line.

<sup>8</sup> As in note 7.

<sup>9</sup> That is, accepting the statement of Sievers' *Grammar of Old English*, tr. of A. S. Cook (Boston, 1899), §237, n. 2—and of J. Wright, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1908), §334, note—that the instrumental ending of the masculine a-stems (I.E. o-stems) was originally -i. Accepting also the fact that most masculine proper names in Old English, when inflected at all, are usually declined as a-stems.

<sup>10</sup> Wulfing's *Syntax Alfreds des Grossen*, II, 658, §1067—"von Hauptwörtern gebildeten Präpositionen").

<sup>11</sup> Other examples of this same idiom: Int. Luke 10, 16; Int. Luke 10, 18; Int. Luke 11, 6; Int. John 6, 16; Int. John 3, 8; Int. John 4, 11; Ritual 17, 7; Ritual 18, 1; Ritual 94, 5; Ritual 94, 8.



The general effect of this idiom is that conveyed by an intensifier only. Yet this particular type of adverbial conjunction is well represented by the common conjunctions *forþon* (therefore, because) and presumably by *sipþan*, which occur throughout Old English literature.

Still, the most unusual instances of this abnormal use of the instrumental form are the occurrences of this case with prepositions of ablative or locative force. There is nothing organically illogical about such idioms—we should rather expect them in accordance with the laws of the "Synkretismus," or falling together, of cases—but we have not seen them before in precisely this form in Old English.

IV. Important among these constructions is the use of *from* and the instrumental, not found, for example, in all the pages of Alfredian prose. I submit the following instances:

1. To denote separation in general, an ablative relation, as indicated by some verb: "Wæs hal *from adle þine* (Esto sana a plaga tua)" (Mark 5, 34). Lindisfarne, not Rushworth, which uses the normal dative *from adle þinum*.

2. Still in ablative relation, to indicate the Source or Origin of any thing: "Ðæt wuldor þie *from ane* is (Gode) ne soecaþ gie? (Gloriam quæ a solo est Deo non quæritis?)" (John 5, 44). Lindisfarne only; Rushworth has *anum*. There is, of course, a remote possibility that *ane* may be that weakened form of the weak declension *ana* so frequently found in these Northumbrian texts.

V. Moreover, while we have some examples of the appearance in West Saxon of the preposition *of* with the instrumental in a general ablative or separative function, the Northumbrian offers a few unusual extensions of this idiom.

1. To express source, with a blending of a purely instrumental idea (means)—"Lufa God of *alle hearte þine* (Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo)" (Matt. 22, 37).

2. To emphasize the instrumentality or means—"Bod acwoden is of *þon alle* to hreownisse getrymed biþ (Prædicatio dicitur qua cunctos ad pænitentiam cohortatur)" (Int. Luke 4, 6).

3. To express *price* in an extension of the *means* element—"Gesomnung ge-wearþ miþ woercmonnum of *þenning dæghwamlice* (Conventione facta cum operariis ex denario diurno)" (Matt. 20, 2).<sup>12</sup>

4. In still further extension of the *source*-idea is the following: "Of *micle aes bebode* gecunned (De magno legis mandato tentatus)" (Int. Matt. 21, 12).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Note the treatment, customary in these glosses, of the Latin ablative absolute, and incidentally the treatment of the Latin deponent verb in the example immediately preceding from Int. Luke 4, 6. Callaway in *Hesperia*, no. 5, devotes considerable time to a discussion of absolute participial constructions in the Lindisfarne texts.

<sup>13</sup> This affords us a good example of the slavish imitation of Latin word order on the part of the Northumbrian scribe.

where the idea approaches that of a general reference or interest, analogous to the normal dative construction.

5. To express the *terminus a quo* in time-relations, the "time from which" idea of our old Latin grammars: "Hwu long firstes is of þon þis him gelamp? (Quantum temporis est ex quo hoc ei accidit?)" (Mark 9, 21).<sup>14</sup>

As for examples of the instrumental with locative prepositions, we have here the usual representatives *in* and *on*, presented in a variety of uses. There seems to be actually very little if any difference between the functions of the two individual prepositions, although *on* is often reserved to indicate the Limit of Motion in normally accusative constructions.<sup>15</sup>

VI. The instrumental with *in* is found in no less than six varying relations in Northumbrian, where Wulfing did not find any at all in West Saxon Alfredian prose. The fundamentally locative force of *in* is, of course, at all times valid, but the abstractions of this locative force are often rather far-fetched.

1. Real concrete location is indicated in the following: "Hall . . . eadges Marie, in þon þu giwunedest (Aulam . . . beatae Mariae, in qua habitares)" (Ritual 66, 3).

2. The idea may be more fanciful than realistic: "We sitta in wuldre pine (Sedeamus in gloria tua)" (Mark 10, 37).

Two similar examples of the concrete and four examples of the abstract phases of this instrumental idiom with locative functions are present in these texts.

3. In what is probably an extension of the locative idea just illustrated is the instance of the instrumental with *in*: "Ne in hwon þu hlada hæfis þu? (Neque in quo haurias habes?)" (John 4, 11), or the examples of "to baptize *in the Holy Ghost*", where the general impression meant to be conveyed is as much the actual *means* as anything.<sup>16</sup>

4. In addition, there is the instrumental found with *in* to express a relation translatable by "in reference to"—distinctly a Dative of Reference phrase: "Gif in groene tree þas doap, in alde hwæd biþ? (Si in viridi ligne haec faciunt, in arido quid fiet?)" (Luke 23, 31).

<sup>14</sup> There are four other examples of this construction: Int. Luke 3, 19; Luke 7, 45; 13, 7; 24, 21

<sup>15</sup> Wulfing has an excellent discussion of both prepositions in his aforementioned work, vol. II.

<sup>16</sup> Further examples in Int. John 3, 6 and Luke 14, 34. Manner, Attendant Circumstance or even a Comitative idea are other possible interpretations, to be sure. Winkler, in his *Germanische Kasusyntax*, actually remarks (p. 453): "Der Instrumental mit Präpositionen kommt so gut wie gar nicht in Betracht; ich kenne ihn fast nur bei dem comitativ-instrumentalen *mit*." He notes another case with *for*, but the Old Northumbrian seems to fall outside the confines of his rather flat statement.

5. A little more difficult to classify is the following: "Gif salt forworþes, in þon gesalted biþ?)" (Matt. 5, 13), where the general idea is presumably that of *means*, although the idea is certainly not forcibly expressed by such a construction.

6. As a pure case of the locative idea fundamental to the question *when?* (Time When), we have two examples, of which the following is one: "Dæg . . . in þon Godes sunucenn' deaþ undereade tidlic (Festivitas . . . in qua genetrix dei mortem subiit temporalem)" (Ritual 66, 12-13). Also in John 7, 37.

VII. In the matter of the instrumental with *on*, we find a rather interesting fact. The two prepositions *in* and *on* are strikingly similar in meaning: it would be possible to find hundreds of examples in which their use is to all intents and purposes interchangeable. Hence the instrumental with *in* might be expected to have the same general functions as the instrumental with *on*, and in these Northumbrian texts our expectations are realized. Yet, while the instrumental with *in* appears to be foreign to West Saxon usage, the instrumental with *on*, on the contrary, is by no means unknown. Wülfiŋ notes several examples of *on* and the instrumental in ideas of locative nature, and the concept may be expressed either concretely or abstractly, as with *in* and the instrumental. I have found the same thing to be true of the Northumbrian examples, with certain peculiarities, however, which I make the occasion for this present digression.

1. In conformity with the generally held theory that the old instrumental ending in O.E. a-stems is -i, we should certainly include in this paragraph the following example from the Ruthwell Cross Inscription, about the only example in this whole study from the early archæological fragments, and one of the very few examples where the more archaic case-ending is available<sup>17</sup>: "Krist wæs on *rodi*," where the concrete locative notion is obvious.<sup>18</sup>

2. In one case the instrumental with *on* is used where we should expect an accusative of Limit of Motion in a general Indo-European idiom: "Uteodon on

<sup>17</sup> Both Sievers and Wright (see note 9 on p. 948) in determining the -i to be the instrumental ending for a-stem masculine nouns, speak of this ending as an original locative (I. E. -ei). An interesting fact that this is an actual locative construction!

<sup>18</sup> Of course, *rod* (and *dun* below) are generally feminine o-stems in Germanic, and it is natural so to regard them here, in which case they could be regarded as variants in -i of the normal dative feminine -e. But cf. Sievers *Grammar of Old English* (tr. A. S. Cook), §251, note: "In Northumbrian many of these feminines are also employed as neuters and masculines, and then conform to the inflections of these genders (§236, note)", and again (§252, note 1) "... sporadically does the dative-instrumental [sic] exhibit -i, as in *rodi* . . . in which it is probably borrowed from the o-declension." This may be rationalizing. Rushworth's *on dune* (Matt. 26, 30) makes me feel that *duni* may be an ignorant misspelling, and that both examples 1 and 2 on page 951 are inadmissible, yet a suspicion of their validity in these locative constructions persists.

*duni* olebearwas (Exierunt in montem Oliveti)" (Matt. 26, 30).<sup>19</sup> Lindisfarne alone has this form; Rushworth *on dune*.

3. Again, as with *in* and the instrumental, there seems to be a tendency to make the locative construction serve as a vehicle to express means: "Gif ic on Beelzebub aworpe diowlas, sunu iuere, on *hwon* aworpeþ? (Si ego in Beelzebub cicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo eiciunt?)" (Luke 11, 19).<sup>20</sup>

4. Lastly, we can apparently use the *on*-construction in a temporal function, to express *time when*. I have been able to find eight examples of this idiom<sup>21</sup>: "On *dagi*<sup>22</sup> wolcenes and mistes (In die nubis et caliginis)" (Ritual 10, 1). Indeed, the usual phrase glossing *in die* is this same phrase *on dagi*.

Beyond the clear-cut intrusions into Old English case-syntax of the constructions just mentioned, there exist in the Old Northumbrian two or three scattered idioms of the instrumental with prepositions recognized elsewhere in Old English as capable of governing the instrumental. But, as the meanings found in these few instances are a little out of the ordinary, I append them here.

VIII. While the instrumental is found frequently with *æfter* in other Old English dialects, I find no good parallel for the following passage from Luke 20, 33: "Hwæs hiora biþ þæt wif, æfter *þon* þe seofono hæfdon þæt ilca wif? (Cuius eorum erit uxor, siquidem habuereunt septem eam uxorem?)."

<sup>19</sup> Since this is a normally accusative construction, this may be even more surely a careless misspelling on the part of the scribe. By the way, the Old Saxon illustrates the locative with instrumental construction by *an thiu*, there is the well-known case in the *Heliand* of *an* with the instrumental to indicate Limit of Motion (*an thiu holmclicu*, Hel. 4734). Or so I read it. Both these Old Saxon idioms parallel closely these Old English idioms under discussion.

<sup>20</sup> Again, note the Old Saxon *an thiu* phrase to introduce purpose-clauses. Cf. Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1900), §539 note.

<sup>21</sup> In addition to Ritual 10, 1 cited in the text—Mark 14, 2; John 7, 37; Ritual 9, 20; 173, 8; 11, 13; 20, 15; 115, 2

<sup>22</sup> The resemblance of this phrase to the Old Saxon *an dag* is obvious. Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1900), §265, note 4), mentions this as an old locative (Urgermanisch-i; I.E. -ei). It would help us much, however, if the O.S. *\*dagi* were not altered—according to Holthausen, by analogy—to its uninflected form.—An examination of A. Norcen's *Altislandische u. Allnorwegische Grammatik* (Halle, 1903) reveals (§138) the fact that an e/i interchange in unaccented syllables in Old Norse is not uncommon, although not, as it happens, in such specific cases as in the dative of the nouns *dagr* or *dánn*. The possibility of Scandinavian influence upon Northumbrian cannot be ignored, but there is little direct evidence of any such influence here. For that matter, the same alternation of e and i in final unaccented syllables is in Old English throughout (cf. Sievers *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, §45, 2 and particularly note 1). The preservation of this tendency toward the interchange of final -e and -i in Northern English dialects is amply illustrated in J. Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (Oxford, 1905) vi, Grammar Supplement, §229. What I am calling here instrumentals in -i (*dagi*, *duni*, *rodi*) may be northern variations of datives in -e (*dæge*, *dune*, *rode*). On the other hand, perhaps not!

Here is an example of the adverbial conjunction in which the instrumental case is an integral part, as shown by the preceding example of *æc þon* for "quoque" or *æc to þon* (pp. 948 above, *et seq.*) or the very common *forþon*. Exactly what underlies the use of *æfter* here is to me a little dubious. The usual force of the Latin *siquidem* seems to be that of cause expressed in the general form of a condition. Yet all subsequent translators of the Latin Vulgate have taken this clause to be a clause introduced by a purely causal conjunction: *since, inasmuch as, for*, etc. So the glossator may have taken it here, but he translates it nevertheless by *æfter*, which, when used with either the dative or instrumental cases in Old English, implies either a time- or a space-relation, with time predominating. My personal suggestion is that the Latin *siquidem* is actually understood by the Northumbrian scribe as the equivalent of *æfter* in a time-relation, in a usage differing no whit from the usage in dozens of passages involving time-relations that can be introduced by *æfter*, *æfter þaem* (*by, þon*) *þe*, or the very common and apparently similar formation *sipþan*. I should then interpret the passage thus: "Whose wife will she be, after the seven have had her as wife?" Otherwise we should have here what might be called a nonce-construction.

IX. A real nonce-construction, as a matter of fact, is apparently forthcoming in the case offered by the instrumental with *fore* to denote that in reference to which an action is carried out, a true Dative of Reference idiom: "Bearn þin Drihten Crist, wyrcente fore þon (Filium tuum Dominum Christum, operantem pro quo)" (Ritual 98, 14).

X. There is finally the use of the instrumental with *þerh* in one instance to convey the idea of Extent of Time, a distinctly accusative idiom, if we are to judge by the standard usages elsewhere in Indo-European: "Ðoncunco þe we doeþ . . . gihaldene þerh dægi (Gratias tibi agimus . . . custoditi per diem)" (Ritual 124, 8).

In considering the reasons for such deviations from the normal OE case-constructions, whether influences from within or without, native or foreign, perhaps I am unduly pessimistic when I say that it does not seem to me that a very convincing reason is forthcoming. Glosses are queer rudimentary affairs at best, and the mere arbitrary whim of a glossator may be sufficient to account for any violation of grammatical laws.

All things considered, I should reject the possibility that they are the result of external, foreign influences. My point may be clearer if we take stock for a moment of the general facts. While it is always tempting to look for parallels in other Germanic languages, the question of date plays too important a part in the problem to be ignored. The approxi-

mate date of the early archaeological fragments (700), together with their intrinsic originality, effectively rules out the practicability of showing in them concrete evidence of outside influences on Northumbrian case-syntax, except for the Gothic—and the Gothic instrumental in Ulfilas has already become the dative. As a matter of fact, as far as this particular body of materials is concerned, only the *on rodi* example from the Ruthwell Cross Inscription comes into the discussion, and, as I pointed out in my notes (p. 951), this example is questionable. Moreover, the general date of the later texts—the Lindisfarne and Rushworth gospels, or the Ritual Book (*ca.* 950)—disposes almost as neatly of the practicability of demonstrating direct Scandinavian influence, inasmuch as the Scandinavian texts extant do not in general antedate 1200, with some minor exceptions. More important than the date, however, is the fact that the instrumental as a distinct form has ceased to concern us in Old Norse. The Old German texts, on the other hand, both Low and High, are old enough to show possible influence on these Northumbrian texts, yet I must confess that, aside from one or two interesting parallels, no particularly clear influences are suggested. The Old Saxon especially, treated exhaustively from the viewpoint of syntax, as it has been in the careful work of Behaghel,<sup>23</sup> can be seen to resemble Old English in the matter of normal functions of the instrumental case; even an Old English abnormality may be said to run parallel, witness the *on duni—an holmclicū* and (with less conviction on my part) the *on daegi—an dag*<sup>24</sup> examples cited above (p. 952). In view of the well-recognized closeness between Low German and English, this is scarcely surprising. I cannot see that the instrumental in Old High German, as referred to these Northumbrian peculiarities, is much of a problem. To be sure, we have in Old High German several cases of the instrumental with *in*, represented by such an idiom as Notkers *in pardisu*. But the amount of evidence that could be brought forward to show any actual relationship between these instrumental idioms in Northumbrian and in the Old German dialects is irritatingly scanty, nor does it seem to me that it would be possible to prove conclusively an influence either way, except to point out the patent relationship, from the standpoint of history, ethnology, language, and literature, of the English and German branches of the Germanic languages in general and of Old English and Old Saxon in particular.

<sup>23</sup> O. Behaghel—*Die Syntax des Heland* (Vienna, 1897).

<sup>24</sup> May we not consider the instrumental *dægi*, with such a form, such a background, and in such a construction, as a true locative? The Auslautsgesetze will not be unduly violated, I believe, and the whole explanation clarified. So Brugmann, *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, III, §263.

In the glosses, however, where most of my examples have been found, there is a foreign influence of vast importance to be reckoned with, and that is the Latin. As I said earlier in my discussion (p. 946), the Latin texts translated comprise most of the total remains of Old Northumbrian—I should estimate at least ninety-eight percent of the whole. Consequently the slavish imitation practiced by glossators must have had overwhelming influence on the handling of many idioms in the vernacular. Whole constructions were imitated, doubtless in parrot fashion. The Latin ablative, for instance, may have prompted some of the instrumentals in the examples just considered. Yet even so, the other Old English dialects are subjected to this Latin influence, although perhaps in slightly less degree, and still they do not use the instrumental in the way the Northumbrian does. In other words, the reason why the West Saxon should use a dative to translate a Latin ablative where the Northumbrian uses an instrumental to render the same case does not seem to me to depend entirely upon Latin influence.

Rather do we have to deal here, I think, with either a fundamental carelessness or an inability of the Lindisfarne scribe to comprehend or to appreciate the usual grammatical precepts of his language in respect to case-functions. Whether this is the fault entirely of the individual glossator or the fault of the people as a whole can never be settled from our materials at hand. Before we attribute the error to the scribe, however, on the grounds of his relative literacy, let us remember that *-i* and *-e* unaccented are frequently blurred to a general *-ə* sound in the northerly dialects (cf. footnote 22)—a fact which may react in turn upon the written form of the word and produce easily a confusion between dative and instrumental forms in the manuscript. This slovenliness of pronunciation might account for my examples in *-i*, and, when wedded to the general breaking down of inflections at an early date in the northerly dialects, might account for my examples among the strong adjectives in *-e*, but it could hardly account for my examples in *þy* and *þon*. One important fact, moreover, must be borne in mind. With two exceptions (the example of *þerh dægi* in Ritual 124, 8 and of *on duni* in Matt. 26, 30, the latter of which bears resemblance to the Old Saxon idiom), every one of these anomalous instances of the instrumental case occurs in idioms expressed usually by the *dative*, both in classic West Saxon and even here in the Northumbrian. Many examples cited above occur in the Lindisfarne (practically pure Northumbrian) where the corresponding passage in the Rushworth (mixed) has the dative. In short, we are dealing here basically with a dative-instrumental blend, and we may have to look no farther for our explanation than in the interchangeability of *-i* and *-e* in northern dialects under a lack of stress. Analogy could ac-

count for the rest—analogy, too often the last refuge of the baffled scholar.

If, on the other hand, we disregard the obviously important matter of the scribe's pronunciation and inquire into his apparent indifference to the normal principles of case-syntax throughout his gloss, we merely throw the searchlight upon a recognized fact, that the more northerly Old English dialects combine archiasm and disintegration.<sup>25</sup> For this indifference is not confined merely to the functions of the dative and instrumental cases. So pronounced is the lack of discrimination between dative and accusative functions that this particular fact serves as a distinguishing characteristic of Old Northumbrian, and Callaway (*op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff.) has even found this discrimination lacking in such a fundamentally artificial idiom as the absolute participle construction. In short, the movement which later resulted in the blending of the two cases, dative and accusative, into the Modern English "objective" case had already begun.

Yet we must not overlook the fact that, among the irregular constructions just reviewed, there are only two instances of an instrumental where we should expect an accusative, which is a far smaller proportion than can be found when we look for dative and accusative mixtures. While the Northumbrian scribe does often confuse his grammatical cases badly in these glosses, he seems to shrink from mixing instrumentals and accusatives.

Such a study, moreover, gives a sidelight interesting to the philologist at work on the history of general Indo-European cases. In the *on dægi* forms above mentioned we have the Old English instrumental descended directly from the Indo-European locative ending. We see also the other two component factors in the Old English instrumental—the Indo-European ablative and the Indo-European instrumental—working with a freer force and probably stronger effect, in function if not in form, than elsewhere in Old English. Of course the whole group of cases covered by the Northumbrian instrumental has already been absorbed in large measure by the dative, but the transition from instrumental to dative is not yet so completely developed in the Old Northumbrian as in the more southerly dialects of Old English.

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<sup>25</sup> Some excellent examples of this disintegration are brought forward in W. F. Bryan's "The Midland Present Plural Indicative Ending -e(n)," *Mod. Phil.*, xviii, 124.



## LIX

### THE ADDRESS OF THE SOUL TO THE BODY

#### I

THERE exist in Old English a number of compilations in which an address of the soul to its body is a conspicuous feature. The best known is the poem in the Vercelli<sup>1</sup> and the Exeter Books, in which the soul returns to its body once a week and communes with it, the sinful soul reproaching it vituperatively, the righteous comforting it lovingly and joyously. The fourth Vercelli homily<sup>2</sup> has a remarkable scene, an elaborated account of the judgement of the soul at Doomsday, in which the souls address their bodies as they stand in the presence of the Judge. The Last Judgement is again the scene of an address, and that in one of the homilies presented by Assmann.<sup>3</sup> There is, finally, the Old English vision, printed by Thorpe<sup>4</sup> and Napier,<sup>5</sup> of the bringing forth of the soul,<sup>6</sup> wherein the newly-released soul of a sinner vituperates the body it has just left. To this literature, I wish to add passages from two unpublished Old English homilies, in which the address is made, not at the moment of death, as in Thorpe and Napier, nor at the Last Judgement, as in Vercelli Homily iv and in Assmann, but at some intermediate time, when the soul returns intermittently to its body for that purpose, as in the Old English poem. These two texts are Homilies II and IV of MS. Junius 85<sup>7</sup> of the Bodleian Library, and Homily XL of MS. II. 1.33 of the Cambridge University Library.<sup>8</sup>

My first text, Homilies II and IV of MS. Junius 85 (which I shall refer to hereafter as Junius) has had a strange fate. This manuscript, belonging

<sup>1</sup> George Philip Krapp, *The Vercelli Book* (New York, 1932), pp. 54–59. For a convenient English translation, see R. K. Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, no. 794 of *Everyman's Library* (London, n. d.), pp. 310–313.

<sup>2</sup> Max Förster, *Die Vercelli-Homilien, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*, XII (Hamburg, 1932), 82–103.

<sup>3</sup> Bruno Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*, III (Kassel, 1889), p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (London, 1849), folio. ed., pp. 466 ff.

<sup>5</sup> A. S. Napier, *Wulfstan* (Berlin, 1883), pp. 140–141.

<sup>6</sup> For this, see Louise Dudley, "An Early Homily on the Body and Soul Theme," *JEGP*, VIII (1909), 225 ff., and *The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul* (Baltimore, 1911), pp. 91 ff.

<sup>7</sup> George Hickes, *Antiquae Literaturae Septentrionalis Liber Alter, seu Humphredi Wanleii Librorum Vell. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliae Bibliothecis extant. nec non multorum Vell. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus . . .* (Oxford, 1705), p. 44. (Generally referred to as 'Wanley'). Texts II and IV are really the separated parts of one homily, as I show below.

<sup>8</sup> Wanley, p. 165.

to the mid-eleventh century, seems to have suffered some misfortune in Old English times. In places the ink has faded, and the text has been inked over (twice, in fact. once by an Old English hand, and later by Junius). The manuscript must have come apart and been rebound, with the result that a whole quire has got misplaced. This quire, folios 3r-11v, contains the opening sections of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in an Old English translation; it presents, with certain omissions, Sections 4 to 17 of the full version,<sup>9</sup> and is thus the only western vernacular text of this form of the apocalypse before modern times.<sup>10</sup> The apocalypse breaks off abruptly in the account of the third judgement scene,<sup>11</sup> that of the impenitent and recalcitrant soul. The present folio 2v, the first page of our address of the soul to the body, of which Wanley says "*Præter unam pagellam deest tota Hom.*",<sup>12</sup> is now separated by the *Apocalypse of Paul*, Wanley's text No. III, from its continuation, which is to be found on folios 12r-17r of the manuscript in its present form. This continuation, Wanley's No. IV, he describes as "*Fragmentum Hom. capite et calce truncatum.*" Folio 2 is a single leaf, now bound in before the present first gathering, folios 3r-11v, with which, however, it has no essential connection. Its rightful place is before the second gathering, folios 12r following, where it must have stood originally, either attached to it as its first leaf or as the last leaf of a preceding gathering, now lost. This lost gathering would have contained the body of Wulfstan Homily XLIX, the closing lines of which occupy the recto of folio 2.<sup>13</sup> As a single leaf attached at the beginning or end of a gathering, this folio could easily be misplaced in reforming the book in case it had once come apart. These circumstances explain how it is that the first folio of our homily on the address of the soul is separated from the body of the text by the accidental binding in out of place of this Old English redaction of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, with which it has no immediate connection. This incongruity was observed in Old English times, as the corrector, whose hand we see at work here and there in the manuscript, has erased some of the closing words of folio 2v, and has written in some connective matter,<sup>14</sup> in amplifi-

<sup>9</sup> That is, from the appeal of the sun to the middle of the third judgement scene.

<sup>10</sup> For a bibliography, see R. P. Casey, "The Apocalypse of Paul," *J. of Theolog. Stud.*, xxxiv (1933), 1-5.

<sup>11</sup> At about line 33 of p. 534 of Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924). I believe, furthermore, that the beginning has been lost, and that something other than the present 2v, contained the true beginning of this Old English version of the apocalypse.

<sup>12</sup> Wanley, p. 44, under II.

<sup>13</sup> Napier, in manuscript notes written on his transcript of this Junius fragment, identified the matter on folio 2r as the conclusion of this homily, and as corresponding to the text printed by him in *Wulfstan*, p. 265, lines 13-20.

<sup>14</sup> See below, p. 961, note. 18.

cation of a phrase found in the preceding lines,<sup>15</sup> and in this manner has attained a sort of transition to the unrelated outcry of the sun against the sinfulness of man with which the *Apocalypse of Paul* begins. As there was not quite room enough at the bottom of folio 2v, the corrector ran the few extra words of this matter over at the bottom of folio 3r. By sheer coincidence, some sort of continuity was found to exist in passing from folio 11v, the abrupt truncation of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, to folio 12r, the actual continuation of the address of the soul. The last words of 11v are *And hie hine ðanne gegretað ðæs synfullan mannes*, while the first words of folio 12r are *sawl and ðus cweð*, which happens to make sense and give continuity, though in what follows there is no connection with the thought of folio 11v. Actually, then, Wanley's sections II and IV of MS. Junius 85 are parts of the same text. It ought to be pointed out, in addition, that they are in the same hand, writing on the same soft, greyish white velum, while Wanley's III, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, is in a different hand, on a more yellowish, slightly stiffer, velum.

This Junius homily is taken up principally with the matter of the addresses of the two souls to their bodies, the sinful first, and then the righteous. In this particular matter of the words of the souls, Junius is very close to Assmann's homily, though it is much fuller than the latter. The chief difference is in the setting, which I shall discuss below.<sup>16</sup> With the concluding words of the righteous soul, the homilist continues with an exhortatory section identical with that in Assmann at the same point,<sup>17</sup> then there follows a free interpretation of II Timothy 3, 1-9, and with appropriate warnings to heed diligently the last things, the homily finally is brought to a close.

My second text, that in MS. li. 1.33 of the Cambridge University Library, which I shall call Cambridge, is a rather lengthy compilation attributed to St. Augustine. A late sixteenth—or a seventeenth—century hand<sup>18</sup> has, in fact, written at the head of this homily the words *Augustini Sermo*. Such an ascription is easy to arrive at from the internal evidence of the text. In the very first sentence St. Augustine is invoked in the phrase *swa swa Sanctus Augustinus hit ærest on bocum awrat*.<sup>19</sup> Again, shortly after, as the *Ubi sunt reges?* is introduced, the same authority is named: *Be þam se halga mann Sanctus Augustinus wæs sprecende in and þus cwæð, O homo, dic mihi: Ubi sunt reges?*<sup>20</sup> Finally, the actual description of the period:ic return of the soul to its body at Eastertide, and the very words of the soul, are likewise attributed to St. Augustine: *þæt is*

<sup>15</sup> on þam alysende Gode ælmihtigum, se for ðinum ðingum manigfeald wite þrowode, fol. 2v, ll 15-16. <sup>16</sup> Pp. 979-980 <sup>17</sup> Assmann, p. 167, l. 102-; p. 168, l. 112.

<sup>18</sup> Wanley, p. 165, describes it as *manu recenti*.

<sup>19</sup> P. 409, l. 4.

<sup>20</sup> P. 410, l. 7.

*easterdæg, swa ðe eadiga Augustinus þur God be þam sæde, þe þis godspel dihte, and þus cwæð.*<sup>21</sup>

This particular homily is of three distinct sources. The first part, pp. 409–412, i.e., from the beginning up to the address of the soul, is a translation of some version of a homily at one time attributed to St. Augustine: *Ad Fratres in Eremo Sermo LXVIII*;<sup>22</sup> the third part, that which follows immediately after the address of the sinful soul, is based on another of these sermons *Ad Fratres in Eremo*, Number LXVI.<sup>23</sup> It is to be remembered that still another homily of this series, Number LXIX,<sup>24</sup> does contain body and soul material, closely parallel to Batiouchkof's Nonantola Latin text,<sup>25</sup> and some form of this particular homily served as the source for that account of the bringing forth of the soul which appeared in Thorpe<sup>26</sup> and in Napier,<sup>26</sup> and was the basis of Miss Dudley's study of this form of the legend.<sup>27</sup> In the Irish version of the material represented by *Ad Fratres in Eremo Sermo LXIX*, in both the Latin tag<sup>28</sup> and in the Irish translation,<sup>29</sup> St. Augustine is given as the source of this theme: "This is what St. Augustine says: There come two hosts to meet every soul. . . ." As Gaidoz remarks, however, a search for this in the works of St. Augustine has not been attended with success.<sup>30</sup> He means, of course, in the canonical works. It is most likely, on the other hand, that some supposititious work or works were current, bearing as their mark of authority St. Augustine's name, and containing body and soul material. It might be added in this connection that another homily dealing with the departure of the soul from the body has also been ascribed to Augustine. The rubricated title of Miss Dudley's eleventh-century Latin text of the Two Deaths and the Three Utterances<sup>31</sup> in MS Latin 2628 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, reads thus : *INCIPIUNT OMELIE BEATI AUGUSTINI. DE ANIMA EXEUNTE DE CORPORE*. The interest of the saint in problems connected with the soul and the body is clear from his authentic writings, and surely his reputation in patristic literature was large enough to draw to it works not his. Volumes XXXIX and XL of the

<sup>21</sup> P. 412, l. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XL, col. 1354. For this identification I am indebted to Miss Eleanor H. Kellogg of New York University.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1352. Section 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 1355–57.

<sup>25</sup> Th. Batiouchkof, "Le Débat de l'Âme et du Corps," *Romania*, XX (1891), 9–10, 576–578.

<sup>26</sup> See above, notes 4 and 5.

<sup>27</sup> Louise Dudley, *op. cit.*, J.E.G.P., VIII (1909), 225 ff. Bibliography on p. 225.

<sup>28</sup> H. Gaidoz, "Le Débat du Corps et de l'Âme en Irlande," *Revue Celtique*, X (1889), 466: *Dicens Augustinus*; variant *ut dixit Augustinus dicens*.

<sup>29</sup> Robert Atkinson, *The Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series), II (Dublin, 1887), p. 507.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 465.

<sup>31</sup> Louise Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul* (Baltimore, 1911), pp. 164–165.

*Patrologia Latina* are a rich treasury of these texts, some of which are of such a nature as to scandalize their editor and draw from him an indignant protest against the Augustinian ascription.

Note: In printing the two OE texts I have expanded scribal abbreviations, indicating them in the usual fashion. The sign for the conjunction, "7", is silently expanded, and the punctuation is mine. Emendations are confined to those necessary for intelligent reading.

## MS Junius 85

**M**EN<sup>1</sup> ða leofestan, we geleornodon<sup>2</sup> on godcundum gewritum þæt<sup>3</sup> æghwylces monnes sawul æfter þisse weorulde scyl gesecegan<sup>4</sup> eft<sup>5</sup> (ð)ane<sup>6</sup> lic(homan)<sup>7</sup> and<sup>7</sup> þissum<sup>7</sup> wordum ærest þus sprecaþ and cweð þæs synfullan monnes sawle: 'Gehyrstu,<sup>8</sup> earma senfulla<sup>9</sup> lichoma, ic cyrre to ðe to ðan þæt ic ðe werge<sup>10</sup> and þine ungeleafulnesse ðe gesece.<sup>11</sup> Forhwon,<sup>12</sup> earma lichoma, lufodesðu þone feond, ðæt wæs se<sup>13</sup> diofol? Forhwon lyfdest þu þam (ðe)<sup>14</sup> þe forlærde<sup>15</sup> þurh synne-lustas? And<sup>16</sup> forhwon, earma lichoma, noldest þu gelyfan (on þa)m<sup>17</sup> alysende Gode ælmihtigum, se for ðinum ðingum manigfeald wite þrowode?' <And hio þanne gyt clypað, seo><sup>18</sup> [fol. 12r] sawl and ðus

<sup>1</sup> Folio 2v. Large rubricated initial *M*. On the condition of this page Napier remarks: "The same late hand as on fol. 1 (I think it is Junius), has inked over the whole of this page with the exception of a few words, and it is, in most cases, impossible to see what was underneath. . . . I am not sure that in one or two places here and on folio 1, an older hand had not inked over the letters before Junius." Quoted from Napier's notes on his transcript of this text.

<sup>2</sup> *ge* superscript.

<sup>3</sup> *þ* inked over; space for at least two letters after *þ*.

<sup>4</sup> *-egegan eft dane lic* in another hand [neither the scribe, the reviser, nor Junius] and larger letters. Napier remarks: "*-egegan* ist auf Rasur, *eft dane* dagegen scheint nicht auf Rasur zu sein." The reading of line 27, *hio hine eft seceþ*, suggests that the original reading here may have been *gesecan* or *gesecean*, but that in revision and overwriting, in Old English times, the present reading, *gesecean*, resulted.

<sup>5</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>6</sup> MS. *dane*; see note 4.

<sup>7</sup> *lic* in another(?) hand in the right margin, line 4; between the left margin, line 5, and *þissum* there is space for ten or eleven letters, of which "and" (7) can be made out at about two letters distance to the left of *þissum*. The other letters are too faint to be traced. Napier remarks: "I almost fancy I can see faint traces of *homan* (or *haman*) at the beginning of the line, but it may be fancy."

<sup>8</sup> MS. *gihyrstu*. Napier remarks: "*gihyrstu* all inked over; the *i* was originally *e*."

<sup>9</sup> *-fulla* is very faint, but discernible, *sen-* is probably the original spelling, though the letters have been inked over.

<sup>10</sup> = *wierge*, "curse"

<sup>11</sup> *ge-* superscript. *Gesece* very faint.

<sup>12</sup> *h* superscript. <sup>13</sup> Superscript.

<sup>14</sup> Napier remarks: "Hinter *þam* Rasur von etwa zwei Buchstaben. Ich glaube es war *ðe*."

<sup>15</sup> Napier notes that Junius, in re-inking *forlærde*, made *fof* out of *for*.

<sup>16</sup> 7 inserted within the line.

<sup>17</sup> Space for about seven letters before *alysende* I can make out *m* clearly. I supply on *þa*.

<sup>18</sup> *And hie þanne gyt clypað seo* is pure conjecture, and is supplied on the basis of lines 6-7 of folio 12r. The present reading of the manuscript is not original, and is the attempt of the reviser to bridge over the gap between folios 2v and 3r after the two were accidentally bound up together in this order in the present make-up of the manuscript. After *þrowode* the present reading is. *God gefæste .xxxx. dage<s?> <t>o->s<o>mne and after ðam fæstene he self w<æ>s on> rode gefæstnod his fet and his hand . . . ge næghum and ðurh ð<a> ð<row>unge he us [continued at bottom of folio 3r] <w>olde of hylle<witum?> alysan. The passage is difficult to read, and the conjectured letters of *ða ðrowunge . . . wolde of hellewitum* are Napier's, the rest mine. On the state and significance of this matter, see above, pp. 958-959.*

- 10 cweð: 'Gehyrstu, hearda<sup>19</sup> lichoma, þu ungeleaffulla, sceawa on me to hwylcere<sup>20</sup> susle ðu eart toward Ic ðe eft onfo, and þu me, and wit þonne butu sculon beon birnende in ðæm ecan fyre.' And hio þanne gyt þus clypað and cweð. 'Geherstu, forworhta<sup>21</sup> lichoma, forhwan lærde þe deofol to helle, butan þæt þu fela yfela dydest? Forhwon noldest ðu, forwordena and eac forwyrhta, geheran ða godcundan lare, þe þe lærdon to Godes rice? And þu noldest gecerran to him Ac þu, earma lichoma, þu eart deofles hus, forðan ðu deofles willen worhtest. Þu wære yrres hyrde<sup>22</sup> and oferhydig.' Þonne cweþ seo sawl, 'Wa me, forðæm ic þa awirgedan þinc mid ðe lufode! Wa me, forðæm ic ða towardan [fol. 12v] þingc ne gemunde! Wa me, forðæm þe ic me hellewite ne ondred! Wa me, forðæm þe ic heofonarice ne lufode! Wa me, forðæm þe ic gefafode ealle ða yfel þe þu dydest! Forþon ic nu for ðinum gewyrhtum eom cwylmed,<sup>23</sup> and for þinum yfelum dædum ic eom on hellewite bescofen. Ic wæs Godes dohter, and angla swistor gescapen, and þu me hafæst forworht, þæt ic eam deofles bearn, and deoflum gelic. Forþon ic ðe wrege and þe ofercyme mid wærignesse,<sup>24</sup> forþæm
- 25 þu me forworhtest and awergedne geddydest.'
- Þonne, mæn ða leofestan, ungelice sio gode and seo clæne sawl gret<sup>25</sup> þone lichaman sioððan hio him ofalæd biþ. Hio hine eft seceþ, and þanne him þus to cweð: 'Gehyrstu, eadiga lichama, and þu un [fol. 13r] synnig; ic com o ðe toþan þæt ic þe hyrige<sup>26</sup> and pine geselignesse þe secge. Geherstu, goda lichoma and þu geleaffulla, þu wære godes brytta,<sup>27</sup> forðon þu Godes willan worhtest; þu þæt georne beoðdest<sup>28</sup> dagum and neahtum.' Hio ðonne eft, seo gode sawl, him þus to cwæð: 'Geherstu, gesæliga lichoma; wel þe, wel þe, forðam þu þinum fconde deofle ne geherdest, se þe wolde forlæran þurh synnelustas! Ac ðu gyt<sup>29</sup> swiðor ongæte<sup>30</sup> and heolde þa godcundan lare, þa ðe laþedon to þam upplcan rice on
- 30 heofonas.' Hio hine ðanne<sup>31</sup> gyt heræþ, sio clæne sawl, þone<sup>32</sup> lichoman, 'Geherstu, gebletsoda lichoma, sceawa on me to hwilcum setle þu eart toward. And þin med [fol. 13v] is in me<sup>33</sup> fægere gesionne, þæt þu most simble eces eardes brucan in blisse.' And hio hine ðonne get greteþ<sup>34</sup> and to cwyð, 'Wel þe, goda lichoma, forþam þu me hafast medomne gedon, þæt<sup>35</sup> ic eam mare manegum
- 40 siðum þara micelra goda ðe nis æniges mannes mubes gemet, þæt þæt asecgan mæge, ne næniges<sup>36</sup> mannes mod, þæt hit aðæncen cunne, hwilce þa gefean earon<sup>37</sup> þe God gegerwod<sup>38</sup> hafað eallum ðam mannum þe hine her on wurulde

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac*, p. 511, where the soul addresses its body as "O stubborn body."

<sup>20</sup> MS. *hwylcere*; *y*<sup>1</sup> struck out by original scribe. <sup>21</sup> *r*<sup>2</sup> superscript.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 511-512, where the soul twice calls its body "maintenance of anger."

<sup>23</sup> *cyl* erased before *cwylmed*.

<sup>24</sup> Napier remarks: "The *i* has been inked over by Junius. What was underneath I can't make out with certainty; it may possibly have been *i*, or it may have been another letter." MS. *wærignesse*.

<sup>25</sup> See below, p. 963, note 7. <sup>26</sup> = *herige*.

<sup>27</sup> Interesting occurrence of this poetical and Anglian word in a prose homily.

<sup>28</sup> Between *s* and *t* part of a letter has been erased.

<sup>29</sup> One or two letters erased after *gyt*.

<sup>30</sup> The original reading was *ongæte*, but this has been inked over by Junius to read *ongete*.

<sup>31</sup> *e* superscript.

<sup>32</sup> MS. *þonne*; one *n* is to be deleted.

<sup>33</sup> A letter erased after *me*.

<sup>34</sup> A later form; cf. the earlier above, line 26.

<sup>35</sup> A letter erased before *ic*.

<sup>36</sup> *ni* superscript.

<sup>37</sup> On this Anglian form see Gerhard Heidemann, "Die Flexion des Verb. Subst. im Ags.," *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, cxlvii (1924), 33-34.

<sup>38</sup> = *gegearwod*.

lufiað and lufian willað. þu eart halig lichoma and wæstmberende; and þu eart  
 Godes hus, forðæm þe God wunaþ on þam and eardað ðe his bebodu fylgiaþ and  
 healdað. Ðu wære ðæt scarepuste scyrsex,<sup>39</sup> forþon ðu cuðest synna þe fram- 45  
 [fol. 14r]—aceorfan.<sup>7</sup> And hio þonne get cweð, seo sawl, 'Gehersðu, min se  
 leofesta lichoma. Ic wæs Godes dohter and ængla swystor, and þu m<e><sup>40</sup>  
 hafast gemedemod monegum siþum And for ðinum gewyrtum ic eom in  
 heofonarice, þær is leoht and<sup>41</sup> ece lif and unaspringenlic gefea. Forðon, ic  
 gelomlice cume to þe mid miclum geleafan and mid sibbe, þæt ic þe ðancas do 50  
 and secge. And ic þe bletsie, and þu bist gebletsad mid me, and ic mid ðe, a in  
 ecnesse.<sup>7</sup>

þanne, mæn ða leofestan, glæwlice us is to ongitanne þa word þe mon us mid  
 gretan wile, godes oððe yfeles, uren ærgewyrhtum. . . .<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> = *scearsear*

<sup>40</sup> MS *þum*.

<sup>42</sup> Concerning the continuation of this homily, see above, p. 959.

<sup>41</sup> g erased before *and*.

Cambridge University Library, MS. II.1 33

Soðlice,<sup>1</sup> þis halige gewrit cwyð þæt ealle þas fordonan and heora gelican on  
 mycelre unare beoð þar [*i.e., in hell*] gecwylmede, forþan þe hi heora lif ær mid  
 unrihte leofedon on þisum deadlican life, and næfre nan dædbote don noldon.  
 And hig þonne þar nane reste nabað, dæges ne nihtes, butan on þære drihtenlican 5  
 æristes tide, þa we weorþiað and mærsiað ymbe twelfmonð. þæt is ðe<sup>2</sup> easterdæg,  
 swa ðe<sup>2</sup> eadiga Augustinus þur<sup>3</sup> God be þam sæde, þe þis godspel dihte, and þus  
 cwæð: "*Dominice resurrectionis mane,*" inquit, "*hora Dominus noster Iesus Cristus*  
*resurrexit a mortuis, ille omnes anime iustorum ueniunt uisitare sepulchra sua.*"  
 Nabbað þa sawla [p. 413] witodlice nane oðre reste, þe on witum beoð, butan on  
 þam drihtenlican æriste. On þam dæge þe Drihten of deaþe aras, þonne mot anra 10  
 gehwylces mannes sawl, ge soðfæstes mannes ge synfulles, þa byrgenstowe  
 gesecan þe ðe<sup>2</sup> lichama<sup>4</sup> on aled wæs. Vton nu þi gehyran hwæt ðe<sup>2</sup> gode<sup>5</sup> gast  
 specð<sup>6</sup> to þam lichaman, þonne he him ærest to cymð; þonne gret<sup>7</sup> he hine þus  
 þysum wordum: "*Bene ualeas, bene sis, quia bonum uas electio <nis>*"<sup>8</sup> mihi  
*fuisti, amice dilectissime, quia bene mecum egisti in seculo.*" þæt is, "Hal westu, 15  
 min se leofa freond, þu þe on þisum restest! Hwæt, ðu wære me god gefera<sup>9</sup> þa  
 hwile þe ic on worulde wæs mid þe, and þu wære me god fætels and gecoren. Eall  
 swa ic wolde þæt þu wære godes donde, eall þæt þu me gefafodest. And þu a  
 Godes engla larum geornor hyrsumedest þonne þu æfre deofles tihtingum oððe  
 costnungum gefaþa wære; ac þu him eallum wiðsoce æfre on uncrum life. Soðlice 20  
 þonne ic wolde þæt ðu fæstest oððe ælmeßan sealdest for Godes lufan, oððe

<sup>1</sup> Page 412, line 13. For the preceding sections of this homily, see above, p. 960 ff.

<sup>2</sup> ðe for *se* is characteristic of a twelfth-century text.

<sup>3</sup> Unstressed form; cf. *N.E.D.*, *through*.

<sup>4</sup> h superscript.

<sup>5</sup> *se goda* would be expected in Old English; see *se leofa*, l. 16. Another sign that this is a transitional text.

<sup>6</sup> *is* before *specð* marked with punctum delens and partially erased.

<sup>7</sup> = *greted*; see Joseph and Elizabeth Mary Wright, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1925), 3rd ed., §305.

<sup>8</sup> MS. *electio*.

<sup>9</sup> *a* originally *e*, but altered by original scribe to *a* by the addition of another stroke.

- ænig god wære donde, eall þu þæt dūdest<sup>10</sup>: earme þu gefrefrodest, nacode þu scruddest,<sup>11</sup> untrume þu geneosedest, þearfan þu feddest; Godes cyrcan gelome þu sohtest; Godes þeowana freond þu wære, and hi þe leote wære<sup>12</sup> and weorþe,
- 25 Godes þam halgum gewitum þu georne ghyrdest, and þare laic hlystest, þe hig Gode <s><sup>13</sup> folce bodedon and sædon. Falles þyses þu wære me geþafiend,<sup>14</sup> and mid eallum þisum gegyredest þæt ic on godre reste þin beo abidende, and hwænne þu [p. 414] scealt of deape arisan on þam mycelan deige,<sup>15</sup> forþan þu eart Godes handgeworc, gescapenum<sup>16</sup> unc bam. Geieste nu on sibbe, and ic eft
- 30 hwyf to þe; and ic þonne mot beon mid þe æfre siððen, and þu þonne gesyhst hwylc wuldor and hwylce wynsumnesse un <c><sup>17</sup> togeanes gegearwod hæfð Drihten Hælend Crist on þære heofenlican ecan wununge, þar næfre nan ende ne cumað þæs wuldres. Þæs wuldres brucað æfre þa þe Godes willan wyrcað on þisum life, and hi þær beoð scinende and lyhtende, swa swa sunne on þam ecan
- 35 life, a on woru <l><sup>18</sup>. And þu þonne on þam mid me leofast, a butan ende, and wyt þonne onfoð þære mede on þam ecan wuldre þe ðu unc her gecarnodest.”
- Vngelice cwyde þonne þysum byð þes synfullan mannes sawl spreccende to þam synfullan lichaman, þonne hu þus<sup>19</sup> cwyð hreowlicere stefne þysum wordum: “Wa þe, earme lichama min, wa þe! forþan þe þu worhtest mycel yfel mid me,
- 40 þa þu on life wære and on eorðan, and ic unlæde wæs þin þafiend<sup>20</sup> þinra hæta. Þu noldest næfre beon gehyrsum Godes engla larum wið deofles costnungum. He þe lærde þæt þu manigfealde synne wære begangende, and þu him þæs gefafa wære. And æt ærestan he þe lærde mid his folum<sup>21</sup> lotwrencum oferetas and oferdruncennysse and morgenmettas and synlice lustas and stalan and þyfa<sup>22</sup>
- 45 and lease gewinessa and morðslyhtas and manaðas and yfel gewit and facn and tælnysa and reafac and oþer manigfealde [p. 415] yfel þysum ungelice. And þu wære a unsibbe sawende betweox mannum. And þu noldest þyssera yfela næfre geswican ær þines deapes ende. Lige nu on þysum duste afulæd and forrotad;

<sup>10</sup> A French spelling for *dydest*; cf. Karl Luick, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1914), §57.

<sup>11</sup> *c* superscript. *u* for *y* another French spelling; see preceding note. It is barely possible, of course, that *scruddest* is a new formation from *scrud*, and is thus the earliest recorded instance of the verb “to shroud.” On the other hand, the earliest observed instances of this are from the fourteenth century, cf. *N.E.D.*, *shroud*, *v*.

<sup>12</sup> *e* altered by original scribe from *e* MS reads: *leofe and were and weorþe. wære* is probably a transitional form for *wæron*. I have, therefore, deleted the first *and*.

<sup>13</sup> MS *gode*.

<sup>14</sup> *geþafiende* would normally be expected in Old English; see *abidende* in the next line, but *þafiend* again in line 40.

<sup>15</sup> On this form, see Luick, *Historische Grammatik*, §257.2 and note 2.

<sup>16</sup> Possibly this agrees with *deige*, in which case the sentence is to be translated thus: “In all this thou wert consenting to me, and with all this thou didst make it

possible for me await thee in good rest, when thou shalt arise from death, because thou art God’s handiwork, on the great day which is destined for us both.” More probably *gescapenum unc bam* is, as Professor Max Foister suggests, an attempt to render an ablative absolute in the Latin original, and is to be taken with *Godes handgeworc*: “because thou art God’s handiwork, who created us both.”

<sup>17</sup> MS. *un*.

<sup>18</sup> MS. *woruð*.

<sup>19</sup> Another spelling of *u* for *y*; see above, notes 10 and 11. <sup>20</sup> See above, note 14.

<sup>21</sup> Probably a miswriting of *fulum*, though it is not inconceivably an error for *feolum*. The inflected form of *feola* is very rare, however; but see *esenfela* (2), in T. Northcote Toller’s *Supplement* to Bosworth-Toller’s *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Another possibility is that *folum* is an early French spelling for *fulum*, with *o* for *O.E.* *u*. This occurs usually in the case of short *u* only, as long *u*, when it is not retained, is generally represented by *ou*. See Luick, §57.2. <sup>22</sup> *y* altered from *e*.



and ic eom gecwylmed and forbærned dæghwamlice on hellewitum. Forþan, domesdæg is wel neah, þe þu arisan scealt, and ic þonne cume to þe, and þu 50 þonne onfehst min, mid þinum yfelum dædum þe þu ær geworhtest on þisum middanearde, and wyt þonne beoð mid deofle, and wyt þar beoð gecwylmede and getintregode butan ælcum ende, æfre to worulde.<sup>7</sup>

La, þu man þe þis nu gehyrest, forhta nu, ic bidde, and ondræd for þinum synnum and for þinum gymeleastum þa hwile þe þu þyssere tide fyrst hæbbe, 55 and efst nu swiðe, and gecyr to dædbote and to hreowsunge þinra synna, ærþan þe þu sy belocen beforan þines lifes durum, þæt þu mage onfon þære wulderfullan mede on þam ecan life, þe us togeanes is gearcod on heofenarice . . .<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> P. 415, l. 17. For what follows, see above, p. 960.

## II

In the Old English literature of the address of the soul to the body, as distinct from that of the debate proper,<sup>1</sup> there are at least three traditions concerning the time at which the soul makes an address to its body: (1) at the hour of death, (2) at regular intervals (e.g., once a week) after death; (3) at the Last Judgement.

The first tradition is represented by that vision in Homily xxix of the Wulfstan collection,<sup>2</sup> and Thorpe's homily in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, wherein the death of the wicked soul is described. As the soul attempts to leave the body, it beholds the demons waiting to receive it; it is aghast and turns back in despair, crying out, "Woe is me!", and reproaching the body for their sinful life. Thereupon the devils bring forth the soul and carry it off to eternal darkness. This address occurs, then, before the soul has actually come forth from the body.<sup>3</sup> In the Irish version of this homily, there appear long imprecatory passages addressed by the awaiting devils to the soul at the hour of death. When the soul does come forth from the body, they force it to return to it; whereupon the soul heaps violent abuse upon its body. But the body now replies, and meets this abusive outburst, overwhelming the soul with a scathing counterattack.<sup>4</sup> Finally, as the wicked soul passes into the

<sup>1</sup> This came to its full development in Middle English times. The development of the address itself, the interrelationship of the various texts of the address, and the relation of the address to the debate, are being fully studied by Miss Eleanor H. Kellogg, of New York University. I confine myself to a consideration of the time at which the address is made.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 957, notes 4 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> In another of the Wulfstan homilies, Number XLVI (pp. 235-237), the body, rather than the soul, cries out just before the separation. This is a variant of the death scene from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, with which is blended some material from the theme of the Three Utterances; on this, see Rudolph Willard, *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies*, *Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, xxx (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 74-76.

<sup>4</sup> Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac*, p. 512.

hands of the awaiting demons, who will hale it off to hell, "the soul, cursing, and being cursed by the body, goes out from it among the demons, and then the body says to the soul, 'Go now into the hands of demons . . .'," and in dismissing it, the body elaborates on the torments into which the soul will come.<sup>5</sup> In the parallel episode of the righteous man, however, the only address made is that of the angels, who cheer the soul on its way.<sup>6</sup>

The origin of this first tradition is apparently that account of the two deaths which is so moving an episode in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.<sup>6a</sup> It has had a profound effect upon western Christendom, and did much to shape the popular imagination as it dwelt upon the mystery of death and the destiny of the soul, and the manner of man's leaving this world.

The second tradition is that of a more or less frequent return of the soul to the body, that it may comfort or reproach it. This was recognized by Batiouchkof to be an extension of the periodic respite from the pains of hell,<sup>7</sup> which came to be so marked a feature of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Batiouchkof approached this matter chiefly, as this was the principal<sup>8</sup> Latin version known to him, from the very popular and widely spread, though late, Redaction iv of the apocalypse, wherein the Respite is weekly and dominical. The full versions of this apocalypse readily accessible at that time were Tischendorf's Greek text, Perkins's and Zingerle's translations of the Syriac, and the Old Slavic version.<sup>9</sup> Naturally enough, these texts, though illuminating, were too remote to be considered as having had an immediate influence on our tradition in the West, especially as there was at hand that widely known and contemporary<sup>10</sup> Latin version which had made its way into the principal western vernacular languages.<sup>11</sup> It was not until two years after the appearance

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 513.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 514 In the Irish version of the Two Deaths, after the Third Utterance the sinful soul goes round its body on the left, and curses it before taking final leave of it; Carl Marstrander, "The Two Deaths," *Ériu*, v (1911), 123, and Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, p. 45 [h]

<sup>6a</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 531-534.

<sup>7</sup> Th Batiouchkof, "Le Débat de l'âme et du Corps," *Romania*, xx (1891), 33-34.

<sup>8</sup> Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, pp. 65-80, published only two Latin texts Redactions i and iv. Redaction i has been shown to be two distinct texts, but neither of them is of such a nature as to alter Batiouchkof's impression of the sources in the Latin versions of the *Apocalypse of Paul* of our Body and Soul legend. The Latin form of the apocalypse generally known in print was Redaction iv. The whole matter of the various Latin texts and of their interrelationship is now set forth by Dr. H. Theodore Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli: The History of the Apocalypse in Latin together with Nine Texts, Studies and Documents*, ed. Kirsopp and Silva Lake, iv (London, 1935).

<sup>9</sup> *Romania*, xx, 18 and notes, 1, 3, and 5.

<sup>10</sup> Contemporary, roughly speaking, with the Old English texts treated by Batiouchkof.

<sup>11</sup> *Romania*, xx, 22, 32.

of Batiouchkof's study in *Romania*, xx, that James brought forth his edition of the Latin text of the apocalypse from MS. Nouv. acq. Lat. 1631 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, thus giving scholars for the first time a western text, and in Latin at that, of the full version of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.<sup>12</sup> Batiouchkof recognized the difference in structure and emphasis between the full (Greek, Syriac, and Old Slavic) redactions of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the abbreviated redactions; but because of the tremendous vogue of the abbreviated Latin redactions, he recognized them as the western form of the apocalypse, and he derived from them, and not from the long versions, the idea of a return of the soul to the body during the weekly period of respite.<sup>13</sup> The addresses of the souls to their bodies he derived from the farewell of the soul as found in the stories of its separation from the body at the hour of death,<sup>14</sup> and from the account of the two deaths, which is so conspicuous a feature of the long versions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.<sup>15</sup> The order of these addresses, the sinful soul first, and then the righteous, as in the Debate material and in the Vercelli-Exeter poem, he would have explained as following the order of the introduction of the newly released souls in the abbreviated redactions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. That this order, as for instance in Redaction iv, was not that of the full versions of the apocalypse, he knew; he accounted for it, however, as resulting from the process of condensation which attended the formation of the abbreviated redactions, and which brought about a change in perspective, consequent on the concentration in hell of the whole St. Paul's experiences in the other-world.<sup>16</sup> Now that we have the full Latin version of the vision of Paul and the Cambridge Old English text of the address of the soul of the body, we are in position to see that the tradition represented by the Greek, Syriac, and Slavic texts existed also in the West in Latin, and, as I can show from MS. Junius 85, in Old English as well. In the light of this, I propose to re-examine this feature of the address legend, namely, of the time at which the soul makes an address to its body, and to discuss anew its origins.

After St. Paul has been shown the torments of the damned, and while he is still in the pit of hell, he sees the damned weeping, and hears them cry out, "Lord God, have mercy upon us." The heavens open, and St. Michael comes down with all the host of angels. He addresses them and rebukes them at first; then, yielding to their entreaties, he leads St. Paul and the whole company of heaven in a united petition that the damned be given some alleviation of their pains in hell. At length the heavens

<sup>12</sup> Montague Rhodes James, *Apocrypha Anecdota, Texts and Studies*, II, 3 (Cambridge, 1893), pp. 1-42.

<sup>13</sup> *Romania*, xx, 34.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>16</sup> *Romania*, xx, 23.

open a second time, and the Son of Man descends, crowned with a diadem. Those in torment plead earnestly with Him for respite. He rebukes them for having spurned His grace and neglected their opportunities during their lifetime, and, in a passage remarkably like the *Ego te O homo*,<sup>17</sup> He enumerates all that He did for man, setting in contrast man's ingratitude. In the end, at the repeated tears and entreaties of St. Paul, St. Michael, the host of heaven, and of the souls in torment, He of His mercy grants unto all those that are in torment<sup>18</sup> refreshment for a day and a night for ever on the day whereon He arose from the dead.

The extant recensions of the long version of this apocalypse show many variants as to the duration of the Respite. These range all the way from the Urūmiah and Vatican Syriac texts, wherein no respite is declared,<sup>19</sup> to the fourth Armenian redaction, in which hell is destroyed, and all the sinners released. In between are the Coptic, with the Respite extending from Easter to Ascension, the Ethiopic, wherein only one single night is granted, and the Harvard Syriac, in which repose is given for a day and a night on Sunday for ever.<sup>20</sup> The reading of the Latin, a day and a night at Easter, as in the Paris manuscript (which here is supported by the Slavic), Casey holds to be the best reading.

In the abbreviated Latin versions the release is to occur each Sunday, and the exact extent of each respite is accurately defined:

Nunc propter Mychaelem archangelum, et Paulum dilectissimum meum, et propter omnes fratres uestros sanctos, qui in mundo offerunt oblaciones pro uiuis et defunctis, maxime autem per meam misericordiam et propter bonitatem meam, do uobis requiem omnibus qui estis in penis nocte dominice diei et refrigerium usque in perpetuum de hora nona sabbati usque ad secundam feriam <hore prime>.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Patr. Lat.*, xxxix, col. 2207. See Albert Stanburrough Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf* (Boston, 1900), p. 210, and Rudolph Willard, "Vercelli Homili VIII and the Christ," *PMLA*, xlii (1927), 314 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 547-549, sections 43 and 44. For a discussion of the theology (popular and sentimental) of the Respite, and of its early history, see Arturo Graf, "A Proposito della 'Visio Pauli'," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xi (1888), 344-362.

<sup>19</sup> This might be explained as accidental, and as resulting from a lacuna observable in the text at this point. Casey feels that this omission is probably to be attributed to the deliberate intention of the redactor, who was not in sympathy with the idea of the Respite, and who handled his material clumsily; *Jl. Theolog. Stud.*, xxxiv, 18-19.

<sup>20</sup> Casey, *op. cit.*, gives these variants succinctly.

<sup>21</sup> Not in MS.; added from the related text in MS. 20 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. I quote from MS. Latin 2625 of the Staatsbibliothek, Munich. This text belongs to Brandes Redaction III (*Visio S. Pauli*, pp. 29-34). The existence of this text of the apocalypse has been overlooked, because it was not listed in the catalogues of manuscripts in

At some time, then, between the long Latin versions<sup>22</sup> and the later abbreviated forms<sup>23</sup> of this apocalypse, two important changes took place in the details of the Respite: the release became weekly instead of annual, and its duration became accurately defined as extending from the ninth hour of Saturday to the first hour of Monday.<sup>24</sup>

With the change from an annual to a hebdomedal release of the soul from the pains of hell, the basis for the Respite has itself changed; its sanction is now less a memorial of the resurrection of Christ from the dead, and more the great reverence in which Sunday is to be held. So, at least, we are to judge from Redaction IV, the most popular and widely spread of the brief versions,<sup>25</sup> the keynote of which is the opening declaration: *Dies dominicus dies est electus, in quo gaudent angeli et archangeli maior diebus ceteris*.<sup>26</sup> The whole moral significance of this redaction is thus focused on the high dignity of Sunday, and the granting of the weekly respite becomes the central feature and climax of the St. Paul's experiences in hell. Some of the redactions emphasize still further the

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the Munich library. A page containing the beginning of the apocalypse is missing. The text now opens abruptly, folio 56r, in the midst of a description of the hundred-headed infernal dragon, which it calls Pathmot or Pathinot (see Brandes, *op. cit.*, p. 26 and p. 102, last note). The conclusion of the preceding text, a Pseudo-Melitus *Assumption of the Virgin* (Tischendorf's B-text [cf. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 194 and 209]), is also lost, so that the cataloguer, who had caught the rubricated title of the *Assumption*, and reasoned from the absence of any rubricated title or break later in the text, assumed, therefore, that the remainder of the book was occupied with this same matter. This loss of a leaf between folios 55 and 56 is not at all apparent to one who is not actually reading the text carefully. The missing portion of the *Assumption* and of the *Apocalypse of Paul* (judging from the closely related text in MS. 20 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) is just enough to fill easily the missing folio. The numbering of the manuscript has been done since the loss of this page, as it is continuous without break: folio 55v is the last page at present of the *Assumption*, and folio 56r is the truncated beginning of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. This Manuscript, ascribed by the catalogue to the thirteenth century, is a remarkable little volume (its dimensions are 10.15×7 cm.), in that its contents are almost entirely apocryphal matter: the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the *Infancy Gospel*, the *Signs of the Doom*, the *Sunday Epistle*, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, and Redaction III of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It must have been as much an entertaining as an edifying addition to the monastery library at Aldersbach, to which it formerly belonged. This text of the *Sunday Epistle*, fol. 39 ff., is to be added to the list of Latin Manuscripts of this document given by E. Renou in his article in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire*; see below, note 31.

<sup>22</sup> The Paris text, which exists in an eighth-century manuscript, "has been assigned on philological grounds to the fifth or sixth century, but may be earlier"; Casey, *Jl. of Theolog. Stud.*, xxxiv, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Before the twelfth century, certainly; cf. H. Theodore Silverstein, "The Vision of St Paul," *Speculum*, viii (1933), 354.

<sup>24</sup> So I translate *de hora nona sabbati usque ad secundam feriam hore prime*.

<sup>25</sup> *Speculum*, viii, 354.

<sup>26</sup> Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, p. 75, ll. 1-2.

honor and reverence due to the Lord's Day by adding, from the Benedictions of Sunday,<sup>27</sup> a passage in praise of Sunday and, in contrast, in dispraise of Friday,<sup>28</sup> while MS. Latin 12005 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, adds from the Sunday Epistle itself the curses and punishments pronounced against those who disregard the day.<sup>29</sup> This shift from the high worth of Easter to that of Sunday as the sanction for the Respite, is not so much, originally, a difference in essence as in emphasis. Sunday took on its great significance because of the Resurrection, of which it is the weekly memorial. But the increased and increasing respect for Sunday, and the formalized and intensified definition of the honor due to the day, resulted in deflecting emphasis from the Resurrection, which gave the day its significance, and for which it was made a holy day, to the Day itself, the *Dies Dominicus*, the right observance of which is zealously to be guarded and taught.<sup>30</sup> That is the lesson, not only of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in Redactions III and IV, but of the Sunday Epistle as well, which had such tremendous influence in the Middle Ages and even up to our day.<sup>31</sup>

The Sunday Epistle is a symptom of the great Judaizing and Sabatarian movement of the sixth and seventh centuries that engendered it, and the Epistle in turn contributed to the advanced stages of this

<sup>27</sup> Brandes, *op cit*, pp. 101-102, On the Benedictions of Sunday or the *Dignatio diei Dominici*, as they are also called, see *Les Bénédictiones du Dimanche*, by H. Dumaine, in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire*, IV, 986-990, Robert Preibsch, *M.L.R.*, II (1906), 143 (no. 14), and the very fine text, *De Die Dominico*, recently published by Dom André Wilmart from MS. Regina Latin 49 of the Vatican Library, in *Analecta Reginensia, Studi e Testi*, LXXX, (Città del Vaticano, 1933), pp. 111-112.

<sup>28</sup> See Israel Levy, "La Recommandation de Vendredi," *Méluine*, IV (1888-1889), coll. 133-135 and 204.

<sup>29</sup> Folio 191r. For much the same thing in twelfth-century English, see the homily, *In Diebus Dominicis*, from MS. Lambeth 487, published by Richard Morris, *Old English Homilies: First Series*, EETS, XXIX (London, 1867), pp. 41-47.

<sup>30</sup> On Sunday and Sunday Observance, and the contrast between the joyous and free early apostolic, and the later highly restricted and formalized, observance of Sunday, see the extensive article by H. Dumaine, *Dimanche*, in Fernand Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et du Liturgie* (Paris, 1921), IV, coll. 858-994.

<sup>31</sup> On the Sunday Epistle, see Robert Preibsch, "The chief Sources of Some Anglo-Saxon Homilies," *Otia Merseiana*, I (Liverpool, 1899), 129-147, and "Quelle und Abfassungszeit der Sonntagsepistel in der Irischen 'Cain Domnaig'," *MLR*, II (1906), 138-154, Hippolyte Delehaye, "Note sur la Légende de la Lettre du Christ Tombée du Ciel," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques et de la Classe des Beaux-Arts*, Académie Royale de Belgique (Brussels, 1899), Classe des Lettres, pp. 171-213, and the comprehensive treatment and bibliography in E. Renou's article, *Christ (Lettre du) Tombée du Ciel*, in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire* (Paris, 1914), III, coll. 1534 ff. To the list of Latin Manuscripts of the Epistle might be added MS. Latin 2625, of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, fol. 39 ff; see above note 23.

movement by intensifying and defining still further Sunday observance.<sup>32</sup> This remarkable compilation had a great vogue in both the East and West, and is, apparently, still an active force. It seems to have taken on supernatural powers, and to have been used in modern times, even in the West, as a sort of an amulet. Levy remarks that during the World War many a soldier carried the Sunday Epistle on his breast as a protection against enemy bullets.<sup>33</sup>

That the Sunday Epistle should make an impression on religious literature, especially that of a popular nature, is inevitable. It affected the vision of Nial, as Pribsch has shown,<sup>34</sup> and it seems to have influenced the *Apocalypse of Paul*, and was in turn affected by it.<sup>35</sup> It is perhaps responsible for the definition of the Sunday Respite as from the ninth hour of Saturday to the first hour of Monday, as in Redactions III and IV, in contrast to the earlier and long Latin version of this episode of the apocalypse, wherein the release is simply for a day and a night at Easter.<sup>36</sup> In the earlier legislation in Anglo-Saxon England, the period of Sunday was defined, in accordance with the principle expressed in Leviticus 23, 32, as from sunset on Saturday to sunset on Sunday evening.<sup>37</sup> By the eleventh century, however, Anglo-Saxon law defined the Sunday period as from the ninth hour of Saturday until dawn on Monday,<sup>38</sup> showing thus, apparently, the influence of the new dominical movement, perhaps also of the Sunday Epistle.

In the Irish version of the Sunday Epistle, the Lord's Day is declared to last "from vesper-time on Saturday to tierce on Monday,"<sup>39</sup> while in MS. Munich Latin 9550 the limits are "de hora nona sabbati usque ad horam primam secundae feriae,"<sup>40</sup> precisely the same as in redactions III and IV of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. By *hora nona sabbati*, three o'clock Saturday afternoon is certainly meant. But what is *hora prima* of Monday? dawn? six o'clock, or some other hour? It is tempting to interpret *hora prima* as "prime," the monastic office; this the Vercelli Poem

<sup>32</sup> On the influence of the Sunday Epistle, see Levy, *Der Sabbath in England*, pp. 65-67.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66. Cf. Pribsch, *M. L. Rev.* II, 138: "Und sie [the Sunday Epistle] lebt, zum Schutzbrief gegen Kugel, Krankheit und Kindsnot geworden, noch heutigen Tags." For a Middle English example of the *Schutzbrief*, see Max Forster, "Ein Mittelenglischer Himmels-Schutzbrief (ca. 1470)," published as the ninth of his *Kleinere Mittelenglische Texte*, in *Anglia*, XLII, (1918), 217-219. For a popular account of this *Schutzbrief*, see R. Stube, "Der Himmelsbrief," *Westermanns Monatshefte*, CXXIII, (1917-1918) 699-702.

<sup>34</sup> *M. L. R.*, II, 149-153.

<sup>35</sup> See above, pp. 967-970.

<sup>36</sup> See above, p. 968.

<sup>37</sup> See Levy, *Der Sabbath in England*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>39</sup> J. G. O'Keefe, "Cáin Domnaig," *Ériu*, II, (1905), 194, no. 6, quoted by Pribsch, *MLR*, II, 141.

<sup>40</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, "Note sur la Légende de la Lettre du Christ Tombée du Ciel," *Bulletin*, Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres (1899) pp. 179-181.

may, perhaps, imply when the sinful soul informs its body that, at the first cock-crow, at the hour when holy men sing praises to the living God (lines 68–69), it must return whence it came. The clear indications of the late Old English laws,<sup>41</sup> and the evidence of the Old English redactions of the Sunday Epistle, make it clear that, for Anglo-Saxon England at least, the limits of the Sunday period and of the Sunday Respite were from three o'clock on Saturday afternoon until dawn on Monday. It is significant that in that version of Pehtréd's homily of Nial's vision and of the Sunday Epistle which appears in the Wulfstan collection,<sup>42</sup> the definition of the Sunday period is given at least ten times, as against the single occurrence in both the Munich Latin, and in the Irish version, and each time it is from three o'clock Saturday afternoon until dawn on Monday. The Sunday Respite has made its way into this redaction of the Sunday Epistle as one of the Benedictions of Sunday, and there, too, the definition is given in Old English in exactly the same terms:

And it is also known that in consideration of the sanctity and honor of the day all the inhabitants of hell enjoy rest, if they have ever received baptism, from the ninth hour (*nontide*) of Saturday until Monday's dawn (*lihtincge*).<sup>43</sup>

It is clear, then, that the Sunday Respite and the Sunday Epistle have influenced each other; the Respite has added itself to the list of Benedictions of Sunday, and to the sanctions for the day, and the Letter has extended and defined more precisely the limits of the Sunday period, and consequently, of the duration of the release of souls from hell-torments. We must, therefore, distinguish between the two forms of the Respite: the earlier, wherein the Respite is but annual for a single day and night, that is from sunset to sunset at Easter, and the later, wherein the Respite is weekly and is defined, probably under the influence of the Sunday Epistle, as extending from the ninth hour of Saturday to the first hour of Monday, which, for Anglo-Saxon England, meant dawn.

This legend of the Respite united with two others: one, that the soul tarried after death for some time, partly immediately by the body, partly wandering about visiting the scenes of its past life, before it left for the Other-World,<sup>44</sup> and the other, that at the hour of death the soul

<sup>41</sup> See above, note 20.

<sup>42</sup> Homily XLIV, Napier, *Wulfstan*, pp. 215–226; on Pehtréd, see Pribsch, *M.L.R.*, II, 149.

<sup>43</sup> *Wulfstan*, p. 211, 20–23.

<sup>44</sup> Batiouchkof, *Romania*, xx, 35–36. On this see Emil Freistedt, *Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseits Glauben und Totenkultes der Antike, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, xxiv, (Münster in Westf., 1928), pp. 52 ff., and 16 ff. Miss Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul* (Baltimore, 1911), pp. 74 ff.



addressed its body.<sup>45</sup> It is the interaction of these three upon each other that engendered our legend of the return of the soul to its body, at stated intervals, for a period of communion with the body, wherein the wicked soul cursed, and the righteous soul blessed, the body in which it had lived, and which, though now in decay, is awaiting the resurrection, when the two shall be united and undergo final judgement together on the Last Day.<sup>46</sup>

Let us return to an examination of the Old English texts illustrating the second tradition, that of a periodic return of the soul to the body. Three texts preserve this matter: the Vercelli-Exeter Poem, and the two new addresses.

In the Vercelli poem, the sorrowful soul returns every seven nights (l.10) for three hundred years (l.12), but only during the night (l.66), as it must leave at cock-crow (l.68), when the holy men sing praises to the living God, to go back to the dwelling places of the ungodly, whence it came, and to which the body has destined it (l. 70).<sup>46a</sup> The return is weekly, *ymbe seofon niht*, but the particular day of the week is not specified. The same expression occurs in Blickling Homily iv, as bishops and masspriests are instructed, if they will serve God aright, to minister daily to God's people, and to sing mass at least once a week, *embe seofon niht*,<sup>47</sup> for all Christian folk, that is, for all those who have ever been born since the beginning of the world, if it be God's will that they should intercede for them. In this connection it is to be recalled that one of the reasons given by Our Lord for granting the Paschal Respite, is His recognition of the devotion of His servants on earth in offering the holy oblation for the living and the dead.<sup>48</sup> The return in the Vercelli poem is for one night at a time, since the soul must return in the early morning, and the impression is, the next morning. There is, furthermore, an end to this return: for only three hundred years does it take place, unless the end of the world shall have occurred before that time (ll. 12-14). The specific connection, then, with either Easter or Sunday, is gone, and all that is left is the legend of the return, once every seven nights, for a limited period.

In Junius it is not stated when or how often the return of the soul to the body occurs. The indications given are the following:

<sup>45</sup> See above, pp. 965-966.

<sup>46</sup> Dudley, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-150, and *J.E.G.Ph.*, viii, 251-253.

<sup>46a</sup> Krapp, *The Vercelli Book*, pp. 54-59.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Morris, *The Blickling Homilies, E.E.T.S.*, lviii (London, 1880) p. 45, l. 31. The variant reading in MS. Junius 86, fol. 49r, is *ymbe. vii. niht*.

<sup>48</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 548, and the passage quoted above, p. 968, from Redaction III in MS. Munich Latin 2625.

1. After this life the soul of every man must seek<sup>49</sup> its body again, and with these words it addresses it thus, and says. . . .

2. I return to thee in order that I may curse thee and declare thy unfaithfulness to thee.

3. The righteous soul greets the body after it has been brought forth from it; it [the soul] seeks him again, and then says to it thus:

4. I have come to thee that I may praise thee.

5. For thy deeds I am in the kingdom of heaven.

6. Wherefore, I shall come to thee frequently [*gelomlice*] with great faith.

It might be possible to explain most of these details as having reference to the experiences of the soul immediately after death, as it enjoys a period of limited freedom to go about where it will, to visit the scenes of its former life, and to tarry about its body, experiencing joy or sorrow, until it shall depart to the eternal habitation prepared for it. Against this is the general impression given by the piece that the soul has come from the Other-world to seek its body lying in the grave. Furthermore, the words, "I shall come to thee frequently [*gelomlice*]," indicate a return at frequent intervals. The precise details as to the times and circumstances do not seem to have been a matter of interest to the Junius redactor, who has disregarded them.

The preservation of the early tradition, that of the annual rather than of the weekly return of the soul to the body, is to be found in the Cambridge homily. There the association is with the Paschal Respite of the long Latin (Paris MS.) of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, rather than with the Sunday Respite of redactions III and IV. In Cambridge the sanction for the return of the souls is clearly the Resurrection of Christ and not the high worth of Sunday. That this is not the invention of the Old English translator, but was given him in his source, is clear from the Latin quotation<sup>50</sup> which he includes to flavor his sermon with:

And they [i.e., the souls of the wicked] have then there no rest, by day or by night, except at the time of Our Lord's resurrection, which we honor and hold in reverence each year [*ymbe twelfmonð*]. That is Easter Day, according as the blessed Augustine, who wrote this gospel, declared concerning it through God's grace. And he said this: "*Dominice resurrectionis mane*," inquit, "*hora Dominus noster Iesus Christus resurrexit a mortuis, ille omnes anime iustorum uenit uisitare sepulchra sua.*" The souls which are in torment have indeed no other rest except on the Lord's resurrection. On the day when the Lord arose from the dead, then shall the soul of every man, both of the righteous and of the sinful, seek the burial place in which the body was laid.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> MS. *gesecegan*, but see note 20.

<sup>50</sup> Cambridge has preserved another sentence from the Latin original, and that from the address of the righteous soul to its body; see above, pp. 963, ll. 14-15.

<sup>51</sup> MS. C. U. L. II. 1.33, p. 412, l. 17-p. 413, l. 5.

A notable feature of Cambridge is the order of the two addresses, that of the righteous soul being given first. This is contrary to the general tendency to throw the emphasis on the more lurid elements,<sup>52</sup> as we see, for instance, in the Vercelli poem and in Junius, where the episode of the sinful soul is given first. In the Exeter poem, in fact, the righteous soul disappears altogether,<sup>53</sup> as in the Worcester and Oxford fragments, from which it is likewise missing.<sup>54</sup> This order of Cambridge is also to be attributed to the Latin source, I believe, and not to the translator. The occasion for the introduction of the address legend is a consideration of the almost unmitigated torments of hell which await sinners, as the preceding section of the homily enumerates the pains of hell and the persons who will find their dwelling in them. From this the redactor passes to show that these pains are unrelieved except for a Respite at the season of the Resurrection. The attention has been focused on the sinful and their fate, and had the matter been handled skilfully, the redactor would have given prominence to the words of the sinful soul to body. Instead, he relates his legend faithfully as it comes to him in his source, giving first the words of the righteous soul, and then those of the sinner.

In Vercelli Homily iv, which belongs to the tradition of an address at the Last Judgement, this same order is shown as in Cambridge—the righteous soul first, and then the sinner. This can be accounted for, however, as resulting from the inclusion of the address material in the Last Judgement, the *locus classicus* for which (St. Matthew 25. 31–46) represents judgement as being passed first on the righteous and afterwards on the sinful.

It must be remembered that one of the sources for the address legend is that scene in the long version of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in which the apostle witnesses two deaths, those of a just man and of a sinner,<sup>55</sup> and this before he is shown the Other-world. Furthermore, in the Other-world itself, the apostle is taken to heaven before he sees hell. In the short redactions, however, the death-scenes are lifted out of their original context, and are reset as episodes in the vision of hell. The vision of heaven is dropped, thus effecting a complete change of perspective. Attention is now centered on hell and on the fates of the souls after death. In redactions III and IV it is while St. Paul is in the pit of hell, and after he has seen the torments of the damned, that the two souls appear. Even then the account of the two deaths is reduced to the actual transit of the souls and to the reading of the lists of their deeds, as they

<sup>52</sup> See below, pp. 975–976.

<sup>53</sup> See below, p. 977.

<sup>54</sup> Richard Buchholz, "Die Fragmente der Redender Seele an den Leichnam in Zwei Handschriften zu Worcester und Oxford," *Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, VI (Erlange, 1890).

<sup>55</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 531–534.

are being ferried to the Other-World. Their order is reversed, as the sinner appears first, and then the righteous. This alteration Batiouchkof attributes to this change in milieu,<sup>56</sup> and to the manner of their introduction. The sinful, of course, is to remain in hell, and it is fitting that a visit to hell should record the advent of wicked souls. If, however, the righteous are to be seen under these circumstances, it can only be in transit and from afar.

Furthermore the abbreviated versions are much later than the long version. In all probability the Old English legend of the body and soul had already formed and crystallized before the formation of our abbreviated redactions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It is the long rather than the short redaction, then, that was influential in this process. That this redaction was current in England, as late as the eleventh century, and certainly earlier, we know from its appearance in MS. Junius 85.<sup>57</sup> It is my belief that at least three features of the long version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* have shaped our legend of a periodic return of the souls to their bodies each Easter, as in the Cambridge homily: (1) the granting of the Paschal Respite, (2) the two death scenes, and (3) the order of the two deaths: the righteous first and then the sinner. However, because of the development and wide spread of the abbreviated redactions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, wherein this order is reversed and the Respite became dominical and sharply defined (perhaps under the influence of the Sunday Epistle), it is quite probable that, in our legend, too, the periodic returns of the souls to their bodies became more frequent, and weekly instead of annual, and that the order of the addresses changed, with the greater emphasis falling on the sinful soul.

There is a difference in the Old English texts between the first tradition of the address, that of the separation of the soul from the body, and the second, of the periodic return of the soul to the body, in this respect: in the first, only the sinful soul is described as making an address, in the second both souls speak. As Miss Dudley has shown, the foundation<sup>58</sup> of the legend is the theme of the separation of the soul from the body, and in the earliest form of the legend, Batiouchkof's Nonatola Latin MS., both souls address their bodies, though in the later forms, *Ad Frates in Eremito Sermo LXIX*<sup>59</sup> and the two Old English visions, it is only the sinful soul. Evidently, as frequently happened, the emphasis shifted to the sinful soul, at the expense of the righteous, with the result that the latter was dropped out. In the Irish version a sense of symmetry and contrast has, indeed, introduced the death of the righteous

<sup>56</sup> *Romania*, xx, 23.

<sup>58</sup> *Egyptian Elements*, p. 149.

<sup>57</sup> Folios 3r-11v.

<sup>59</sup> See above, pp. 965-966.

soul, but in briefest fashion. Furthermore, it is not the soul who speaks, but the escorting angels.

In the legend of the return in the Old English poem, however, both souls speak. The Exeter text, it is true, contains only the address of the sinful soul. This ends with line 6 of folio 100r: the seventh line is blank, except that—*terra*, the remaining letters of the last word, *modsnotterra*, for which there was no room in line six, is run over at the end of line 7. With line 8 *Deor's Lament* begins. So far as the Exeter scribe was concerned, as is clear from the manuscript, the text is to stand as complete. Something has happened to the address of the righteous soul. That it existed, we know from Vercelli. Either it was missing in the source from which Exeter was copied, or it was deleted by the Exeter scribe, who in this case must have exercised an editorship which was in line with the tendency generally observable of shifting the emphasis to the more lurid elements. We have seen this in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in which, in the later versions, the balance was changed and heaven was dropped, with the whole focus centered on hell. So, too, in the first tradition of the address of the soul to the body, that at the separation at the hour of death, the address of the righteous soul seems to have disappeared. Evidently the same tendency must have operated likewise in the case of the Exeter poem. It is possible, of course, that it had already gone from the source of the Exeter text, either through design, and in this case would be the result of an editorship on the part of an earlier scribe, or through accident.

It is clear from a comparison with Vercelli that the last word of the account of the sinful soul is missing in Exeter. The last sentence of the episode of the sinful soul in the two manuscripts reads as follows:

Vercelli:	þæt mæg æghwylcum men to gemynde, modsnotra gehwam. <sup>60</sup>
Exeter:	þæt mæg æghwylcum men to gemynde, modsnotterra. <sup>61</sup>

The second hemistich of the second line is in Exeter a D-type, in Vercelli and E-type. It is not at all impossible that Vercelli has the original reading. *Modsnotra gehwam* makes a good parallel to the *æghwylcum men*, and it gives this section of the poem a stronger ending than the tapering off of *modsnotterra* in Exeter. *Modsnotterra* looks like an effort to make the

<sup>60</sup> Max Förster, *Il Codice Vercellese* (Rome, 1913) fol. 103r, ll. 19–20. Krapp, *The Vercelli Book*, p. 58, ll. 125–126.

<sup>61</sup> R. W. Chambers, Max Förster and Robin Flower, *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* (London, 1934), folio 100r, ll. 6–7. This folio is reproduced likewise in W. S. Mackie, *The Exeter Book, Part II, EETS, cxcxv*, (London, 1934) immediately after the preface.

most of *modsnotra*, so that it can do duty by itself as the second hemistich of the line.

It is possible to advance the theory that the transcript from which the Exeter poem was copied was defective, and that a folio containing the text of the address of the good soul was missing from it before the Exeter copy was made. This would imply that, in the source of Exeter, the page with the address of the sinful soul ended with *modsnotra*, the next to the last word of this section as in Vercelli,<sup>62</sup> or *modsnottterra*, the last word as in Exeter,<sup>63</sup> but that with the loss of the next folio there was carried away, naturally, beside the address of the righteous soul, the *gehwam* which, as in Vercelli, ends this section setting forth the episode of the sinful soul.

Though the absence of the *gehwam* in Exeter would in itself suggest that some lacuna occurred in the source of the Exeter poem, yet, since so short and simple a word is all that is missing, it is impossible to determine whether we are confronted with merely an accident to a manuscript or with editorial policy and a deliberate excision of material. That the address of the righteous soul is not an addition peculiar to Vercelli, in contrast to Exeter, which is without it, is shown, not only by its presence in Vercelli, a manuscript contemporary with, if not slightly earlier than Exeter, but also by our Cambridge text, with its evidence from the Latin source, and perhaps also by Vercelli Homily IV, in which, as I show elsewhere,<sup>64</sup> the righteous soul is given the prominence of first place.

My belief is that Cambridge represents the earlier tradition, in spite of the fact that it is the latest of our texts—full twelfth century. Though a late copy, as certain errors make clear, it belongs to the early stage of our legend, since it does not show the later influences found in Junius and the Vercelli poem. The return in Cambridge is still Paschal, as in the earlier *Apocalypse of Paul*, and not dominical, as in the abbreviated versions, and this in spite of the increased importance of Sunday observance as mirrored in the Sunday Epistle and in the change of the Paschal Respite to the Sunday Respite, which together effected a corresponding alteration in the address legend also, in representing the return to the body as hebdomedal instead of annual. The Vercelli poem, although representing the return as hebdomedal, fails to show the dominical association, since the Sunday sanction for the return of the soul is missing. We are informed simply that the soul must seek its body every seven nights. This is true of Junius, too, wherein all connection with any specific system of return is gone. The soul returns frequently [*gelomlice*],

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Förster, *Il Codice Vercellese*, fol. 103r. l. 19.

<sup>63</sup> *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, fol. 100r. l. 6.

<sup>64</sup> See below, p. 980.

but whether yearly or weekly is not specified, nor is any sanction for the return given, either because of Easter, as in Cambridge, or because of the high worth of Sunday (plus the other sanctions, of course), as in the abbreviated redactions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Cambridge retains what I believe to be the original order of the addresses in the return legend—first the righteous, and then the sinner, as in the story of the two deaths in the full version of *The Apocalypse of Paul*. In Junius and the Vercelli poem, this order is reversed, perhaps under the influence of the abbreviated versions of the apocalypse. All three versions agree, however, in not having the later refinement of the precise definition of the period of Respite as from the ninth hour of Saturday to the first hour of Monday. In the Vercelli poem the period is apparently merely over night, while in Cambridge and Junius, no details are preserved of the duration of the return to the body.

The third group of texts represents the time of the address as at the Last Judgement. This is a natural and inevitable development, particularly because of the great place the Doom held in Old English patristics. It is the great end of the world, the background against which all Christian thought is to be projected, and from which human conduct receives its meaning.<sup>65</sup> No wonder the believer was always admonished to keep before him the Other-world and the Day of Judgement.

It is only natural that, under the powerful orienting force of this idea, the setting of the address of the soul to its body should become affected. In the case of the Two Deaths, for instance, the theme of the Last Judgement managed to attract to itself, even though unskillfully included there, the story of the bringing forth of the soul and of the Three Utterances of the soul.<sup>66</sup> Two of our address pieces are actually set at the Last Judgement: Assmann Homily xrv,<sup>67</sup> and Vercelli Homily iv.<sup>68</sup> Between the two, however, there is a vast difference. In the Vercelli Homily the address material is reordered and worked into a new creation, so that an entirely novel presentation of the Judgement results from the process. The Assmann text, on the other hand, shows merely an arbitrary change of scene, with a minimum of art in the shift. The words are essentially those of Junius, though, as may be seen by a comparison of the two, very much reduced and formalized. The homily itself is a rambling sort of compilation, with an assortment of themes, most of them treated elsewhere in much fuller form. The last episode, that of the locking of

<sup>65</sup> F. C. Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, The Sweich Lectures, 1913 (London, 1914) p. 1, has beautifully illustrated the place of the Last Judgement from the decoration of the Sistine Chapel.

<sup>66</sup> See Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, pp. 38, 69-74.

<sup>67</sup> Assmann, *Homilien und Heiligenleben*, pp. 164 ff.

<sup>68</sup> Forster, *Die Vercelli-Homilien*, pp. 72 ff.

the gates of hell and the hurling of the key into hell,<sup>69</sup> appears in Vercelli Homily xv,<sup>70</sup> and in one of the marginal texts of MS. 41 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.<sup>71</sup> The preceding episode is a fragment of the *Ego te O homo*, which occurs in Old English<sup>72</sup> in fuller form in the Christ III,<sup>73</sup> Vercelli Homily VIII,<sup>74</sup> MS. Hatton 114,<sup>75</sup> and the same marginal homily in MS. CCCC 41,<sup>76</sup> and so it goes. Each episode is somewhat shortened, and this is true of the address material. It too is reduced, and everything is dropped which is inappropriate to the scene of the Last Judgement. In Assmann, then, we have the mere introduction, by way of exemplum, of the address material made to do duty in a new milieu.

In Vercelli Homily IV the judgement is led up to by means of an extended meditation on man's state in this world, and the insignificance of what he may endure here in contrast to that in the next world. The state of man is serious as his soul stands in the presence of God before the throne of judgement on the Last Day. God has given us understanding and knowledge and will. We can, if we will, lay up for ourselves at that day eternal life by means of our penitence and alms. The homily then breaks out into an eloquent depiction of the scene of the judgement, as all creation is gathered before God the Judge. The hosts of heaven and of hell are likewise present, that they may hear the acknowledgment of the soul, how it will answer the accusations made against it at the assize, and how it will be judged according to its works. The Judge dramatically commands that the angels receive the righteous soul.<sup>77</sup> In the Vercelli Homily the angels declare that they behold the mansion prepared for it in the glory of the kingdom of Heaven, and that they will lead the soul to him [i.e., the body] whom it had loved before. Thereupon the soul exclaims in affection over its body, "I behold where

<sup>69</sup> Assmann, p. 169.

<sup>70</sup> Forster, *Der Vercelli-Codex* CXVII, p. 128

<sup>71</sup> P. 301; see William H. Hulme, "The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus," *Mod. Phil.*, I, 1904-1905, 610-614.

<sup>72</sup> For the Latin, see *Patr. Lat.* XXXIX, col. 2207.

<sup>73</sup> Ll. 1379 ff; for the sources, see A. S. Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. 208-210.

<sup>74</sup> Förster, *Die Vercelli-Homilien*, pp. 153 ff., and Rudolph Willard, "Vercelli Homily VIII and the Christ," *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 314 ff.

<sup>75</sup> Fol. 109v ff. This homily I am preparing for publication.

<sup>76</sup> Pp. 299 ff.; see Hulme, *op. cit.*

<sup>77</sup> As the angels receive the soul, they praise it in almost the identical words of the receiving angels in the Junius version of the Three Utterances. Vercelli reads: *Eadigu eart þu, sawl, forðan þu name on þe gode eardunge*, Förster, *Vercelli-Homilien*, p. 84, ll. 135-136; Junius reads: *Beatus quem elegisti: replebimur* [Psalms 64 (65), 5-6]. *Hie cweðað, 'Eadig eart þu, sawl: þu name gode eardunge in ðinum huse, and we nu gefyllað mid gode ðin huse . . .'*; Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, p. 55 [Jm]. Junius would support the reading of Vercelli against that of Q; see Förster, *Die Vercelli-Homilien*, p. 84, note 73.



my body stands in the midst of this throng. Let me come to him. Be he never food for worms; may he never become vile putrefaction." The righteous soul bids the body rejoice in the Lord, praises the body for the performance of God's will while it was on earth, and then turns to the Lord and pleads with Him, reviewing the good deeds, virtues, and denials of the body during their life on earth.

As the soul pleads, the body begins to change hue, and to become increasingly more beautiful and glorious. The Judge beholds this, and remarks on this alteration as proof of the truth of the soul's declaration, and He then commands that the soul go back into its body to enjoy the rest eternal which they have both earned together. The body, after reunion with the soul, gains powers of speech for the first time since death, and the soul and body speak together as one individual, praising and glorifying God. In conclusion, the Judge passes final judgement on the complete man, body and soul together, in the *Venite benedicti patris mei*.

In the parallel episode, the wicked souls stand in fear and trembling, weeping and sighing as they come to judgement. The Judge in anger demands, "What do ye expect, that ye do not do your [good] works?"<sup>78</sup> The souls here stand abashed, because they had not wished to do any good deeds. A certain soul calls out to its body, and rebukes it, and reproaches it in a speech containing the true matter of the address of a wicked soul to its body.<sup>79</sup> The soul then turns to address death, reproaching it for having permitted its body to live so long and to attain so great damnation for them both. In a long speech addressed partly to death and partly to the body, the soul vituperatively enumerates the sins and iniquities of the body. The body stands silent, and undergoes a visible transformation from bad to worse parallel to that growth in beauty observed in the righteous soul. Then a devil cries out, claiming the soul in a manner similar to that in Vercelli Homily x,<sup>80</sup> Wulfstan Homily XLIX,<sup>81</sup> and in the bringing forth of the soul in the group represented by *Ad Fratres in Eremo Sermo LXIX*.<sup>82</sup> The devil pleads with the Judge not to deprive him of that which is his own, and to give him the soul. At length is heard the voice of the Judge, commanding the

<sup>78</sup> This is reminiscent of the judgement of the sinful soul in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in which the Judge greets the sinful soul thus: "Where is thy fruit which thou hast yielded, worthy of those good things which thou hast received?" *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 533.

<sup>79</sup> It is akin to the farewell to the body in the legend of the bringing forth of the soul, especially to that in the Irish version in Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac*, pp. 509-514.

<sup>80</sup> Folio 66v and 67r.

<sup>81</sup> Napier, *Wulfstan*, p. 254.

<sup>82</sup> See above, p. 960.

soul to return to its house, that is, to the body, and with the pronouncement of the *Descedite maledicti*, the scene is concluded.

This is, so far as I know, the most fully developed description of the actual judgement of the soul at the Last Day that we have in Old English. In the *Christ* there is a highly elaborated account of the preparations for the judgement, with the description of the end of the world and the gathering of the participants for the Great Assize. As in Vercelli Homily VIII, the central feature is the *Ego te O homo*,<sup>83</sup> the stirring rebuke of Our Lord to the sinners, as He reviews His mercies to man, and man's indifference and ingratitude. The point of view, however, is that of the Judge, once despised and rejected of sinners. We stand with Him, and look upon the great assembly after the separation has taken place, and as all await the final decree. In Vercelli Homily IV the center of interest is not the Judge but the judged, the individual soul standing before Him and giving an account of his deeds. In this respect the Vercelli Homily is unique. The action is more internal, more psychological, than in the *Christ* and Vercelli Homily VIII. It is on the joy or agony of the soul that the attention of the hearer or reader is centered, and the reunion of soul and body is depicted in moving fashion. But the judgement is self-judgement. *Et se ipsam iudicavit*, declares Redaction IV of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in another scene.<sup>84</sup> The words of the Judge, furthermore, are, as in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, merely sentences of acceptance or of condemnation, as He has listened, here to the confessions of the souls, in the apocalypse to the testimony of the guardian angel and the spirit of the man.<sup>85</sup>

The address of the soul to the body is, in whatever setting, an externalizing process, as the workings of the conscience guide the meditations and exclamations of the soul, and is, in short, the self-judgement of the soul. It belongs properly to the scene of death as the individual judgement is made and the destiny of the soul decided at this momentous hour. Its transference to a later moment, to the Paschal or dominical return of the soul to visit the body, is an elaboration and an extension through time of this joy or misery of the soul at death, and is a sample of his eternal state. Set in the Last Judgement, however, it makes a very moving account, which, nevertheless, if taken literally, is not without absurdity. As in the case of other dramatizations of the process of determining the destiny of souls, such as psychostasis, the fight of devils and angels for the soul, the reading of the books of deeds, the confronting of the accuser and the defence of the soul, if this must be done for

<sup>83</sup> See above, p. 980.

<sup>84</sup> Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, p. 78, l. 19.

<sup>85</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 532-534.

each soul individually, the process becomes endless and confusing. This unsatisfactory state arose naturally enough from the conflict between the two different beliefs current with regard to the judgement of souls: (1) that of an individual judgement at the moment of death, as the soul leaves its body, and (2) that of a general judgement of all souls at the great assize on the Last Day. Implicit in this latter is the belief in the suspension of souls in an intermediate state, as they await their doom. It is the transfer of elements essentially appropriate to the first, that at the hour of death, by way of the legend of the periodic return of souls to their bodies for brief intervals, to the other, the Last, Judgement, that raises this difficulty. All these devices for ascertaining the future state of the soul originated in various efforts to externalize the belief concerning the fate of souls at death, and in different degrees of orthodoxy, and they formed a sort of treasury of beliefs concerning the judgement of souls, less in official dogma than in popular theology, upon which homilists could draw for illustrative material whereby to add vividness to their sermons. The Anglo-Saxon hearer of Vercelli Homily iv listened to what, in spite of its difficulties, is perhaps the most moving presentation of the Last Judgement, and the most effective address of the soul to its body, in Old English Literature.

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THE DATE OF THE *ENEAS*

NO definite agreement concerning the probable date of the *Eneas* exists in the studies devoted to this mediæval romance. Its editor, M. Salverda de Grave, originally placed the *Eneas* at about 1150,<sup>1</sup> M. Faral believes it was composed about 1160,<sup>2</sup> and one of its most recent critics, Mr. F. Guyer, considers it somewhat anterior to the year 1174.<sup>3</sup> The last date can hardly be accepted, however, since the major part of Heinrich von Veldeke's translation of the *Eneas* into German was completed by 1175,<sup>4</sup> and it seems reasonable to assume that the poem's dissemination and translation would require more than one year.

The *Brut* provides a tangible basis for comparison, since the date usually assigned it (1155) is one of the least disputed in twelfth-century French literature.<sup>5</sup> I hope to show that the *Eneas* is probably anterior to the poem of Wace and that, if either poem is indebted to the other, it is the *Brut* which borrowed. M. Hoepffner, however, has recently attempted to establish the dependence of the *Eneas* upon the *Brut*,<sup>6</sup> if his conclusions be valid, then 1155 must be considered the *terminus a quo* rather than the *terminus ad quem* of the anonymous poem. M. Hoepffner believes that the author of the *Eneas* is indebted to the author of the *Brut* for some points in the adventures of Æneas and for certain literary themes;<sup>7</sup> and he bases his opinions upon what he considers parallel passages. An examination of these passages, however, has convinced me that some of them derive from Vergil's *Æneid*, that in some the similarity to lines in the *Brut* has been exaggerated, and that in some the direction of influence may, with equal plausibility, be reversed.

M. Hoepffner's first observation is that both Wace and the author of the *Eneas* avoid the "in medias res" beginning of the *Æneid* by giving a brief summary of the adventures of Æneas subsequent to the fall of Troy and previous to the storm off the shore of Carthage.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eneas*, Bibliotheca normannica, iv (1891), Intr., p. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge* (Paris, 1913), p. 410.

<sup>3</sup> "Chronology of Earliest French Romances," *Mod. Phil.* xxvi (1929), p. 277.

<sup>4</sup> Van Dam, J., *Zur vorgeschichte des hofischen Epos* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1923), p. 124.

<sup>5</sup> This is the date given in line 15299 of the poem. See *le Roman de Brut*, ed. Leroux de Lincy (Rouen, 1836-38).

<sup>6</sup> "L' '*Eneas*' et Wace," *Archivum romanicum*, xv, 2 (1931), p. 248-269; xvi, 1 (1932), 162-166.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, xv, 249.

<sup>8</sup> The passages cited in this paper are taken from the *Brut* edited by Leroux de Lincy and the *Eneas* edited by Salverda de Grave for "Les Classiques français du moyen âge" (44, 62), i (1925), ii (1929).

Qant Griu orent Troie conquise	Quant Menelaus ot Troie asise,
Et escillié tot le pais	onc n'en torna tresqu'il l'ot prise,
Por la venjance de Pâris	gasta la terre et tot lo regne
Qui de Gresse ravi Hélaïne,	por la vanjance de sa fenne.
Dont Enéas, a quelque paine	
De la grant ocise escapa	( <i>Brut</i> 10-15) (Eneas 1-4)

According to M. Hoepffner, Wace suggested this beginning to the author of the *Eneas* because the latter takes up the action at exactly the same point and because the construction and movement of the lines are alike.<sup>9</sup> But these passages present no verbal similarities except the names necessitated by the story. The beginning of the wanderings of Æneas coincides with the fall of Troy so that an allusion to the destruction of the city furnishes the logical starting point for an author not accepting the "in medias res" beginning of Vergil, a beginning which both authors—Wace probably for brevity, the other for clarity—were apparently trying to avoid. It is noteworthy, too, that the lines of the *Brut* are more specific than those of the *Eneas*; if the author of the latter were inspired by Wace, it is unlikely that he would have substituted general references for the more specific ones of his model.

With regard to the flight of Æneas, M. Hoepffner maintains<sup>10</sup> that lines 19-20 of the *Brut*, "que de prochains, que de maisnies, que d'avoir," gave rise to the following lines of the *Eneas*:

tote sa gent fist asenbler  
 et ses tresors an fist porter;  
 grant avoir et grant manantises  
 et granz richeces an a prises (*Eneas* 49-52)

Possibly the resemblance here is close enough to suggest a direct borrowing by one of the authors. Should one consider the passage in the *Eneas* an amplification of the lines in the *Brut* or do the latter constitute a summary of the passage in the *Eneas*?

Both poets neglect to relate the circumstances attendant upon the disappearance of Creusa. Vergil undoubtedly elaborated these circumstances because he wished to justify in the minds of his contemporaries the subsequent conduct of his hero. One could hardly exalt as the founder of the great Roman nation a man who had carelessly and thoughtlessly become separated from his wife. The mediæval writer had no such scruples. Both the *Brut* and the *Eneas* state the situation baldly:

En la grant presse le ( <i>sic</i> ) perdi	qu'en la presse la deperdi;
( <i>Brut</i> 88)	( <i>Eneas</i> 1183)

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

M. Hoepffner asks if it is chance which led the poets to use such similar terms.<sup>11</sup> Given the same situation, it is difficult to see how they could have described it otherwise.

Again, M. Hoepffner finds<sup>12</sup> in the *Brut* a parallel for the description in the *Eneas* of the Trojans' long sea-voyage:

Par mer folia longement;	Puis avons molt soferet ahantz
Maint grant peril, maint grant tourment	par plusors mers plus de set anz;
Et maint travail li estut traire	granz tormentes et granz orages
Après lonc tans vint en Ytaire; . . .	nos ont botez a mainz rivages;
Enéas ot mult travillié	le mont avons avironé,
Molt ot siglé et molt nagié,	el Teivre somes arivé;
Mainte grant mer a trespasée	
Et mainte terre avironée.	
En Itaire est venus a rive . . .	
La où li Toinres en mer chiet, ( <i>Brut</i> 21-35)	( <i>Eneas</i> 3187-3192)

Since there are no unusual verbal similarities in these passages, it seems more logical to believe that this description of the *Eneas* had its source not only in the seventh book of the *Aeneid* but in its famous first lines<sup>13</sup> which our author's method of beginning his poem had naturally led him to omit. M. Hoepffner believes that reference to the Tiber by both poets is especially significant and, in support of his conclusion, states that the Tiber does not appear in Vergil.<sup>14</sup> The passage quoted above from the *Eneas* is part of the speech of Ilioneus to King Latinus. The first lines, it is true, do not occur at this point in the seventh book of the *Aeneid* but the French poet paraphrased and transposed them from the opening lines of Vergil. While the Tiber is not mentioned at the beginning of the *Aeneid*, it is referred to in the seventh book and precisely in the speech of Ilioneus which at this point served as a general model for the author of the *Eneas*.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, M. Hoepffner has omitted in the passage cited from Wace a line which modifies the meaning in the last verse of the citation and minimizes the possibility of its having given rise to the reference to the Tiber in the *Eneas*. The complete passage reads thus:

En Itaire est venus à rive  
 En une terre plentéive  
 La où li Toinres en mer ciet,  
 Bien près d'iloc à Rome siet. (*Brut* 33-36)

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251, note 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>13</sup> *Aeneid*, vii, 228; i, 1-3, 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, xv, 252, note 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Aeneid*, vii, 241-242: huc repetit iussisque ingentibus urget Apollo Tyrrhenum ad Thybrim et fontis vada sacra Numici.

M. Hoepffner sees further traces of the influence of Wace in the descriptions so characteristic of the *Eneas*. Let us consider, for example, his analysis of the storm at sea with which Vergil began his narrative. Although our critic admits that the author of the *Eneas* followed his classical model, he maintains<sup>16</sup> that there are certain features in the copy not to be found in the Latin source but rather in Wace's description of a tempest. It should be noted that this description of a tempest occurs at a point in the *Brut* (l. 2529 f.) not concerned with Æneas but with Gurlac, King of Denmark. These are the passages to which Hoepffner calls attention:<sup>17</sup>

(a) the ships tossed about by the waves:

Nef commencent à périllier,	les nes comencent a vaucler,
( <i>Brut</i> 2529)	( <i>Eneas</i> 190)

The two similar words here are common enough to be found anywhere. The descriptive verbs (and it is here that one would expect to find a striking similarity if Hoepffner's hypothesis were correct) express entirely different actions.

(b) a detailed enumeration of the damage suffered by the ships:

... Bort et kiévilles a froissier,	ronpent lor cordes, chieent voilles,
Rompent closture et bort froissent,	brisent et mast et gouvernail;
Voiles dépiècent et mast croissent.	( <i>Brut</i> 2530-2532) ( <i>Eneas</i> 202-203)

The lines of the *Eneas* seem to resemble those of Wace, but if the lines which immediately precede these had been cited, it would have been observed that the source of the passage need not be sought outside of Vergil. Compare:

insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum.	
eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque	
Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra	
. . . . .	
praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem	( <i>Æneid</i> 1, 87-89, 91)

et ciel et mer lor promet mort;
ne voient lune ne estoilles,
ronpent lor cordes, chieent voilles,
brisent et mast et gouvernail; ( <i>Eneas</i> 200-203)

The comparison of these lines from the *Eneas* with those of Vergil shows at once that their author is reproducing, in reverse order, the description of his classical source. Similarly, if M. Hoepffner had cited the companion verse to line 249 of the *Eneas*, he could hardly have main-

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, xv, 260.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262.

tained that the latter owed something to line 2531 of the *Brut*—Rompent closture et bort froissent—since our author is here, as previously, giving a literal translation of the *Aeneid*:

... laxis laterum compagibus omnes  
accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt. (*Aeneid* I, 122-123)

ronpent chevilles et clotures,  
l'eve i antre par les jointures, (*Eneas* 249-250)

(c) the fear of the sailors:

Nus n'i osoit lever la teste . . .	Ne eschipse ne esturman
N'i a si hardi, n'ait paor.	de son droit cors nen ert certain . . .
	an avanture ont mis lor vie.
( <i>Brut</i> 2533, 2539)	( <i>Eneas</i> 205-209)

The verbal parallels are not close enough here to establish a relationship between these passages.<sup>18</sup>

(d) the scattering of the fleet:

Les nés furent tost départies,	par cele mer les esparpaille,
Et en pluisors tères fuies. ( <i>Brut</i> 2535-2536)	( <i>Eneas</i> 259)

Here the following line of Vergil—and not Wace—is evidently the source of our poet's inspiration:

disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem (*Aeneid* I, 128)

(e) the precise duration of the tempest:

Cinc jors ont issi enduré	Ansi ont l'i fuitis de Troie
Al fort vent et al gros oré;	sofert trois jors, qu'il n'orent joie;
( <i>Brut</i> 2537-2538)	( <i>Eneas</i> 263-264)

Vergil, it is true, does not refer to the precise duration of the tempest. Nevertheless it hardly seems necessary to point out that the number of days differs in the two passages cited above and to suggest that the use of determinate numbers (if it needs comment here) is a stylistic device handed down to the early romances from the old epics.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Hoepffner believes that the phrase, "lever la teste," may have suggested to the author of the *Eneas* line 270: Dont leva Eneas la teste. Although Hoepffner does not refer to it, in each case "tempeste" rhymes with "teste." Since the context differs in these passages, the phrase may equally well have been suggested to the author of the *Eneas* by Vergil who thus describes Neptune's action during the tempest:

... et alto

prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda. (*Aeneid* I, 126-127)

<sup>19</sup> Biller, G., *Etude sur le style des premiers romans français en vers* (Göteborg, 1916), p. 91.



Hoepffner does not limit the influence of Wace on the *Eneas* to the *Brut*. He goes so far as to see in Wace's poem in honor of the Virgin a possible source for part of the description of the tempest.<sup>20</sup> It will be noted that the lines quoted from the *Eneas* are not consecutive; moreover, certain lines in the *Aeneid*<sup>21</sup> offer a more plausible model for this passage in the *Eneas* than the lines cited from *la Vie de la Vierge*.

According to M. Hoepffner,<sup>22</sup> the description of the hunt of Ascanius resembles that of the hunt of Brutus because the action pictured in the two poems is the same. That both young men take their stand near a tree while the father in one case and an attendant in the other send the prey towards them might easily be fortuitous, especially since the two passages present no striking verbal similarities:

Li pères al fil les acainst	anprés un bien grant fust se traist
Et li fils à un fus s'estraint	et uns damoisels l'i atraist.
( <i>Brut</i> 141-142)	( <i>Eneas</i> 3595-3596)
A un cerf traist qu'il avisa;	et il visa toz tens al grant, . . .
	il traist a lui . . .
( <i>Brut</i> 143)	( <i>Eneas</i> 3598-3600)

The poet could hardly have described the action differently and, accordingly, the style here should probably be attributed to the similarity of hunting scenes in general rather than to the direct influence of one poet upon the other.

The critic's suggestion<sup>23</sup> that our author's description of Carthage is

<sup>20</sup> Mut fu la mer tote esmée.	comeue est la mers formant;	(194)
Li venz vint à la nef devant	Li vanz aquialt les autres nes;	(257)
Rompent cordes, li très lor faut	ronpent lor cordes, chieent voilles,	(202)
Li plus sage po i saveient	il ne sevent quel part il torment,	(207)
Li tens cessa, li vens chaï,	li vanz failli, del tot cessa,	(266)
(Wace, <i>la Vie de la Vierge</i> , Tours, 1859, pp. 4-5, 8).	( <i>Eneas</i> , 194 f.).	

<sup>21</sup> Compare the lines already quoted from the *Aeneid* (I, 87-89, 91) in connection with point (b). Additional details were available for our author in the lines with which Vergil continues his description: (*Aeneid* I, 84 f.)

incubere mari totumque a sedibus imis	( 84)
. . . Aquilone procella	(102)
velum adversa ferit . . .	(103)
tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet	(108)
. . . tris Eurus ab alto	(110)
in brevia et syrtis urget	(111)

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, xv, 262.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 263-264.

Charlion dejuste Usques siet,  
Un flum qui en Saverne ciet.

Sa cité avoit non Cartage,  
en Libe sist sor le rivage.

based upon the plan adopted by Wace in his description of Carlion does not seem tenable. The description in the *Eneas* is distinguished by a profusion of exotic detail unknown either to Wace or Vergil while the basic elements which M. Hoepffner maintains derive from Wace—(1) general description of the city and the means of access, (2) the principal monuments, (3) the inhabitants and their activities—are common to all three authors. Furthermore, the description in the *Eneas* of the activities of the inhabitants precedes the description of the monuments, as in Vergil—the reverse of the order adopted by Wace. One may question whether Wace really describes the activities of the inhabitants since he simply refers in speaking of the churches to their rich clergy and to the canons who were sufficiently versed in astronomy to aid Arthur with their predictions.

Perhaps M. Hoepffner's most interesting suggestion<sup>24</sup> is that the author's idea for Æneas' island combat was inspired by Wace's description of a similar combat of Arthur. M. Hoepffner says, for example, that the conditions are the same:

Al roi Artur a fors mandé	et manda li qu'a l'uisme jor,
Que il dui en l'ille venissent,	en un isle desoz la tor,
Et cors à cors si combatissent.	fust la bataille par aus dos . . .
Et cil d'aus qui l'autre oïroit	et qui veintra tot ait an fin.
Et qui vif vaincre le poroit,	
La tère tote quite éust ( <i>Brut</i> 10259–10264)	( <i>Eneas</i> 7837–7841)

and that the reasoning of the two heroes is similar:

Mius velt son cors metre en péril	an aventure me metrai:
Et en abandon de morir	mialz voil an bataille morir
Que plainement Paris guerpir.	que vis recroire ne foir.
( <i>Brut</i> 10255–10257)	( <i>Eneas</i> 9666–9668)

It must be noted, however, that almost two thousand lines elapse between these two passages of the *Eneas*, that the first passage records an allusion to an island combat of Æneas, a combat to which the author

---

Cil qui d'autre terre venoient	La mer l'i bat d'une partie,
Par cel eve venir pooient:	ja par de la n'iert asaille;
De l'une part ert li rivièr,	de l'autre part sunt li viver
De l'autre li forès plénier.	et li marais grant et plener
Plenté i avoit de pisson,	( <i>Eneas</i> 407–412)
Et grant plente de venisson. ( <i>Brut</i> 10467–10474)	

Corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat.  
iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi  
imminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces. (*Æneid*, I, 418–420)

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, xv, pp. 266–267..

never again refers, while the second passage is concerned with the actual combat between Turnus and Æneas, a combat which took place outside Laurentum (l.9672 f.). Consequently, with the disappearance of the island in the second passage the basis of comparison between these combats is withdrawn and any inferences regarding the similarity in the passages themselves may be disregarded. If the second passage quoted above concerning the actual combat owed something to the lines cited from the island combat in the *Brut*, if the author, at this point, were deriving his inspiration from Wace, then it is improbable that, with the text of Wace at hand, he would not have recalled the location originally designated for the combat between his heroes. Since he failed here to develop his original plan, the natural inference is that the author of the *Eneas* did not have recourse to the *Brut*. There still remains the early allusion to an island combat. M. Hoepffner mentions the island combats already made famous by Geoffrey and the Tristan legend.<sup>25</sup> Since it seems unlikely, in view of the contradiction in the *Eneas*, that the author could have been inspired by Wace, it is possible that the allusion in the *Eneas* is reminiscent of the combat in the *Historia* or the Tristan story.

It is true that in the *Æneid* the land offered to Æneas by Latinus is an inhabited land, while the author of the *Eneas* seems to have deliberately departed from his model to describe a country rich in natural resources as yet uncultivated. M. Hoepffner finds the source for this deviation from Vergil in the arrival of Pantaloim in Ireland;<sup>26</sup> he says: "tous les éléments de l'énumération de Wace reparaissent dans l'*Eneas*, enrichis et modifiés. Les 'bois' sont devenus des 'forêts grandes et giboyeuses,' les 'eaux' des 'rivières,' les 'montagnes' des 'côteaux de vignes'; aux 'plaines' sont substituées des 'prairies'." In other words, the original, if such it be, has so been changed that none of it remains, and one is justified in questioning whether the author of the *Eneas* really was acquainted with the work of Wace.

On two occasions<sup>27</sup> M. Hoepffner compares passages where similarity in rhyme apparently establishes a parallelism. The first of these passages is concerned with the account of Æneas' arrival in Lombardy which is

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*-*Historia*, ch 155; *Tristan* of Thomas (ed. Bédier), II, 199-207.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, xvi, 163-165. *Eneas* 6573 f., *Brut* 3357 f. The rhyme *riviere: pleniére* in the *Eneas* has no counterpart in this particular passage of the *Brut* posited as the source of the *Eneas*. Hoepffner suggests (*ibid.*, p. 165, note 1) that its presence here recalls Wace's use of the same rhyme in his description of Carlion (ll. 10471-72) and in his account of the establishment of the Bretons in Armorica (ll. 6052-53). It is difficult to accept one passage as the general source for the *Eneas* when recourse must be had to other passages in the *Brut* for specific detail.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, xvi, 162 and xv, 258.—In the second case (*Brut* 4411-4412, *Eneas* 4645-4646) the rhyme *gloire: victoire* occurs in lines where the context is not similar.

compared to Brutus' arrival in his promised land, Britain:

Et de la terre s'esloignièrent.  
Tant al solel tant as estoiles,  
Tant as avirons, tant as voiles  
A Totenois en Destremue  
Est tote la flote venus;  
Ce est l'isle dont la deuesse  
Lor fist en songe la promesse.

(*Brut* 1050-1056)

Eneas torne du rivage,  
en haute mer s'empaint a naje;  
il traient sus singles et voilez,  
si laissent corre aus estoilles.  
Et nuit et jor ont tant coru,  
en Lombardie sont venu:  
ce est la terre et le pais  
que Jupiter lor ot promis.

(*Eneas* 3021-3028)

In each case, it is true, the words "voiles" and "estoiles" terminate a line, but it should be noted that the lines differ in context. Besides, it is very doubtful whether the original text of the *Eneas* included the passage extending from l. 3021 to l. 3105 for it is absent from the two manuscripts which probably represent the best and oldest textual tradition.<sup>28</sup> M. Salverda de Grave believes<sup>29</sup> that this whole passage may be a later interpolation designed to make the resemblance between the *Eneas* and its classical model more apparent at this particular point. The opening lines of the passage certainly bear a closer resemblance to the beginning of the seventh book of the *Aeneid* than to the *Brut*.<sup>30</sup> In any case, one cannot base definitive conclusions upon a passage which does not indisputably represent the best manuscript tradition.

On the other hand, M. Hoepffner cites<sup>31</sup> another passage from the *Eneas* which undoubtedly recalls the *Brut* and for which the *Aeneid* provides no parallel:

Quant voit le rois que ne li valt,  
Qu'il nes pot prandre par assalt,  
Ne par nul engien que il face,  
Trait soi en sus . . .

(*Brut* 337-340)

Quant Turnus voit que rien ne valt,  
ne nes pot prendre par asalt . .  
O ce ne repot il rien faire,  
il fet sa gent an sus retraire.

*Eneas* 5343-5344; 5355-5356)

The similarity in the context of the first two lines is corroborated by the similarity in rhyme. The effectiveness of this parallelism is lessened, however, when one observes that the four lines in the *Eneas* are not consecutive and that the action in the *Brut* has nothing whatever to do with the adventures of Æneas; the verbal resemblance may simply be fortuitous. Indeed, it is difficult to concede that the existence of several pairs of parallel rhymes in two poems respectively 10,156 and 15,300 lines long should be attributed to the dependence of one author on the other rather than to chance.

<sup>28</sup> *Eneas* (edition for "Les Classiques français du moyen âge"), II, 162.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, I, vii, xiii.

<sup>30</sup> *Aeneid*, VII, 6-9, 144-145.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, xv, 266.

Even if one admitted that these rhymes might be indicative of some relationship between the poems, that admission would not establish the priority of either work. While the absence of pertinent documents prevents one from formulating any definitive conclusion regarding the date of the *Eneas*, certain considerations, as I have suggested above, point to 1155 as the *terminus ad quem* rather than the *terminus a quo* of this poem and make it likely that, if either author were the debtor in the few similar passages that may be posited, that debtor is Wace rather than the author of the *Eneas*.

Wace devotes about twenty-five lines (10-35) to the adventures of Æneas that preceded his arrival in Italy and about forty-five lines (36-80) to those that followed. The story of Dido is not mentioned, but a great amount of space—considering the brevity of Wace's whole account of Æneas—is given to the story of Lavinia, Æneas, and Turnus.

The *Æneid*, of course, ended with the death of Turnus. It was the author of the *Eneas* who amplified the account of Vergil, who seized upon the love element latent in the seventh book of the *Æneid* and made of it an interesting romance, terminated by the marriage and coronation of the hero and heroine. And, as M. Hoepffner admits,<sup>32</sup> this was a natural ending for a romance, an ending for which its author had no need to resort to Wace. True, but where did Wace get his idea for elaborating on Vergil? Not from his predecessors in the field of history. Both the *Historia Brittonum* and Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace's immediate source, limit their summary of the last six books of the *Æneid* to a sentence or two.<sup>33</sup> Why would Wace have enlarged upon this particular situation if he had not known that his readers were already familiar with a more fully developed account of the love-tale of Lavinia, Æneas, and Turnus than that provided by Vergil? Had he been interested simply in exploiting any love element latent in the Latin poem, it is inconceivable that he would have omitted the Dido episode, and yet Dido is not even mentioned in passing. Although M. Hoepffner admits that it was unnecessary for the author of the *Eneas* to have consulted Wace for his initial idea, he maintains, curiously enough, that the similarities between the two accounts are sufficiently striking to warrant his conclusion that the *Eneas* was influenced by Wace. These lines on the crowning of Æneas and Lavinia, for example, seem to him parallel:

Dont ot Enéas la messine  
Rois fu et ele fu roine

Eneas fu a roi levez . . .  
et fu coronee Lavine:  
rois fu d'Itaire et el raïne.

(*Brut* 63-64)

(*Eneas* 10105-10108)

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Faral, *la Légende arthurienne* (Paris, 1929), III, 7, 74.

It is difficult to see how the poets could have presented the case differently and there is nothing in the rhymes to fortify the belief that either author wrote with a copy of the other's work at his side. The ending of the *Eneas* was a natural conclusion demanded by the romance, but romantic though his history may be according to our modern conceptions, it is questionable whether Wace would have felt impelled on his own initiative to provide such a relatively long account of this affair. Consequently, it appears preferable to see in the first lines of the *Brut* a summary—not a detailed reproduction or an imitation—of a love story which had been made popular by the author of the *Eneas*.

A further observation seems to substantiate this suggestion. For the author of the *Eneas*, the founder of Alba Longa was Æneas; for Wace, Ascanius. Both traditions were current in the twelfth century;<sup>34</sup> the *Æneid* itself was ambiguous on this point.<sup>35</sup> If, as M. Hoepffner maintains,<sup>36</sup> the author of the *Eneas* were following Wace, it is improbable that he would have chosen—either here or in the prophecy made by Anchises to Æneas (l. 2976)—a tradition other than that represented by Wace. If, on the other hand, Wace were simply prefixing his main history with a brief summary of a popular love story, there is absolutely no reason for believing that he would abandon the testimony of Geoffrey, his obvious source, to continue the tradition adopted by the author of the *Eneas* and which he may or may not have remembered.

There are also some minor details which seem to indicate that the *Eneas* may have been composed before 1155. Wace is one of our first professional writers. His contemporaries and immediate successors who wrote under the patronage of Henry II, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and her daughters, did not hesitate to acknowledge their work, whether it dealt with "la matière de Bretagne" (Marie de France, Chrétien de Troyes), Byzantine legends (Gautier d'Arras) or the legends of antiquity (Benoît de Sainte-Maure). If our poet had been writing in Normandy after 1155, it seems strange that he, unlike Wace, unlike Benoît de Sainte-Maure and the others, did not sign his work. The fact is that the marriage of Henry II to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1154 rendered secure the patronage of Norman men of letters. In the decade immediately preceding 1155 their position had been less certain because Geoffrey of Anjou, who won the duchy of Normandy for his son Henry in 1144, retained his court in Anjou and visited Normandy only intermittently.<sup>37</sup> Consequently, writers before 1155 would be less encouraged to reveal their identity than writers after 1155. If the *Thèbes* and the *Eneas* were written before this

<sup>34</sup> Hoepffner, *op. cit.*, xv, 255.

<sup>35</sup> *Æneid*, vi, 763 f., viii, 48.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, xv, 255–256.

<sup>37</sup> Haskins, C. H., *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 131, 143.

date, it might explain why they are anonymous and the *Troie* signed.<sup>38</sup>

Although the *Eneas* would very likely appeal more strongly than the early *chansons de geste* to a courtly society, the conception of love here revealed is not entirely what one would expect of a poet writing in Normandy after 1155, that is, after the marriage of Henry II to Eleanor of Aquitaine and the introduction into the North of the courtly conceptions of love which had prevailed for some time in the South.

The whole idea of Æneas' abandoning Dido seems contrary to the spirit of *l'amour courtois*. The author of the *Eneas* need not, it is true, alter the main facts of the story which he found in the *Æneid*. Nevertheless, an author inspired by the courtly ideal of love might be expected to evidence some sympathy for the abandoned heroine. Our author, however, minimizes the sympathy which Vergil had felt for the unfortunate Dido, condemns her actions<sup>39</sup> and adds to the account of Vergil a rather unflattering epitaph<sup>40</sup> which one can scarcely consider reflective of a courtly society animated by Eleanor of Aquitaine.

Although the lines in which Æneas speaks of love as the impelling force in his life<sup>41</sup> seem to indicate a growing tendency toward the courtly conception of love, the dominating note of that love appears to be realistic rather than idealistic.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, unlike the heroines usually associated with courtly love, Lavinia is the aggressor; she is the first to reveal her love by means of a missive delivered to Æneas one day as he approaches her tower.<sup>43</sup> When, in response to the message, Æneas looks up at the window where Lavinia is standing, she throws him a kiss.<sup>44</sup> The monologues in which the lovers describe their feelings suggest a purely Ovidian, rather than an idealistic, conception of love.<sup>45</sup>

If our author had been writing after the appearance of Wace's *Brut* or been inspired by Wace, it is probable that he would have united in some fashion, however slight, the traditions of antiquity with those of the Celtic world so recently appropriated by vernacular French literature. Our earliest extant romances posterior to the *Brut* all show some traces of Celtic tradition. A fairy figures in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Troie*,<sup>46</sup> *Cligès*, although it has a Byzantine background nevertheless introduces Arthur; the author who re-worked Albéric's *Roman d'Alex-*

<sup>38</sup> I accept Faral's demonstration of the relative chronology of *Thèbes*, *Eneas*, and *Troie*. (*Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge*, pp. 169-187.)

<sup>39</sup> *Eneas*, 1593-1604.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 2139-2144.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 9051-9056, 9061-9064.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 9039-9047.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 8767-8774, 8807-8811, 8863-8870.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 8876-8879

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 8158-8170. For a detailed account of the influence of Ovid on the Lavinia episode, cf. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge*, pp. 125 f.

<sup>46</sup> *Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans (1904), I, 434, ll. 8023 f.

*andre* and produced the decasyllabic version did not hesitate to give his hero "l'elme de Cornualle; Li reis Artus l'ot man jor en bataille."<sup>47</sup> If our poet had been inspired by Wace, it is difficult to believe that he, contrary to the majority of his contemporaries, would have avoided any allusion to the Celtic material Wace had probably popularized.

Furthermore, the author of the *Eneas* evidences no interest in the supernatural and he either very definitely eliminates from his model, the *Aeneid*, as much of it as is not essential to his narrative<sup>48</sup> or attributes to human causes what in the Latin poem had been the result of divine intervention.<sup>49</sup> To take but one example, the hero of the *Aeneid* makes his entrance into Carthage enveloped in a cloud (I, 439-440). In the *Eneas* he sends messengers who bring back to him a report of the Queen's reception (356 f., 641 f.). The author of the *Eneas* admits into his poem none of that marvelous element, that sense of mystery so peculiarly characteristic of "la matière de Bretagne." If he had written after 1155, it seems improbable that he would have refused to exploit this new spirit. While Wace also retains in his narrative (ll. 7719-7724) the dragons that are so inseparably a part of Arthurian legend, whereas the author of the *Eneas* preferred not to include in his poem Laocoön's struggle with the sea serpents.

One must admit, of course, the possibility that the *Eneas* was posterior to Wace and that its author entirely escaped his influence. Nevertheless when one considers that Wace devotes more space to a summary of the *Aeneas-Lavinia-Turnus* affair than his Latin models do, that anonymity was more common in the field of narrative poetry before the time of Wace than after, that our poet's conception of love is primarily an Ovidian and realistic one rather than the idealistic conception familiar to the wife of Henry II, that no allusion is made in the *Eneas* to Arthurian legend, introduced into the vernacular by 1155, and that there is no trace here, as in the narrative poetry posterior to 1155, of that peculiar supernatural element which we associate with Celtic rather than classical literature, it seems likely that the *Eneas* was composed before the *Brut* and that the approximate date of 1150 originally assigned the poem by Salverda de Grave is correct.

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<sup>47</sup> Meyer, P., *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge* (Paris, 1886), I, 41, ll. 368-369.

<sup>48</sup> *Eneas* (Bibliotheca normannica), Intr., xxxiii.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiv, xxxix.



## CHAUCER'S WRECHED ENGENDRING

SOME ten years ago I pointed out (*MLN*, xl, 282-284) that the poem, "An Holy Medytacion," first printed by Dr. MacCracken,<sup>1</sup> was based directly on a thirteenth-century Latin poem, "De Humana Miseria Tractatus."<sup>2</sup> The English poem opens with a lively description of Spring which irresistibly recalls the beginning of the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. No doubt Dr. MacCracken was impressed by the apparent reminiscences of Chaucer in this section of the poem, and it was very natural that these should have influenced him in assigning the "Holy Medytacion" to Lydgate. This Spring description, however, instead of being reminiscent of Chaucer, follows closely the phrases of its Latin original. Accordingly, the most plausible reason for assigning the poem to the monk of Bury at once disappears.

My former discussion of "An Holy Medytacion" was primarily devoted to questioning its right to be included in the Lydgate Canon. Among other objections to Lydgate's authorship I noted that this poem contains three instances of "antepenultimate rhyme of words in -oun." But in this matter I relied too confidently upon Dr. MacCracken's own rime-tests. Lydgate, he asserts, avoided such penultimate rimes as "Temptacioun: nacioun, derisioun: visioun, corréccioun: diléccioun, etc." [The last two are found in "An Holy Medytacion"]. "The -acioun rhyme," he adds, "comes into Lydgate's work rarely, and by accident in his latest poems (*Secrees, Miracles of Edmund*); the others never."<sup>3</sup> However, without making a complete examination of Lydgate's verse, I have noted sixty-seven instances of such excluded rimes,<sup>4</sup> while of

<sup>1</sup> *Minor Poems of Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken, EETS, I, 43-48.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. from MS. E. 2. 33 in the Library of Trinity Coll. Dublin by M. Esposito, *Eng. Hist. Review*, xxxii, 402-405.

<sup>3</sup> *Minor Poems of Lydgate*, I, vii, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Troy Book*:—entencioun: offencioun I, 747/8; suspeccioun: discrecioun I, 3079/80; discrecioun: suspeccioun I, 3531/2; discrecioun: oppressioun II, 1147/8; subieccioun: eleccioun III, 2333/4; illusiouns: conclusiouns III, 4947/8; disposicioun: opposicioun III, 5585/6; entencioun: dissencioun IV, 293/4; mencionioun: entencioun IV, 1713/4; illusioun: confusioun IV, 6939/40; devisioun: thavisionioun V, 3075/6; direccioun: inspeccioun V, 3535/6; inspeccioun: subieccioun Envoy 51/3. [13 cases]

*Temple of Glas*:—eleccioun: subieccion 342/4; offencioun: entencion 429/30; eleccioun: subieccioun 569/70; offencioun: entencioun 884/6; subieccioun: eleccioun 1075/6. [5 cases]

*St. Albon and St. Amphabel*:—confusion: collusion I, 828/30; affection: correction II, 1991/3; punysshon: remysshon III, 871/3; confusyon: illusion: abusyon III, 1368/70/1; occasyon: inuasion III, 1374/6; possession: profession: succession III, 1494/6/7. [6 cases]

*Minor Poems*, Vol. I:—subieccyoun: proteccyoun *Benedic An. Mea* 149/51; inspeccion: coreccion *Exhort. to Priests* 52/3; affeccioun: direccioun, perfeccion: perfeccion, affection:

the -ácioun rimes, which Dr. MacCracken admits in Lydgate's latest poems "rarely and by accident," I find 20 in *Troy Book*, 2 in *Siege of Thebes*, 1 in the *Temple of Glas*, 26 in *Fall of Princes*, 20 in *S. Albon and S. Amphabel*, 58 in *Minor Poems*, and 12 in *S. Edmund and S. Fremund*—a total of 139 instances. Nor would it appear from this list that these -ácioun rimes were specially characteristic of Lydgate's later work. I am still of the opinion that "An Holy Medytacion" was not composed by Lydgate, but I would no longer base an argument upon the occurrence of penultimate rimes.

Before entering upon the general question of the authorship of this poem I wish to call attention to a specially interesting passage treating of the joys of Heaven:

wher is mirthe, rest, and pees,	74
Dwelling with god and with his moder deer,	
And with his seyntes shynynge ful cleer,	
And also with þe hooly companye,	
Of þ'aungelles, wheeche þat maken melodye	
So delytable and in so goodely wyse	
þat þer nys mannes tonge to souffyse,	80
þoughe þey alle were sette and put in oon	
And hadde þe konnynges of þe, Omer, echoon,	
To telle þe mirthe and loye is in þat place,—	
And passing al, þe sight of Crystes face.	84

A reference to the cunning of Homer is hardly what one would expect

correction *Virtues of Mass* 10/12, 426/8, 661/3; contricioun. remyscioun *SS Kath Marg. & Mary Magd.* 13/15; affeccioun: correccioun *To S. Thomas* 117/9; addycioun: contrycioun *Leg. of S. Gyle* 250/2; illusciouns: collusciouns *Leg. of S. Marg.* 389/90; affeccioun: resurreccioun *S. Austin at Compt.* 373/5; affeccioun. perfeccioun *Fifteen Oecs* 204/5; assensioun: mencion, assumpcion. presumpcion *Ave Maria* 49/51, 57/9; compleccioun: perfeccioun, confusioun. illusioun *Testament* 724/5, 795/7; mencyon: Inuencyon: pension: Ascencion *Kalendare* 121/3/4/5. [16 cases]

*Minor Poems*, Vol. II.—correction: inspeccion, cession: possessioun *Isopes Fab.* 46/7, 744/6; entencion: discencioun *Ball. to Hen. VI* 138/40. [3 cases]

*S. Edmund and S. Fremund*:—impressiouns: successiouns I, 390/2; pocessioun: successioun III, 865/6. [2 cases]

*Fall of Princes*:—possessioun: successioun I, 1742/3; conclusion: confusioun I, 2867/8, V, 1184/6; possessiouns: transgressiouns II, 3544/6; abusioun: conclusioun II, 4579/81; successioun: possessioun II, 2571/3, V, 3002/3; VIII, 2615/6; affeccioun: refeccioun: II, 1548/50; mencion: discencioun III, 1605/7; VIII, 331/3; subieccioun: proteccioun III, 3546/7; condiciouns: disposiciouns III, 4244/6; subieccioun: affeccioun IV, 1474/5; entencion: mencion IV, 3969/71; mocion: deuocioun V, 268/70; intrusioun: collusioun V, 2740/2; disposicioun: condicioun VI, 599/600; regiouns: legiouns VI, 1814/6, 3648/50; confecciouns: refecciouns VII, 902/4. [21 cases]

*Siege of Thebes*:—remyscioun: condicioun III, 3471/2. [1 case]

in a description of the joys of Paradise; and on examining the manuscript, I found that the "O" in "Omer" is purely imaginary. Moreover, in this word the "r" is not entirely normal, and the manuscript shows evidence of a slight erasure at this point; Shirley seems originally to have written "of þe men." The rather elaborate rhetorical figure which underlies these lines recalls the well-known passage in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (V. ii) beginning

If all the pens that ever poets held  
Had fed the feeling of their masters' thoughts.

While the resemblances are too vague to suggest any direct relationship, the similar pattern on which these passages are constructed may be due to a common root in literary tradition.

The existence of such a mediæval original appears to be established by the following passage, which occurs in a collection of religious tales and exempla compiled by a Franciscan in northern Italy and preserved in B.M. Additional MS. 27336, written in the early fifteenth century:<sup>5</sup>

(fol. 27<sup>b</sup>) Dicit quidam sapiens, scilicet Gamaliel, quod si firmamentum esset gamenum<sup>6</sup> & mare Incaustum,<sup>7</sup> & arundines & plume omnium auium essent penne, & omnes homines & mulieres scriptores, non possent describere vnum gaudium paradisi. Tanta delectatio est uidere deum quod si omnes pene Infernales esse possent in uno oculo & illo posset deus uideri non possent nocere ei.

The figurative representation of the feathers of all the birds as pens and all men and women as writers has something in common with Marlowe's "If all the pens that ever poets held." But in the main these Latin lines are much more closely related to the passage in "An Holy Medytacion." The theme in both is the joy of Paradise. And in both the crowning joy is the sight of God. ("Tanta delectatio est videre Deum," and "passing al the sight of Crystes face.") The sage who is here quoted is probably not the Gamaliel mentioned in the Book of Acts, for, according to the article by Professor Bacher in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, there were six patriarchs named Gamaliel as well as "others of the same name who lived in Palestine in the third and fourth centuries and who are reckoned among the Palestinian *amoraim*." In any event, the ascription of this

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Catal. of Romances in Brit. Mus.*, III, 647.

<sup>6</sup> I have not succeeded in finding this word in mediæval vocabularies, but in Baxter and Johnson's *Mediæval Word List* (Oxford, 1934) I note "*gammula*, (n. pl.) letters, writing, 13th c." The context would indicate that *gamenum* means parchment or other writing material.

<sup>7</sup> Ink; see Baxter and Johnson's *Mediæval Word List*, "*\*incaustum* 12th c., a 1408, *incastum* 1456, *incoustra* c. 1220 for *encaustum*, ink."

saying to Gamaliel would appear to carry it back to early rabbinical tradition.<sup>8</sup>

Let us now take up the problem of the authorship of "An Holy Medytacion," which in my previous paper was limited to the question whether it was or was not the work of Lydgate. In the present paper I wish to bring forward some new evidence which, I think, points unmistakably to the real author of the poem. In this inquiry we must proceed by examining first the substance of the thirteenth-century "De Miseria Humana Tractatus," on which it was based. Of this Latin text M. Esposito states: "In rhythm and substance it is an imitation of the celebrated *Apocalypsis Goliæ*." But the only suggestion which he offers as to the sources of his poem is: "Some reminiscences of the remarkable satire of Bernard de Morlas, *De Contemptu Mundi*,"<sup>9</sup> may also be traced." Apparently M. Esposito confined his investigation of sources to materials in verse, though it is singular that the very title of Bernard de Morlas's work did not lead him to examine also the world-famous "De Contemptu Mundi sive De Miseria Conditionis Humanae" by Pope Innocent III. The sub-title, it will be noted, is almost identical with that of the thirteenth-century poem. Had he turned to Pope Innocent's treatise he would have found, not vague "reminiscences," but the immediate source of his poem. Without taking space for a detailed comparison of the two documents, I select a few passages which will illustrate the dependence of the thirteenth-century Rhythmus upon Pope Innocent's *De Contemptu Mundi*.<sup>10</sup>

Lib. I, caput v. *Quali cibo conceptus nutriatur in utero*. Sed attende quo cibo conceptus nutriatur in utero. Profecto sanguine menstruo, qui cessat ex femina post conceptum, ut ex eo conceptus nutriatur in femina. Qui fertur esse tam detestabilis et immundus, ut ex ejus contactu fruges non germinant, arescant arbusta, moriantur herbae, amittant arbores fructus,\* et si canes inde comederint in rabiem efferantur. †

Concepti fetus vitium seminis contrahunt, ita ut leprosi et elephantici ex hac corruptione nascentur.

Cap. VI. *De imbecillitate infantis*.

. . . Quidam enim tam deformes et prodigiosi nascuntur, ut non homines, sed abominaciones potius videantur, quibus forte melius fuisset provisum, si nun-

\* Migne:fœtus.

† Migne:efferantur.

<sup>8</sup> An echo of this saying may perhaps be recognized in a folk-rime which still survives. More than fifty years ago in the state of Ohio I heard a jingle which began: "If all the sky were parchment/and all the sea were ink" . . .—And a well-known nursery-rime known to all folk-dancers runs: If all the world were paper, / and all the sea were ink, / and all the trees were bread and cheese, / what would we have to drink?

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Wright's ed., *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, II (1872), 31, 35, 66.

<sup>10</sup> *Migne, Patr. Lat.*, ccxvii, 701 ff.

quam prodissent ad visum, quoniam ut monstra monstrantur, et ostenduntur ostentui. Plerique vero diminuti membris, et sensibus corrupti nascuntur, amicorum tristia, parentum infamia, verecundia propinquorum. . . .

*De Humana Miseria Tractatus*

Quam sit conditio siue miseria	35
Humani generis uilis et uaria!	
Plus quam uilissimus reuera dicitur	
Homo, de spermate uili concipitur,	
Sanguine menstruo conceptus alitur;	
De quo, set pudor est, dicam quid scribitur.	40
Contactu menstruo flores non procreant,	
Nec herbe semina fruges non germinant;	
Amittunt arbores fructus nec pululant;	
Ruunt in rabiem canes si comedant.*	
Hoc in articulo puer † qui gingnitur	45
Aut lepram contrahit aut secus nascitur	
Gibbosus, indecens, deformis, editur	
Contractus corpore uel cito moritur.	
Ecce materiam de qua conciperis!	
Cibo quam nobili conceptus aleris!	50

Cap. vii. *De dolore partus et ejulatu infantis.*

Omnes nascimus ejulantes, ut nostram miseriam exprimamus. . . . Concepit ergo cum immunditia et fetore, parit cum tristitia et dolore, nutrit cum angustia et labore, custodit cum instantia et timore.

Ploras et eiulas statim cum nasceris,	51
Et mortis misere uiam ingrederis	
Die quo nasceris; quid mirabilius	
Non esse incipis dolens et anxius?	
Quanto plus uixeris tanto deterius	
Viuis, et corrui in uia deuius.	56

Cap. ix. *Quem fructum homo producit.*

O vilis conditionis humanae indignitas, o indigna uilitatis humanae conditio! Herbas et arbores investiga. Illae de se producant flores et frondes et fructus: et heu tu de te lendes et pediculos et lumbricos. Illae de se fundunt oleum, vinum, et balsamum, et tu de te sputum, urinam, et stercus: illae de se spirant suauitatem odoris, et tu de te reddis abominationem fetoris.

Attentis oculis homo considera	61
Quot mundi uanitas, quot caro misera	
Diuersa nutriunt fetorum genera;	
Te uilem reputes mox inter cetera.	

\* On v. 44 Esposito adds this note: "I have searched in vain for this tradition in a number of ancient and medieval medical writers." But cf. *De Contemptu Mundi*, cap. v.

† MS. *pā*.

Producunt arbores frondes et folia, 65  
 Vinum et oleum et multa dulcia,  
 Homo pediculos, lendes, et talia,  
 Vrinam, uomitum, sputum et stercora. 68

In Book II Pope Innocent concerns himself with the prevalence in human affairs of injustice, fraud, and ambition; and the author of the *Rhythmus*, developing this theme, gives to the later portion of his poem a satirical turn which, as its editor has noted, is quite in the mode of the *Apocalypsis Goliæ*. In this section the abuses of the Roman curia are denounced in express terms, and at the conclusion England is mentioned by name. In this satirical trend, however, the poet obviously has turned away from Pope Innocent to other models.

Turning back now to "An Holy Medytacion," we note that the author instead of following this digression into satire, centers his poem upon

þe mutabiltee

Of þis wretched worldes vanytee (ll. 109-110).

The following lines may be compared for language with the *Rhythmus* and for substance with the *De Contemptu Mundi*, as quoted above:

Trees bring foorþe, þou wost weel, as I gesse, 113  
 Branch, leef, and floure, wyñ, oyle, and suche swettnesse,  
 For þy behooue by goddes ordeynaunce,  
 For þou him shuldest serve to plesaunce. 116  
 Shewe foorþe þe fruyt, nowe, man þat comeþe of þee,  
 Howe proufitable and fayre is it? let see:  
 Of þee kemeþe dung, vryne, vomyt and spitting,  
 Lysse, nyttes, flees, and suche filthy thing. 120  
 If þat þy filthes I reherce shal,  
 Men shal well wit þou art nought worth at al.  
 O filthy man! contrarye of al clennesse,  
 Vessel of dung, heep of rotunnesse, 124  
 Vessel in whoome þe heete of leecherye  
 Lurkiþe and abydeþe þer til þat þou dye!  
 O wretched man! ful varyant and vnstable  
 Is þy condicyoun, and right deceyvable, 128  
 Right nowe þou art, nowe stintest þou to be,  
 Wheþer euer þou fleest deeþe ay wol suwe þee.\*

The same note is struck again a little further on, and here also the phrases of the *Rhythmus* are reproduced with but slight variation:

Considre eeke þis, and haue it in memorye, 159  
 þat al þis wretched worldes loye and glorye,  
 And mighte of kynges, and hir dignytee,

\* Text of this and the following selections collated with the MS.

And ooþer lordes mightes, what soo þey bee, For alle hir castelles and hir toures hye And hir possessyouns, yit shal þey dye. Hir goode ne catel ne may hem not avaylle; Cruwel deepe of his pray wol not faylle.	164
Quid mundi gloria uel superfluitas, Regum potentia siue sublimitas, Quid turres diuitum siue cupiditas, Quid rerum copia? nonne sunt uanitas? O gentis simplicis mens male conscia Quid prodest homini nummorum copia Cum pulset ostium mors mordens fortia?	85   88  91

Indeed, "An Holy Medytacion" is a somewhat colorless title for this poem,<sup>11</sup> whose theme is better expressed by the "De Humana Miseria Tractatus" of the Latin verses or by the "De Miseria Conditionis Humanae" of Pope Innocent's sub-title. And at this point one recalls that Chaucer himself, among the titles of his works, names one, hitherto unidentified,

Of the Wretched Engending of Mankinde  
As man may in pope Innocent y-finde  
(*L.G.W. Prol. G, 414-415*)

"Of" in this statement, which exactly corresponds to the "De" in the Latin headings, is clearly part of the title, and is so printed by Tatlock.<sup>12</sup> The work which Chaucer here acknowledged has by reasonable inference been taken to be a direct translation from Pope Innocent, but Chaucer did not say this. He wrote "Of the Wretched Engending" as one may find it set forth by Pope Innocent.

Though the editor of the *Rhythmus* did not recognize that it was based upon Pope Innocent's treatise, Chaucer would not have failed to identify this as its source—at least when he wrote the G-Prologue. Indeed, the Tales of the Man of Law and the Pardoner afford positive testimony that at the time when these were composed Chaucer was directly acquainted with the text of *De Contemptu Mundi*. Assuming for the moment that Chaucer was the author of the English poem, it is quite possible that he may have translated the Latin *Rhythmus* before he read

<sup>11</sup> The running titles of the poem in the Trinity MS. are: "An holy seying" (p. 111), "An holy and deuoute Meditacōn" (pp. 112/113), "A deuoute Meditacōn for mans Salvacōn" (pp. 114/5), "A deuoute Meditacōn" (p. 116). The title was no doubt supplied by Shirley: note other similar titles in the Ashmole MS.: "A deuoute Invocacioun to oure Ladye" (fol. 64), "A pytous lamentacioun of oure ladye" (fol. 66). "A deuoute exortacioun," etc. (fol. 68<sup>vo</sup>), "Deuoute & vertuos wordes" (fol. 73).

<sup>12</sup> *Devel. and Chron. of Chaucer's Works*, p. 182, note.

Pope Innocent. In that case, however, when he included this poem in the list of his works, it would have been entirely natural for him to add the reference to Pope Innocent, on whose treatise the *Rhythmus* was directly based.

Scholars are divided in their opinion as to whether Chaucer was here referring to a poem or a prose work. Koeppe<sup>13</sup> and Skeat<sup>14</sup> conjecture that it was a poem in rime-royal from which Chaucer later incorporated material in the Tales of the Man of Law and the Pardoner. Tatlock remarks that "the manner in which the work is mentioned in the *Legend* certainly seems to imply that it was in prose" (*loc. cit.*). He refers undoubtedly to the preceding line in the *L.G.W.*: "He hath in prose translated Boece." This line, however, was not written at the same time, but some eight years earlier in the F-version of the Prologue. In revising his Prologue Chaucer may have inserted the additional title without necessarily intending the phrase "in prose" to apply to this added item.

As to the scope of Chaucer's "Wretched Engendring," Professor Tatlock expressed the opinion that Chaucer's translation included only the early part of the *De Contemptu Mundi*. "Chaucer's title," he remarks, "corresponds only to the first five chapters of the first of the pope's three books; they alone deal with conception and gestation, which, according to the pope, are very wretched indeed" (*loc. cit.*). This very discerning suggestion is borne out rather notably by the text of the poem which we are discussing, in which the observable resemblances to the *De Contemptu Mundi* do not extend beyond Chapter nine of Book I.

Readers may object that the extracts from "An Holy Medytacion" printed above are not in the usual Chaucerian vein, but in view of Chaucer's statement that he wrote "Of the Wretched Engendring of Mankinde" we are hardly justified in rejecting on this ground alone a poem which agrees so perfectly in theme and scope with the work mentioned in the Prologue of the *L.G.W.* Let us see, then, whether there is any internal or external evidence in support of his authorship.

"An Holy Medytacion" is preserved in two manuscripts, both of them in the hand of John Shirley, Trinity Coll. Camb. R. 3.20 (No. 600 in Dr. James's Catalogue) and Ashmole 59 in the Bodleian. The latter was written when Shirley was upwards of eighty years of age, and, as Miss Hammond has shown,<sup>15</sup> many of the pieces in it "are hasty, garbled, and scramblingly written." It is in every respect inferior to the Trinity manuscript and has no independent authority. Dr. MacCracken also, in printing this poem, gave the preference to the Trinity text.

<sup>13</sup> *Archiv. f. d. Stud. d. neueren Sprache*, LXXXIV, 405 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 307 and 407/8.

<sup>15</sup> *Anglia*, xxvii, 397.



In the Trinity manuscript "An Holy Medytacion" appears without the name of any author, but it immediately follows Chaucer's "Compleynthe of Anelida" (p. 106). After the "Medytacion" comes "A lytel tretis made by Thomas Occleve" [The Epistle of Cupid], and then come two more of Chaucer's minor poems, "The Balade of Fortune," and "Truth," though in both cases without ascription to him. Thus "An Holy Medytacion" stands in a group of five pieces of which the first, fourth, and fifth are known to be by Chaucer while only the third is certainly not his work. We may say, then, that the manuscript, though in no sense offering direct testimony in regard to the authorship of this poem, at least gives some plausibility to the suggestion that it was composed by Chaucer.

Neither the language nor the metre is inconsistent with this ascription, though in judging the inflectional forms and the accentuation one must make allowance for carelessness and unintelligence on the part of the scribes.<sup>16</sup> Even so, the text of these verses will bear comparison with that in many manuscripts of known Chaucerian pieces. As I have already stated, there are a few instances of "penultimate or ante-penultimate rhyme of words in -oun."<sup>17</sup> Such rimes, however, though infrequent, are to be found in genuine works of Chaucer. I have noted no fewer than eighteen instances of these, and it is likely that still others could be added to my list.<sup>18</sup> We should not be warranted, therefore, in excluding this poem from the Chaucerian canon solely on this ground.

Moreover, among the rimes appearing in this poem a considerable number are characteristically Chaucerian. Indeed, a large proportion of them are used by Chaucer not merely as rime-words but in rime-pairs. In order to exhibit the actual situation I give a full list of these, including rimes which are commonplaces (e.g. *me:see*) as well as those which are distinctly significant:

<sup>16</sup> The single occurrence of a bad rime, *veer: eyr* (vv. 5/6), is no doubt to be thus explained. As Professor Onions points out to me, *eyr* must be a scribal error for the adverb *er* ("previously," "hitherto"). This correction not only removes the faulty rime but improves the sense of the passage. "Wyntour" is evidently a substantive here as in v. 15.

<sup>17</sup> These are: *mutacyoun: consolacyoun* (19, 20), *affeccion: correccion* (41, 42), *affeccyoun: dyleccyoun* (143, 144).

<sup>18</sup> *Antepenultimate rimes in Chaucer*: *conclusioun: confusioun* rv, 257/8, xxxii, 23/25; *conclusioun: illusioun* F, 1263/4, G, 672/3; *replecciouns: complecciouns* B, 4113/4; *complexions: reflexions* HF, 21/2; *proffessioun: possessioun* D, 1925/6; *discrecioun: possesioun* F, 685/6; *desperacioun: dampnacioun* ABC, 21/23; *salvacioun: dampnacioun* ABC, 165/7; *calcinacioun: albificacioun* G, 804/5; *citrinacioun: fermentacioun* G, 816/7; *demonstracion: ymaginacion* HF, 727/8; *significaciouns: tribulaciouns* B, 4169/70; *inclinacioun: constellacioun* D, 615/6; *dampnacioun: nacioun* D, 1067/8; *declynacion: exaltacion* E, 2223/4; *constellacioun: operacioun* F, 129/30.

- 1- 2 *rayn: fayn*, = TC. III 655/6  
 7- 8 *gret: heet*, = C. 37/8  
 9- 10 *mede: drede*, = F. 723/4  
 11- 12 *greves: leves*, = A. 1495/6  
 15- 16 *derknesse: cleernessee*; cf. *derknesse: brightnesse* G. 384/5  
 17- 18 *be: parde*, = B. 1977/8  
 21- 22 *ydelnesse: swettnesse*; cf. *ydelnesse: businesse* L.G.W. 1722/3  
 23- 24 *me: see*, = B. 1882/4  
 25- 26 *hert: atert*, = BD. 1153/4, D. 967/8, and TC. V. 1343/4  
 27- 28 *hye: remedye*, = B. 209/10  
 29- 30 *be: tree*, = B. 4329/30  
 31- 32 *greene: bytweene*, = A. 2859/60  
 33- 34 *crafttely: I*, = G. 602/3  
 37- 38 *thought: nought*, = B. 3616/7  
 39- 40 *anoon: goon*, = F. 765/6  
 43- 44 *mynde: kynde*, = A. 1401/2  
 45- 46 *vn-to: loo*, = HF. 997/8  
 47- 48 *synne: Inne*, = B. 3192/3  
 49- 50 *Iniquyte: me*; cf. *iniquitee: pitee: she* B. 450/3  
 51- 52 *ewrought: ebrought*, cf. *broght: y-wroght* PF. 121/3  
 53- 54 *devyse: in what wyse*, = A. 1843/4  
 55- 56 *honeste: me*, = LGW. 2700/1  
 57- 58 *birthe: mirthe*, = D. 399/400  
 59- 60 *wayle: fayle*, = E. 1182, 1212  
 61- 62 *lyf: stryff*, = E. 1645/6  
 63- 64 *astert: hert*, = A. 1595/6, LGW. 1802/3, 2338/9, and XXII. 13/14  
 65- 66 *sore: more*, = A. 1115/6  
 69- 70 *alle: calle*, = A. 2085/6, 4111/2, etc.  
 73- 74 *eendelese: pees*; cf. *doutelees: pees: recceles* B. 226/9  
 75- 76 *moder deer: cleer*, = B. 1844/5, etc.  
 77- 78 *companye: melodye*, = A. 4167/8 and 2565/6  
 79- 80 *wyse: souffyse*, = B. 1098/9, 3171/2, etc.  
 83- 84 *place: face*, = A. 623/4, etc.  
 85- 86 *dignyte: bee*, = B. 3360/1, etc.  
 87- 88 *syde: betyde*, = E. 79/81, etc.  
 89- 90 *helle: iclle*, = A. 1999/2000, 2227/8, etc.  
 91- 92 *blaake: makc*, = A. 899/900, etc.  
 93- 94 *his: is*, = F. 1165/6, D. 1105/6, etc.  
 97- 98 *cende: weende*, = TC. V. 475/6, etc.  
 99-100 *freelte: be*; cf. *freelte: she* D. 92/3, *freelte: he* E. 1159/60  
 101-102 *sweete: byheete*, = TC. I. 538/9, etc.  
 103-104 *courtesye: guye*, = E. 74/5  
 111-112 *prey: sey*, = A. 3139/40, 3171/2  
 113-114 *gesse: swettnesse*, = PF. 198/200.  
 115-116 *ordeynauce: plesaunce*, = B. 762/3, etc.  
 125-126 *leecherye: dye*, = D. 737/8, etc.  
 127-128 *vnstable: deceyvable*, = E. 2057/8  
 133-134 *space: grace*, = A. 87/8 *et passim*.  
 141-142 *rede: drede*, = TC. I. 83/4 *et passim*.  
 147-148 *liknesse: goodnesse*; cf. *gladnesse: lyknesse* A. 2841/2  
 149-150 *creature: dure*, = A. 1359/60 *et passim*.  
 151-152 *posessyoun: adowne*; cf. *possession: down* = A. 2241/2  
 155-156 *vnkynde: kynde*, = PF. 358/60  
 157-158 *displeese: eese*, = TC. I. 27/8, etc.  
 159-160 *memorye: glorie*, = E. 2243/4, LGW. 2530/1  
 161-162 *dignyte: bee*, = E. 470/2  
 163-164 *hye: dye*, = Mars 270/1  
 165-166 *awaylle: faylle*, = B. 1765/6  
 167-168 *abouwe: love*, = A. 1599/600, 1671/2, etc.

Even more notable than this use of identical rime-words is the frequent occurrence in this poem of phrases which at once remind us of lines in Chaucer. "And swoote gan to smellen" (9) may be compared with "and swote smellen floures" (TC. I. 158); "warrished of hir drede" (10) resembles "warissshed of his wo" (F. 1162); "Al Ioye and mirthe þat may e-rekened bee" (86) has the same swing as Chaucer's "Of shap and al that myghte y-rekened be" (F. 427).

The lively description of the pursuit of Renard in the Nun's Priest's Tale,

And shouting of the men and wimmen eke

They yelleden as feendes don in helle (B. 4577-79).

is immediately suggested by the line,

And suche noyse and showing of feondes blaake (91)

Again, Chaucer's "whyle I have tyme and space" (A. 35) is practically identical with "whyles þou hast tyme and space" (133). Still more striking is the line

creature / þat in þis world is whil þat it shal dure (150)

which closely parallels Chaucer's

creature / That is or shal whyl that the world may dure  
(A. 1360, cf. B. 1078).

Chaucer's terse "Lat see!" is familiar to every reader, though its frequency in his verse will probably surprise any one who notes the instances assembled in the Concordance. In twelve cases Chaucer begins the line with "Lat see" or "Lat see now." But in five other cases the phrase stands at the end of the line as in

"Yis," quod this Somnour, "pay anon, lat se" (D. 1598)  
How I might best avaylen? now lat see (TC. II. 1430).

In the "Holy Medytacion" also it occurs at the end of the line:

Howe profitable and fayre is it? let see (118).

The author of the Latin *rhythmus*, pursuing the details of gestation in Innocent's treatise, inserts a phrase of apology:

De quo, set pudor est, dicam quid scribitur.

In his translation of the *rhythmus*, however, the English poet forbears at this point:

Of þi conceyving ne wol I not devyse,  
Ne howe þou art efedde, ne in what wyse.

I wol eschuwe it for þyne honeste,  
Wher-fore of þat þou getest nomore of me (53-6).

Can we possibly be mistaken in recognizing in these lines the technique of Chaucer? "Ye gete namore of me" is the phrase which he uses repeatedly at the close of a description or a discussion. With these words the Host concluded his doxology to Bacchus (H. 102). The magic horse in the Squire's Tale, Chaucer says,

Vanished, I noot in what manere,  
Out of hir sighte; ye gete na-more of me (F. 343).

Arveragus and Dorigene, he tells us, lived happily ever after,

And she was to him trewe for evermore.  
Of thise two folk ye gete of me namore (F. 1556).

And finally it is with this formula that the scene of May's visit to the bedside of Damian concludes:

This purs hath she inwith hir bosom hid,  
And wente hir wey; ye gete namore of me (E. 1945).

How shall we explain this series of manifest resemblances to the work of Chaucer? We must either accept his authorship of this poem or we must regard it as a conscious piece of imitation. And to carry through a successful imitation of Chaucer's style while translating a Latin treatise "*De Humana Miseria*" would have been, one may well believe, an impossible *tour de force*. The only Chaucerian imitator whose name would occur to any one in this connection is Lydgate, but in my earlier paper I showed how little basis there is for assigning "An Holy Medytacion" to him. I am glad to have confirmation of my opinion in this matter from no less an authority than Dr. Henry Bergen, the editor of Lydgate's *Troy Book* and *Fall of Princes*. Referring to my attempt to set aside the ascription of this poem to Lydgate, Dr. Bergen expressed himself as follows:<sup>19</sup>

There is a wholly different feeling and rhythm in it from anything I know of by Lydgate—much earlier to my mind, much more like Chaucer—the measure (allowing for mistakes of the copyists) nearer Chaucer's. It seems to me that it would be no less difficult to prove that it isn't by Chaucer than that it is by Lydgate.

It was this suggestion of Dr. Bergen's, I may add, which impelled me to re-examine the poem. And his intuition as to its Chaucerian quality has, I think, been fully confirmed by the evidence here presented. At my invitation Dr. Bergen, after this paper was already in type, supplied

<sup>19</sup> In a private letter under date May 24, 1925.

the following statement supporting with more detail the opinion which he expressed ten years before:

A re-reading of the "Wrecched Engendryng" has only strengthened my earlier opinion that it is not by Lydgate. There is hardly any writer of verse whose work is more easily recognizable by its mannerisms than his. No English poet that I can think of was so diffuse or had a more characteristic vocabulary and a larger stock of stereotyped phrases and rhyme-tags. In all the 180 lines of the "Wrecched Engendryng" there is hardly one distinctively Lydgate phrase: indeed, the only one in the entire 180 lines is "shortly for to telle" (90), and Lydgate was certainly not the only Middle English writer to use it.<sup>20</sup> "I reherce shal" (121) looks at first sight like a Lydgate cliché but is an integral part of the text, and moreover Lydgate would have used it in a different form: "as I reherce shal." On the other hand, such phrases as "parde" (18), "certain it wolde not be" (29) "singing ay betweene" (32), "craftely" (generally used in a different connotation by Lydgate, 33), "herbarowe inne" (48), "for byne honeste" (55), "getest nomore of me" (56), "as I gesse" (113), "let see" (118), "O filthy man" (123), "trust þou me" (154),<sup>21</sup> I should certainly associate with Chaucer rather than with Lydgate.

In spite of some metrical roughnesses (which may be in part due to a faulty text) the resemblances to Chaucer are so striking that I should be very reluctant to attribute it to anyone else. It may well have been written when he was quite young.

Having once recognized Chaucer's authorship of the poem, one need feel no hesitation in cancelling the unfortunate heading given to it by Shirley or some other early scribe and identifying it as the piece to which Chaucer himself gave the more descriptive title "Of the Wreched Engendring of Mankind." Scholars have felt some perplexity as to Chaucer's treatment of such a theme, but a perusal of the poem will give assurance that it is by no means of such a forbidding character as the title may have led us to assume. And in any case it is satisfactory to recover the text of one of the supposedly lost Chaucerian pieces.

In conclusion, it remains to consider briefly the introductory section of the poem which contains a Spring picture resembling somewhat the opening lines of the Canterbury Prologue. Though this is more Chaucerian in tone than the body of the poem, I have neglected it thus far in the present discussion for the reason that it is not properly a part of the *De Contemptu Mundi* tradition.

<sup>20</sup> Thus cf. Chaucer, "And forth he wente, *shortly for to telle*" (T. and C. V. 1826), "But as a marchaunt, *shortly for to telle*" (Cant. T. B. 1495), *et passim*.—C. B.

<sup>21</sup> The extreme frequency of Chaucer's use of this phrase will appear on referring to the Concordance under "Trust" and "Trusteth." I cite only examples in which the phrase is used parenthetically and at the end of the line: "truste me" (B. 3422), "trusteth me" (G. 229, 601, 889), "trust me wel" (D. 1556), "trusteth me right wel" (D. 1869), "trusteth wel" (H. F. I. 66).—C. B.

Even allowing for the fact that descriptions of Spring may be expected to show many common features, there is, I feel, a haunting Chaucerian quality in such lines as these:

After þe stormy tyme cesing þe rayn,  
 Whane for þ'absence of colde þ'eorþe is fayn,  
 And þe qwyck[e] thinges resceyue vygour,  
 And trees bringen foorþe leef and flour, 4  
 And by þe glad lusty sesoun of veer  
 Alle þe thinges, which þat wyntour er<sup>22</sup>  
 Consumed had by his coldes gret,  
 Releued weren by þe sonnes heet, 8  
 And swoote gan to smellen euery mede,  
 þe briddes eeke, warissed of hir drede,  
 With lusty hert singing in þeyre greves,  
 Desporting hem amonge þe greene leues. 12  
 . . . . .  
 With greuous study annoyed was myn hert,  
 Oute of þe which ne wist I howe t'astert,  
 But to þe greues fast I can me hye,  
 Wening þer to fynde remedye, 28  
 But al for nought certain it wolde not be;  
 For whane I hade sette me vnder a tree,  
 What for þe floures and þe herbes greene,  
 And noyse of briddes singing ay bytwene 32  
 In hir wyse me thought craftely,  
 þat suche a mirthe neuer noon herde I.

In order to show how closely Chaucer was here following his original, I quote the corresponding lines of the Latin *Rhythmus*:

1 Post tempus horridum	cessante pluuiā,
Quo terra frigoris	gaudet absentia
Vires recipiunt	queque nascentia,
4 Producent arbores	flores et folia,
Quicquid consumpserat	brume uoracitas
Totum restituit	ueris amenitas,
Per prata redolet	mira suauitas,
8 Virgulta uolucrum	replet garulitas.
. . . . .	. . . . .
18 Studentem temere	affixit tedium
Virgultum adii	sperans remedium
Ne sic quiescere	me sinit studium.
Nam cum sub arbore	sederem nimia
22 Herbe uiriditas,	florum presentia,

<sup>22</sup> See note 16, above.

Cantantes uolucres	in uoce uaria,
Accendunt animum	cordis ad studia.
Studendo mens mea	totum inuenitur
Ad spiritalia,	set sic deprimitur
27 Carnis illicbris	quod fere luditur.

This Springtide description, though it can no longer be regarded as an echo of the Canterbury Prologue, has nonetheless, a very definite interest for the student of Chaucer. For with our ascription of this poem to him the Spring picture, instead of being an echo, becomes an adumbration of the Canterbury prologue.<sup>23</sup>

It is quite possible, as I have already suggested, that Chaucer composed this poem before he came under the direct influence of *De Contemptu Mundi*. In that case there is nothing to prevent us from assigning it to a comparatively early period in his poetical development. There is a tradition that he translated the *ABC* at the request of Blanche Duchess of Lancaster "being a woman in her religion very devout," and the subject-matter of the "Wretched Engendring" would suggest that it may also have been composed in this early period. This is a shorter poem than any of the others which Chaucer mentions in his Prologue to the *LGW*, and very possibly Chaucer himself had disregarded it until his later reading of Pope Innocent's treatise brought it again to mind. His insertion of the "Wretched Engendring" for the first time in the later version of the Prologue to the *LGW* would thus be explained. But this must remain merely a matter for speculation. Our present information does not afford any secure basis for fixing the chronology of the poem. All that can be asserted with confidence is that his composition of the "Wretched Engendring" must have preceded the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

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<sup>23</sup> For an examination of the details in the Spring piece in the Canterbury prologue see Dr. Rosemond Tuve, *Seasons and Monks: Studies in a Tradition of Middle English Poetry* (Bryn Mawr, diss., 1933, pp. 52-58).

## LXII

### EARLY APPLICATION OF LATIN GRAMMAR TO ENGLISH

IN the past two years, partly to supplement in special fields the collections of the *Middle English Dictionary*, I have been searching the catalogues of manuscripts of English libraries for mediæval curiosities. Of these, early grammatical writings in English are not the least interesting. I have now four Latin grammatical pieces written in English in the fifteenth century: *I*, an anonymous grammar in St. John's College (Cambridge) MS. 163, f. 1<sup>a</sup>, printed below; *II*, another from Trinity College (Cambridge) MS. 0.5.4, f. 5<sup>a</sup>, printed in *Essays and Studies in Eng. and Comp. Lit.* in the series in Language and Literature, University of Michigan, XIII (1935), pp. 81-125; *III*, another in Douce MS. 103, f. 53<sup>a</sup>, printed below; and *IV*, a disquisition by a schoolmaster of Beccles (Suffolk), one John Drury, on the comparison of adjectives and adverbs in Cambridge Additional MS. 2830, f. 54<sup>a</sup>, printed in *Speculum*, IX (1934), 70-83. (I shall usually refer to them herein as *I*, *II*, *III*, and *IV*.)

All of them are modelled in whole or in part upon the *Donet*, the *Ars Minor* of Donatus. This standby of instruction in the Middle Ages treats briefly of the eight parts of speech: noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, conjunction, preposition, and interjection. The treatises in St. John's MS. 163 and Douce MS. 103 are constructed on this framework. In broad outline they are like the accepted Latin text<sup>1</sup> of the *Ars Minor*, but differ from it markedly in detail. The grammar in Trinity College MS. 0.5.4 is more ambitious. Of its five sections, the third and principal one is devoted to the eight parts of speech and stands in the same relation to the *Donet* as the grammars of St. John's MS. 163 and Douce MS. 103. The first, second, fourth, and fifth sections respectively concern the four ways of beginning a sentence in Latin, the four accords in Latin grammar, the five figures of construction (prolepsis, syllepsis, zeugma, antithesis, and synthesis), and the governing of the cases. The treatise on comparison in Cambridge Additional MS. 2830 concerns itself with only one small division of the material in the *Donet*. All four of these Latin grammatical treatises in English have statements and illustrations in common not in the accepted text of the *Ars Minor*. There being no critical study of its Latin texts of English origin, I cannot state whether these variations and additions go back to a prototype in Latin established in England or to a prototype in English. The differences in detail among the four are, moreover, greater than the likenesses.

<sup>1</sup> Ed Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (Leipsic, 1857-80), IV, 355-366. It has a short appendix on accords added to the eight parts of speech.



The grammars are preserved in manuscripts of the fifteenth century. John Drury's work on comparison may be dated near the year 1432 since another piece of his in Cambridge Additional MS. 2830 is self-dated as of that year. The scribe Harding, like Drury, was a resident of Beccles in northeastern Suffolk. The grammar in Trinity College MS. 0.5.4 shows dialectal peculiarities of the locality of its manuscript (Battlefield near Shrewsbury) so strongly that I am inclined to date it before 1450 rather than after.<sup>2</sup> Documents and literary texts later than 1450 rarely are strongly dialectal. This manuscript is associated with the College of Battlefield by the presence in it of copies of deeds concerning that foundation.<sup>3</sup> St. John's College MS. 163 is in several hands, which Dr. James considers to be of the late fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Douce MS. 103 is a composite manuscript of the fifteenth century.

These Latin grammars have a good deal to say about the English language, especially I. And always in their treatment of English inflection and syntax, they explain them in terms of Latin inflection and syntax. They afford by far the earliest explicit evidence we have of the influence of Latin grammar on Englishmen's concepts of their own language, an influence so prominent in the philosophy and teaching of English grammar since the time of Bullokar.

*I* applies the names of seven of the eight parts of Latin speech to English: the noun (both adjective and substantive), pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, preposition, and interjection. It does not speak of English conjunctions. *II* applies to English the names of all the parts of speech except the preposition, and *III* speaks of English nouns (adjective and substantive), pronouns, verbs, and participles. *IV* applies the term, adjective, to English.<sup>5</sup> William Bullokar in his *Bref Grammar for English* (London, 1586), the first English grammar in English, finds the eight parts of speech of Latin grammar in his native tongue.<sup>6</sup>

In their accounts of the adjective, all four of the Latin grammars describe the positive, comparative, and superlative degrees as they are expressed in English.<sup>7</sup> *I* and *II* describe these degrees as expressed in the English adverb.<sup>8</sup>

*I*, *II*, and *III* recognize six Latin cases in the declension of the Eng-

<sup>2</sup> See Meech, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-94.

<sup>3</sup> James, M. R., *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, A Descriptive Catalogue* (Cambridge, 1900-04), III, 301-308.

<sup>4</sup> James, M. R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 194-197.

<sup>5</sup> I can only refer the reader to my four texts *passim*, for their treatments of the parts of speech in English.

<sup>6</sup> *Palaestra*, LII (1906), 339.

<sup>7</sup> *I*, p. 1019; *II*, *Essays and Studies*, XIII, 102; *III*, p. 1029; *IV*, *Speculum*, IX, 79.

<sup>8</sup> *I*, p. 1205; *II*, *Essays and Studies*, XIII, 113.

lish substantive: the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, and ablative.<sup>9</sup> They show how to identify the nominative and accusative by word-order and meaning, and the vocative by meaning. When their compilers state, without reservations, that the nominative precedes the verb and that the accusative follows, they must be referring to English, although they do not say so, because English has this rigid word order (except in interrogative sentences) and Latin has not. They identify the genitive, dative, and accusative by the use of certain English prepositions before the substantive. They speak of prepositions as the "signs" of the genitive, dative, or accusative. The same assumption that the six Latin cases exist also in English, though not indicated there by inflection, appears in the early grammars of English. For example, Alexander Gill in his *Logonomia Anglica* (London, 1621) makes this statement:

*Obserua primo: Omnia Nomina cuiuscunq; sunt Declinationis ad vnam formā variari: Dato videlicet nominatiuo, accusatiuo, vel vocatiuo vtriusuis numeri, caeteros casus suis signis internosci: vt*

Singulariter	Nom. { <i>Œe wil-</i> { testis,	Pluraliter	<i>Œe wilnesez testes,</i>
	Accus. { <i>nes</i> { testem,		
	Voc. <i>ô wilnes ô testis,</i>		<i>ô wilnesez ô testes,</i>
	Gen. <i>of Œe wilnes testis,</i>		<i>of Œe wilnesez testium,</i>
	Dat. <i>tu Œe wilnes testi,</i>		<i>tu Œe wilnesez testibus,</i>
	Abl. <i>with Œe wilnes cū</i>		<i>with Œe wilnesez cū testib'.</i> <sup>10</sup>
	teste.		

The *Grammatica Anglicana* (Cambridge, 1594), ascribed to P. Greenwood, has a paragraph on prepositions as "signs" of the English genitive, dative, and ablative.<sup>11</sup>

*I* and *III* mention the singular and plural numbers in connection with English substantives.<sup>12</sup> These two also mention three persons in their remarks on the English personal pronouns.<sup>13</sup>

*I*, *II*, and *III* recognize five moods in the inflection of both English and Latin verbs: the indicative, imperative, optative, conjunctive, and infinitive.<sup>14</sup> Their primary criterion for recognizing these moods is that of meaning. The compilers of *I*, *II*, and *III*, though they do not say so, must be thinking of English when they emphasize meaning as a criterion. For in Latin the moods were recognizable formally, whereas in the

<sup>9</sup> *I*, pp. 1020-21; *II*, *Essays and Studies*, xiii, 105-106; *III*, p. 1029.

<sup>10</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen*, xc (1903), 54.

<sup>11</sup> P. G., *Grammatica Anglicana Precipue Quatenus à Latina Differt, ad Vnicam P. Rami Methodum Concinnata* (Cambridge, 1594), p. 32. I used rotographs of the British Museum's copy of this book loaned me by Professor C. C. Fries.

<sup>12</sup> *I*, p. 1020; *III*, p. 1028.

<sup>13</sup> *I*, p. 1022; *III*, p. 1030.

<sup>14</sup> *I*, pp. 1023-24; *II*, *Essays and Studies*, xiii, 110-111; *III*, p. 1031.

English of the compilers they were not. At the time these men lived, the infinitive, the first person singular and all persons of the plural indicative and subjunctive had lost their endings: the second and third persons of the present indicative kept distinctive endings but were often used in constructions which in Old English would have required the subjunctive. The false assumption is made that, because meanings expressed by inflected moods in Latin can also be expressed in English (even if by other ways than inflection), the Latin moods must exist in English as concepts.

In *I* and *III* an additional criterion for recognizing the optative in English is the occurrence of *would*, *should*, or *mote* joined to a verb. That is, a combination of *would* or *should* and a preterit form of another verb with its subject, or of *mote* and a present form of another verb with its subject, to express a wish seems to be regarded as a sort of compound optative. *Should*, *would* or *mote* are "signs" of the optative, substitutes for the endings of the Latin verb.

In *I*, *II*, and *III* an additional criterion for recognizing the infinitive is word-order. When one verb follows another without an intervening relative or conjunction, the former is in the infinitive mode. The grammarians are in this particular obviously referring to English, since in Latin an infinitive usually precedes the verb on which it depends. In *I* *to* is called the sign of the infinitive, that is, *to* plus the uninflected form of the verb is thought of as the infinitive, just as today.

Bullokar's remarks on the five English moods rather closely parallel the passages concerning them from the three fifteenth-century grammars:

There be five moods: the indicative, the imperative, the optative, the subjunctive, and the infinitive.

The indicative mood sheweth a reason true or false, as *I love*, or else asketh a question, as *lovest thou?*

The imperative biddeth or commandeth, as: *Love thou*, *Love ye*.

The optative or wishing mood wisheth or desireth and hath alway an adverb of wishing joined before his nominative case, as: *Pray God I love*, *I pray God thou love*, *God grant he love*. Also these, *I would*, *Would*, *Would God*, *Would to God*, *O that*, and *O if* be adverbs of wishing shewing the optative mood.

The subjunctive mood hath evermore a conjunction set before his nominative case, and dependeth upon another verb in the same sentence either going before or coming after it, as: *The master will be angry, if we be idle; when we use diligence we learn*.

The infinitive hath neither number, nor person, nor nominative case before it, and is known commonly by this sign or preposition *to*, which *to* is not expressed many times when there cometh an accusative case between the infinitive mood and the verb before going, as: *Bid him come hither*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Bullokar, *op. cit.*, *Palaestra*, LII (1906), 353-354. I have turned Bullokar's phonetic spelling into conventional spelling of today and modernized capitalization and punctuation.

*I* states that there are five tenses in English as in Latin, namely: the present, preterit imperfect, preterit perfect, preterit pluperfect, and future.<sup>16</sup> Again the primary criterion for recognition is meaning. But the preterit perfect tense in English is also to be recognized by the construction *have* with the past participle; the preterit pluperfect by the construction *had* with the past participle; and the future by the construction *shall* with the infinitive. *II* lists five "times" for the Latin and English verb which correspond exactly with the five tenses of *I*. It does not give them their Latin names.<sup>17</sup> *III* lists five "times" also, but does not expressly state that there are five times in the English verb.<sup>18</sup>

*I* states that there are three tenses in the Latin and English participle: the present, the preterit, and the future.<sup>19</sup> In English, it says, the present participle ends in *ing*, or *and*. It gives examples of English weak preterit participles. According to this authority, the English future participle active is the active infinitive introduced by the compound preposition *for to*; the future participle passive is the passive infinitive so introduced. *II* and *III* give three "times" for the Latin and English participle which correspond exactly with the tenses of *I*.<sup>20</sup> They do not give them the names of Latin grammar.

Finally, the active and passive voices in the English verb and participle are mentioned in *I* and *III*.<sup>21</sup>

We have ample evidence, then, in the four Latin grammars that borrowing of the concepts of Latin grammar into English was common in the fifteenth century, more than a hundred years before the earliest English grammars. The four suggest one way in which that borrowing began. Schoolmasters, instructing their pupils in Latin either orally or by the written word, equated Latin inflections and constructions with English ones to help the students with their Latin. In doing so, the schoolmasters and pupils came to regard them as belonging to the same formal categories and applied the names of Latin forms to English. That is, the application of the concepts of Latin grammar to our language may have begun as a means of helping English schoolboys to learn Latin.

As early as the fifteenth century, a very extensive grammatical vocabulary had been developed in English. I have gleaned from the two pieces printed below, eighty-nine English terms pertaining to grammar exclusively or pertaining to it in some senses. Sixty-one occur in both; twenty-three in the first only; and five (*apposition*, *composition*, *plural*,

<sup>16</sup> P. 1024

<sup>17</sup> *Essays and Studies*, XIII, 112.

<sup>18</sup> P. 1031.

<sup>19</sup> Pp. 1025-26.

<sup>20</sup> *II*, *Essays and Studies*, XIII, 115; *III*, pp. 1031-32.

<sup>21</sup> *I*, pp. 1023, 1026; *III*, pp. 1030, 1032.

*plural*, and *time*) in the second only. Most of them are Anglicized Latin terms; the rest are native words which are close translations of Latin ones. All are English in form and all occur in English contexts.

I add an alphabetical list of these terms in the grammars. Words, or special grammatical senses of words, not illustrated in the *Oxford Dictionary* before 1500 are marked with a single asterisk. In sixty-one instances (counting the substantival use of an adjective and its adjectival use as distinct instances), the Dictionary has no quotation before 1500. Words or senses which do not appear in the Dictionary at all are marked with a double asterisk. There are nine of these.

*Ablative*, adj., 1019, 1029, and sb.\*; 1021; *accord*, sb.\*\*; 1027, vb., 1021, *accusative*, adj., 1020, 1029, and sb.\*; 1021, *active*, adj.\*; 1023, 1030, and sb.\*; 1023, 1030; *adjective* (noun), adj., 1019, 1028, and sb.\*; 1027; *adjective* (verb), adj.\*\*; 1021; *adverb*\*, 1019, 1028; *antecedent*, sb., 1027; *apposition*, 1032; *article*\*, 1019, 1028, *case*, 1019, 1028; *casual* (i.e., declined), adj.\*\*; 1020, *collective*, adj.\*; 1020; *common* (gender), adj.\*; 1020, 1029; *common* (verb), adj.\*; 1023, 1030; *comparative*, adj., 1019, 1028; *comparison*\*, 1019, 1028; *composition*, 1032; *compound*, sb.\*; 1022; *conjugation*\*, 1023, 1030; *conjunction*, 1019, 1028; *conjunctive*, adj.\*; 1023, 1031; *construe*, vb. intrans.\*; 1019, 1030; *dative*, adj., 1020, 1029, and sb.\*; 1021; *declension*\*, 1021; *decline*, 1019, 1028; *deed* (of the verb)\*\*; 1020; *defective* (verb), adj.\*; 1025; *degree*, 1019, 1028; *deponent*, adj.\*; 1023, 1030; *derivative* (pronoun), sb.\*; 1022, 1030; *distributive* (noun), adj.\*; 1020, 1029; *end* (have ending)\*\*; 1019, 1029; *ending*, sb.\*; 1019, 1028; *enormal*, adj.\*\*; 1024; *epicene*, adj.\*; 1020, 1029; *feminine*, adj., 1020, 1029, and sb.\*; 1021; *future*, adj.\*; 1024 and sb.\*; 1026; *gender* (of nouns), 1020, 1029; *genitive*, adj., 1019, 1029, and sb.\*; 1021; *gerundive*, sb., 1020; *imperative*, adj.\*; 1023, 1031; *indicative*, adj.\*; 1023, 1030; *infinitive*\*, 1023, 1030; *interjection*\*, 1019, 1028; *interrogative*, adj.\*; 1022; *long* (vowel), adj., 1024, 1030; *masculine*, adj., 1020, 1029, and sb.\*; 1021; *mood*\*, 1023, 1030; *neuter* (noun), adj., 1020, 1029; *neuter* (verb), adj.\*; 1023, 1030; *nominative*, adj., 1020, 1029, and sb.\*; 1021; *normal* (verb), adj.\*\*; 1023<sup>22</sup>; *noun*, 1019, 1028; *number*, 1019, 1028; *optative*, adj.\*; 1023, 1031; *parts* (of speech), 1019, 1028; *partative* (noun), adj.\*; 1020, 1029; *participle*, 1019, 1028; *passive*, adj., 1023, 1030, and sb.\*; 1023, 1030; *perfect*, adj.\*; 1024; *person*\*, 1022, 1029; *pluperfect*, adj.\*; 1024; *plural*, adj., 1028; *plural*, adj.\*; 1019; *positive*, adj., 1019, 1028; *preposition*, sb., 1019, 1028; *present*, adj., 1024; *preter*, adj.\*; 1024; *primitive* (pronoun), sb.\*; 1022, 1030; *pronoun*\*, 1019, 1028; *proper* (noun), adj., 1020, 1030; *reason* (sentence), 1019; *relative*, sb., 1024, 1031; *short* (vowel), adj., 1024, 1031; *sign of the infinitive*\*\*; 1024; *singular*, adj., 1020, 1028; *substantive* (noun), adj.\*; 1019, 1028, and sb., 1027; *substantive* (verb), adj.\*; 1020, 1029; *superlative*, adj., 1019, 1029; *supine*, sb.\*; 1020, 1031; *tense*, 1023; *time* (tense)\*; 1030; *undeclined*\*, 1020, 1028; *unperfect* (tense or voice), adj.\*\*; <sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The adjective in this sense is not recorded in the *OD*, but the substantive is, in 1530.

<sup>23</sup> *Imperfect* (imperfect tense), adj. is recorded in the *OD*. in 1530. It occurs in the grammatical treatise in Trinity College (Cambridge) MS. O.5.4, *Essays and Studies*, xiii, 116.

1024, 1032; *verb*, 1019, 1028, *vocative*, adj., 1020, 1029, and sb.\*, 1021; and *voice* (of a verb), sb. 1023.

Sixty-one of these uses occur in both grammars

The grammatical treatise in the Trinity College (Cambridge) MS. 0.5.4 has seventy-five of the eighty-eight grammatical words or senses above and thirty-four besides, as follows:

*absolute* (ablative case absolute), adj.\*; *adversative*, adj.\*; *antithesis*\*; *appellative*, adj.\*; *causal*, adj.\*; *common* (common noun), adj.\*; *compounded*\*\*<sup>24</sup>; *conceive*\*; *conception*\*; *construction*\*; *copulative*, adj., 116; *decompound*, adj.\* and sb.\*; *demonstrative*, adj.\* and sb.\*; *disjunctive*, adj.\*; *evocation*\*; *expletive*, adj.\*; *figure* (the quality in a word of being simple, compound, or decompound)\*\*; *figure* (figure of speech), pp. 118, 126; *gender* (gender of verbs), p. 111<sup>25</sup>; *govern*\*; *imperfect*, adj.\*; *impersonal*, adj.\*; *infinitation*\*; *intransition*\*\*<sup>26</sup>; *negation*\*; *oblique*, adj.\*; *possessive*, adj.\* and sb.\*; *prolepsis*\*; *rational* (rational conjunction)\*; *relation*\*\*<sup>27</sup>, p. 98; *syllipsis*\*; *transition*\*; *voice* (voice of a case), p. 114\*\*<sup>28</sup>; and *zeugma*\*

With the exception of *copulative* and *figure* (of speech), all of these are wanting in the Oxford Dictionary before 1500. Page references will be found in the list of antedated words in my introduction to the Trinity grammar.<sup>24</sup> John Drury's little account of the comparison of Latin adjectives and adverbs has twenty-eight of the eighty-eight and three others: *accidens*,\* p. 79, l. 1; *syllable*, p. 79, l. 22; and *vowel*, p. 80, l. 28.

At least forty-five of the one hundred and twenty-five terms employed in the four grammars appear in one or another of the following five nongrammatical writings: the prologue of the 1388 version of the Wycliffite Bible,<sup>25</sup> the fourth passus of the C-text (a1399) of *Piers Plowman*,<sup>26</sup> Trevisa's translation (1398) of Bartholomaeus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum*,<sup>27</sup> *passim*, a story in the *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>28</sup> (1440), and finally the *Catholicon Anglicon*<sup>29</sup> (1483), *passim*. Some of these forty-five and others appear scattering elsewhere in Middle English.

Our grammatical treatises thus show that schoolmasters and schoolboys of the fifteenth century had the common and some of the less common terms of Latin grammar as part of their English vocabulary. They had most of the terms which Bullokar used at the end of the next century in the first English grammar in English. A century before him, then, there

<sup>24</sup> *Essays and Studies*, XIII, 95-97.

<sup>25</sup> Ed. Forshall and Madden (Oxford, 1850), I, 57.

<sup>26</sup> Ed. Skeat (Oxford, 1886), pp. 91, 93.

<sup>27</sup> I have used the text of this in B.M. Addit. MS. 27944.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. Herrtage, *EETSES*, XXXIII (1879), 416-418.

<sup>29</sup> Ed. Herrtage, *EETS*, LXXV (1881).

existed not only the tendency to interpret native grammar in imitation of Latin but also a vocabulary quite adequate to express that interpretation. The evidence of the grammars is confirmed by other texts of their period and earlier.

(THE texts are my own transcriptions from rotographs of the manuscripts. I have modernized punctuation and capitalization. The paragraphing is mine I have indicated by apostrophes lines over final *n* and *m*, lines through *ll* and *h*, and flourishes of final *r*. Omitted letters are supplied in square brackets; letters and words crossed out by the scribe are enclosed in angular brackets. I have made no emendations. My thanks are due to my colleague, Dr. James F. Rettger, for help with occasional difficult readings.)

THE DONET IN ENGLISH FROM ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE MS 163

[f. 1<sup>a</sup>] How many *partes* ben þere of reson'? Viiij Qwech viij? Nown, pronoun, verbe, aduerbe, participyl, coniunccon, preposicon, and interieccyon'. How many be declyned wit case & how many wit-owte case? Thre be declyned wit case & on wit-owte case. Qweche thre be declyned wit case? Nown, pronoun, & participyl. And qwo wit-owte case? Al only verbe

Qwerby knowyst a nown? ffor althyng þat may be seen, herd, oþyr felt, or beryth þe name of a thyng is a nown. How many maneer of nownys ben þere? To. Qweche to? Noun substantyf & nown adiectyf. Qwerby knowe ge a noun substantyf? ffor he may stonde in a perfyth reson wit-owtyn helpe of anoþyr wurd, as: *man*, *tre*, or *beest*, & is declynyng in Latyn wit on artikyl or too at þe moost in o case, as: *nominatiuo hic magister* or *nominatiuo hic & hec sacerdos*. Qwerby knowyst a nown adiectyf? ffor he may not stonde alone in a perfyth reson wit-owtyn help of anoþyr wurd, as: *qwyth*, *red*, *blak*, and is declynyng in Latyn wit iij articulus or iij dyuerse endynggys in o case, as: *nominatiuo hic & hec & hoc felix* or *nominatiuo bonus bona bonum*. How many articulis ben þere? Iij. Qwech iij? *Hic*, *hec*, *hoc*. How many diuerse endynggys ben þere? Iij. Qwech iij? *-Vs*, *-a*, & *-vm*, or ellys *-or*, *-a*, & *-vm*. Qwat is a comparison? A lyknesse of thynggys þat may be mad more or lesse wit good sentence. How many degrees of comparison ben þere? Thre. Qwech iij? The posityf, þe comparatyf, & þe superlatyf. Qwerby knowyst þe posityf degre? ffor he is ground of al oþyr grees of comparison, as: *fayir*, *fowl*, & soch oþyr. Qwerby<sup>30</sup> knowyst þe comparatyf degre? ffor he passyth hys posityf wit þis aduerbe more or lesse & endyth in Englysch in *r*, as: *fayrer*, *fowler*, & soch oþyr. Qwerby knowyst þe superlatyf degre? ffor he passyth hys posityf wit þis aduerbe most or leest & endyth in Englysch in *-est*, as *fayrest*, *fowlest*, & soch oþyr. Wyt qwat case wele þe comparatyf degre construe? Wyt ablatyf case of bothe nowmberis wit-owtyn a preposicon, as: *forcior illo vel forcior illis*, saue if *quam* come betwyn þanne cu[m]ppelyth he lyke case. Wit qwat case wele þe superlatyf degre construe? Wit þe genityf case plurer, as *dignissima creaturarum*, or

<sup>30</sup> By in *Qwerby* is written above the line.

wit þe genityf si[n]guler of a nown collectyf. How many nown collectiuis be þer? It is schewyd be þe verse. Vnde *versus*:

Sunt collectiua *populus, gens, plebs, quoque turba.*

How many genderys of nown ben þere? Vij. Qwech vij? The masculyn, þe femynyne, þe neutyr, þe comown of to, þe comown of thre, þe duby, & epycene Qwerby knowyst þe masculyn gendyr? ffor it is declyned wit *hic* (artikyl or to at þe most in o case), as. *nominatiuo hic magister* (*nominatiuo hic & hec sacerdos*). Qwerby knowyst þe femynyne gendyr? ffor it is declyned wit *hec*, as *nominatiuo hec Musa*. Qwerby knowyst þe neutyr gendyr? ffor it is declyned wit *hoc*, as *nominatiuo, hoc scamnum*. Qwerby knowyst þe comun [of] to gendyr? ffor it is declyned wit *hic & hec*, as. *hic & hec sacerdos*. Qwerby knowyst þe comun of thre gendyr? ffor it is declyned wit *hic, hec, & hoc*, as *hic & hec & hoc felix*. Qwerby knowyst þe duby gendyr? ffor [it] is declyned wit *hic vel hec*, as *hic vel hec dies*. How many nownys be þere of þis gendyr? It schew<sup>t</sup> be þe vers:

Margo, *diesque, silex, finis, clunis, quoque, cortex*  
Hec veteres vere dubii generis posuere,  
Singula sunt dubii sed sunt pluralia primi.

How many be declyned & how many be vn-declyned? Iiij be declyned & iij be vn-declyned. Qwech iij be declyned? Noun, pronoun, verbe, & participyl And qwech iij be vn-declyned? Aduerbe, coniunccon, preposicon, & interieccyon. (f. 1<sup>b</sup>) Qwerby knowyst þe epicene gendyr? ffor vndyr on artikyl be comprehendyd bothe male & femal, as: *hic passer a sparow, hec aquila an egyl, hec muscela a wesyl, & hic miluus a puttok*, And foure wurdys þat folwyn in þe verse þat sewyth be epicene gendyr:

*Dama-que, pantera, grus, bubo sunt epicena.*

How many nowmberys ben þere? To. Qwech to? Singuler & plurer. Qwerby knowyst singuler nowmbyr? ffor he spekyth but of o thyng, as *man*. Qwerby knowyst plurer nowmbyr (plurer nowmbyr)? ffor he spekyth of many thyngys, as *men*. How many casys be þere? Vj. Qwech vj? The nominatyf, þe genityf, þe datyf, þe accusatyf, þe vocatyf, & þe ablatyf. Qwerby knowyst þe nominatyf case? ffor he comth befor þe verbe & doth or sufferyth þe dede of þe verbe. Qwerby knowyst þe genityf case? ffor of aftyr a nown substantyf, verbe substantyf, nown partityf, nown distributyf, or a superlatyf degre is þe syne of genityf case. Qwerby knowyst datyf case? ffor to<sup>31</sup> be-for a casual wurd wit-owtyn a preposicon<sup>32</sup> is syne of datyf case. Qwerby knowyst accusatyf case? ffor he comth aftyr<sup>31a</sup> þe verbe, gerundyf, participyl, or suppyr þat betokenyth to do & sufferyth þe dede of þe verbe. And also alle þe wurdys in da *preposiciones casus accusatiui* serve to þe accusatyf case. Qwerby knowyst vocatyf case? ffor he betokenyth preying, bidding, or calling. Qwerby knowyst ablatyf case? ffor in, wit, for, fro, befor, & aftyr, & alle þe wurdys in da *preposiciones casus ablatiui* ar þe synes of ablatyf. And also of aftyr a propyr name, or a nown adiectyf, or a verbe

<sup>31</sup> To is written above the line.

<sup>31a</sup> After is written in the left margin.



adiectyf, gerundyf, participyl, or suppyñ is þe syne of ablatyf case. Vnde versus:

Mobile, vel proprium, vel participans, quoque verbum,  
Si sequitur sensus genitiui iungito sextum,  
Cum reliquis sextum non iungas sed genitiuum.

How many declensions be þer? V. Qwech v? The furst, þe secunde, þe thrydde, þe fourt, þe fyfte. Qwerby knowyst þe secunde declension? ffor þe genityf case singuler endyth in -i, þe datyf in -o, þe accusatyf in -vm. þe vocatyf schal be lyke þe nominatyf, saue qwan þe nominatyf endyth in -vs þe vocatyf most comunly schal endyn in -e, as *nominatiuo hic dominus*, *vocatiuo o domine*. (f. 2<sup>a</sup>) And qwanne þe nominatyf singuler of a propyr name endyth in -ius, þe vocatyf schal endyn in -j, as: *nominatiuo hic Laurencius* *vocatiuo o Laurenci*, *Vincencius Vincenci*, *Gregorius Gregori*, & *filius makyth vocatiuo o filie vel fili*. Also in a neutyr gendyr þe nominatyf, þe accusatyf, & þe vocatyf schal acorde. þe ablatyf schal endyn in o, þe nominatyf & þe vocatyf plurer in -j, þe genityf in -horum, þe datyf & þe ablatyf in -is, þe accusatyf in -os.<sup>32</sup> & in a neutyr gendyr þe nominatyf, þe accusatyf, & þe vocatyf schal endyn in -a. Qwerby knowyst þe furst declension of nown? ffor þe genityf case singuler endyth in -e, þe datyf also, þe accusatyf in -am, þe vocatyf schal be lyke þe nominatyf (saue if þe nominatyf ende in -as þe vocatyf schal endyn in -a, as: *nominatiuo hic Thomas vocatiuo O Thoma*), þe ablatyf in -a, þe nominatyf & þe vocatyf plurer in -e, þe genityf in -arum, & datyf & þe ablatyf in -is, saue if þe feminyne be drawe out of þe masculyn, as *domina* is drawyn out of *dominus*. þanne schal þat feminyne make þe datyf & þe ablatyf plurer in -abus, as *domina dominabus*. And in a neutyr gendyr þe nominatyf, þe accusatyf, & þe vocatyf acordyn. How many newtyr genderys be of þat declension [*sic*]? It is schewyd be þe vers þat folwyn:

Pascha, polenta, iota, szizannia, mammona, manna  
Sunt neutri generis & declinacio prima.

Qwerby knowyst þe thrydde declension? ffor þe genityf case singuler endyth in -is, þe datyf in -j, þe accusatyf in -em or in -im, þe vocatyf lyke þe nominatyf (and in a neutyr gendyr þe nominatyf, þe accusatyf, & þe vocatyf acordyn), þe ablatyf in -e or in -j, þe nominatyf, þe accusatyf, & þe vocatyf plurer in -es, þe genityf in -vm or in -ium, þe datyf in -bus, and in a neutyr gendyr þe nominatyf, þe accusatyf, & þe vocatyf in -a, & þe ablatyf in -bus. Qwerby knowyst þe fourt declension? ffor þe nominatyf, genityf, & vocatyf singuler endyn in -vs, þe datyf in -vi, þe accusatyf in -vm, & þe ablatyf in -v, the nominatyf, þe accusatyf, & þe vocatyf plurer in -vs, þe genityf in -vum, þe datyf & þe ablatyf in -bus. Qwerby knowyst þe fyft declension of nown? ffor þe genityf & datyf singuler endyn in -ei, þe accusatyf in -em, þe vocatyf lyke þe nominatyf, þe ablatyf in -e, þe nominatyf, þe accusatyf, & þe vocatyf plurer in -es, þe genityf in -erum, þe datyf & þe ablatyf in -ebus.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> In os written in the left margin.

<sup>33</sup> The last five lines of fol. 2<sup>a</sup> and the first twenty-nine lines of fol. 2<sup>b</sup> are devoted to paradigms of *musa*, *domina*, *Thomas*, *magister*, *dominus*, *Laurencius*, *scammum*, *sacerdos*, *felix*, *manus*, and *res*. These are of slight interest and are omitted.

(f. 2<sup>b</sup>) Qwerby knowyst a pronoun? ffor he is set for a noun & signyfyith neer a [*sic*] moche as a noun & oþyr qwyle receyuyth certeyne person'. How many maneer pronounnys be þer? Xv. Qwech xv? Ego, tu, sui, ille, ipse, iste, hic, & is, meus, tuus, suus, noster & vester, nostras & vestras. How many of þeise be prymityuys & how many <de> deriuatiuys? Viij be prymityuys & vij be deriuatiuys. Qwech viij be prymityuys? Ego, tu, sui, ille, ipse, iste, hic & hijs. And qwy be þi [*sic*] prymityuys? ffor þei take here be-gynnyng of noon oþyr. Qwech be deriuatiuys? Meus, tuus, suus, noster & vester, nostras & vestras. And qwy be þei callyd deriuatiuys? ffor þei take here begynnyng of oþyr, as of me comth meus, of tu comth tuus, of sui comth suus [*sic*], of (f. 3<sup>a</sup>) nos comth noster & nostras, & of vos comth vester & vestras. How many of theyse haue vocatyf case & how many wantyn? fflowre haue vocatyf case & alle oþyr wantyn. Qwech iiij haue vocatyf case? Tu, meus, noster & nostras. Vnde versus:

Quatuor exceptis pronomina nulla vocabis,  
Tu, meus, & noster nostras hec sola vocantur.

How many personys be þer? Thre. Qwech iiij? Þe furst, þe secunde, þe thrydde. Qwerby knowyst þe furst persone? ffor he spekyth of hym-self, as I & we. Qwerby knowyst þe secunde persone? ffor he spekyth to oþyr, as þu or ȝe. Qwerby knowyst þe thrydde persone? ffor he spekyth of oþyr, as he & þei. And euery noun & euery pronoun & euery participyl is þe thrydde persone, owtakyn I & we, þu & ȝe, & þe vocatyf case. Vnde versus

Terne persone generaliter omnis habetur,  
Rectus set demas pronomina quatuor inde.

How many declensions of pronoun be there? Iiij. Qwech iiij? The furst þe secunde, þe thrydde, þe fourt. Qwerby knowyst þe furst declension of pronoun [*sic*]? ffor þe genityf case singuler endyth in -j or in -is & þe datyf in -j. How many pronounnys hath he? Thre. Qwech iiij? Ego, tu, sui. Qwerby knowyst þe secunde declension of pronoun? ffor þe genityf case singuler endyth in -ius or in -ius [*sic*] & þe datyf in -j or in -e. How many pronounnys hath he? V. Qwech v? Ille, ipse, iste, hic, & is, and viij nounnys wit here componys, qwech be vnus, vllus, totus, solus, alter, alius, quis, & uter. How many of theyse nounnys haue vocatyf case & how many wantyn? Thre haue vocatyf case, & alle oþyr wantyn. Qwech iiij be þo? Vnus, totus, & solus. Vnde versus:

Pone vocatiuos cum totus, solus, & vnus,  
Sed non in reliquis quorum genitiuus in -ius.

Qwerby knowyst þe thrydde declension of pronoun? ffor þe genityf case singuler endyth in -j, in -e, & in -j, & þe datyf in -o, & in -e, & in -o. How many pronounnys hath he? V. Qwech v? Meus, tuus, suus, noster, & vester. And note wel þat alle noun adiectiuys þat be declyned wit thre dyuerse endynggys be declyned aftyr þis declension. Qwerby knowyst þe fourt declension? ffor þe genityf case singuler endyth in -atis & þe datyf in -ati. How many pronounnys hath he? To. Qwech to? Nostras & vestras, and a noun interrogatyf qwech is cuias cuiatis. Qwat is cuias in Englysch? Of qwat

folk? Qwat is cuium in Englysch? Of qwat thyng? Qwat is nostras in Englysch? A man or a woman of owre cuntre, and vestras is a man or a woman of your cuntre:

Cuias de gente cuium de re petit apte.<sup>34</sup>

(f. 3<sup>b</sup>) Qwerby knowyst a verbe? ffor it is declyned wit moodd & tens & persone & be-tokenyth to do or to suffyr or to be. How many maneer of verbys ben here? V. Qwech v? Verbe actyf, verbe passyf, verbe neutyr, verbe deponent, & verbe comowne. Qwerby knowyst a verbe actyf? ffor it endyth in -o & may take -r vp-on -o & make of hym a passyf, as amo put -r þer-to & þanne is amor. Qwerby knowyst a verbe passyf? ffor it endyth in -r & may do a-wey -r and turne a-gen in-to hys actyf. Qwerby knowyst a verbe neutyr? ffor he endyth in -o & may noon -r take vp-on -o nor make of hym no passyf. Qwerby knowyst a verbe neutyr passyf? ffor he endyth in -o lyk an actyf & hath þe Englysch of þe passyf, as fio, fis, factus sum, fieri, to be mad. Qwerby knowyst a verbe neutyr normal? ffor he folwyth no ryth rewle of coniugacyon'. And vndyrstonde þat a verbe neutyr qwech hath þe lettyr & þe significacyon of an actyf may haue a passyf voys in þe thrydde persone, as: þe weye is ronnyng, via curritur. Vnde versus:

Neutrum quod transit in rem sermone carentem

Ternam passiuam de se dat progredientem.

Qwerby knowyst a verbe deponent? ffor he endyth in -r lyke a passyf & hath þe Englysch on an actyf, as loquor, I speke, and in þe thrydde persone he may haue a passyf voys, as þe lond is eryid, terra aratur. Vnde versus:

Et deponencium passiuum dat documentum,

Sic sermo fatur, dicas vt campus aratur.

Qwerby knowyst a verbe comun? ffor it hath lettyr of þe passyf & Englysch bothe of þe actyf & of þe passyth [sic], as I kysse þe, osculor te, & I am kyssyd of the, & osculor a te. How many verbe comons be þer? As many as be conteyned in þe verse þat folwyn':

Largior, experior, veneror, moror, osculor, ortor,

Criminor, amplector tibi sunt communia, lector.

Si bene communeres, interpretor hospitor addes.

How mat [sic] þu knowyn qwan þi verbe be-tokenyth to do & qwan to suffyffyr [sic]? Qwan I haue ony of þeise vi Englysch wurdys: am, art, is, was, be, or were, joynd to a verbe, thanne it be-tokenyth to suffyr; and if noon of þo vj wurdys be joynd to þe verbe than it betokenyth to do. How many modys be þer? V. Qwech v? Indicatyf, inperatyf, octatyf [sic], coniunctyf, & infenityf. Qwerby knowyst indicatyf mood? ffor it schewyth tale soth or lees & betokenyth askyng or tellyng. Or qwanne j haue ony of theyse thre synes

<sup>34</sup> The paradigms of the Latin pronouns are given on fol. 4<sup>a</sup>-4<sup>b</sup>. Fol. 3<sup>b</sup>, on which the treatment of the verb begins, intervenes between the above treatment of the pronouns and their paradigms. At the bottom of fol. 3<sup>a</sup> is this note for the reader. "The nownys of þis part be in þe lef folwyng," and at the bottom of 3<sup>b</sup>: "Turne ouyr to þe next lef." I have omitted the paradigms.

in my Latyn, sicut, *dum*, *quando*, þe verbe þat folwyth schal be indicatyf mood. Vnde versus:

Indicat vt *quando* sicut, *dum*, cetera plura.

Qwerby knowyst *imperatyf* mood? ffor it preyith, byddyth, or co- (f. 5<sup>a</sup>) mawndyth. Qwerby knowyst *optatyf* mood? ffor it welyth or desiryth, and þeyse Englysch wurdys joyned to a verbe: wold, schold, mote, or at my wylle, & þeyse Latyn wurdys afor a verbe: *utinam*, ne, *quatinus*, osi ar þe synes of *optatyf* mood. Vnde versus:

Wold, schold dic *optatui*; *utinam*, ne, *quatinus*, osi.

Qwerby knowyst *coniunctyf* mood? ffor he is joyned to anoyr verbe or anoyr verbe is joyned to hym. Or qwan ony of þe Latyn ⟨i⟩ wurdys þat folwyn in þe next come be-forn a verbe it schal be þe *coniunctyf* mood:

Si, *quamuis*, *quamquam*, *tam*, *silicet*, atque *piusquam*.

*Antequam*, an, *donec*, vt, *postquam*, *siue*, *quousque*,

*Cum*, *nisi*, *quam*, *acsi*, *quo* coniungunt tibi dico.

Qwerby knowyst *infinityf* mood? ffor qwanne to *verbis* come to-gedyr witowte a relatyf or a *coniunccyon* þe lattar schal be *infinityf* mood. Also þis lytel wurd to befor a verbe is syne of *infinityf* mood, as to loue, to rede. How many tens be þere? V. Qwech fyue? The *present* tens, þe *pretyr* tens vnperfyth, þe *pretyr* tens perfyth, þe ⟨per⟩ *pretyr* tens pluperfyth, & þe *futur* tens. Qwerby knowyst þe *present* tens? ffor he spekyth of tyme þat is now, as *amo*, I loue. Qwerby knowyst *preter* tens vnperfyth? ffor it spekyth of tyme vnperfythly passyd, as *amabam*, I louede. Qwerby knowyst þe *pretyr* tens perfyth? ffor it spekyth of tyme perfythly passyd & hath þis Englysch wurd haue, as *amaui*, I haue louyd. Qwerby knowyst þe *pretyr* tens pluperfyth? ffor it spekyth of tyme more þan perfythly passyd & hath þis Englysch wurd hadde, as *amaueram*, I had louyd. Qwerby knowyst þe *future* tens? ffor it spekyth of tyme þat is to come & hath þis Englysch wurd schal, as *amabo*, I schal louyn. How many nowmberys be þer of verbe? The singuler nowmbyr, as *amo*, *amas*, *amat*, and þe plurer, as *amamus*, -atis, -ant. How many personys be þer of verbe? Thre: the furst, as *amo*, *amamus*; þe secunde, as *amas*, *amatis*; & þe thrydde, as *amat*, *amant*. How many *coniugacyons* be þere? ffoure. Qwech iiij? Þe furst, þe secunde, þe thrydde, þe fourt. Qwerby knowyst þe furst *coniugacyon*? ffor it hath a long be-forn þe -re in þe *infinityf* actyf voys or in þe *imperatyf* mood passyf voys, as *amare* Qwerby knowyst þe secunde *coniugacyon*? ffor it hath e long afor þe -re in þe *infinityf* mood actyf voys or in þe *imperatyf* mood passyf voys, as *docere*. Qwerby knowyst þe thrydde *coniugacyon*? ffor it hath ⟨þe thrydde⟩ e schort befor þe -re in þe *infinityf* mood actyf voys or in þe *imperatyf* mood passyf voys, as *legere*. Qwerby knowyst þe fourt *coniugacyon*? ffor it hath j long be-forn þe -re in þe *infinityf* actyf voys or in þe *imperatyf* mood passyf voys, as *audire*. ffro þeise rewlys be owtakyn alle verbe neutyr enormalys for þei folow no ryth rewle of *coniugacyon*. Qwech be verbe neutyr enormalys? *Pateet per versus*:

(f. 5<sup>b</sup>) *Sum, volo, fert, & edo sunt enormala credo.*

And note wel þat alle þe componys of þeyse verbys fayle ryth rewle of coniugacyon saue too componys of edo qwech be excedo & comedo:

*Cum cunctis natis edo nata set excipiantur,  
Excedo nam comedo regularia stare probantur.*

And how many componys haue *sum es fui* it is schewyd be þe *versys* folw-  
yng:

*Sum neutri generis est & sua cuncta creata.  
Quorum per metrum pateant tibi signata.  
Adsum (sum presens), absum (dum cisto remotus),  
Presum (preficio), sed possum (robore tutus),  
Subsum (subcumbo multis), obsum (quia nocendo),  
Insum (componens intus sum) dicere debes,  
hijs quibus intersum (me presentem) bene pendo.  
Quod restat super est iam non tibi plurima pando.*

Also fro þe rewle of coniugacyons be owtake many verbe defectiuis, as queso, I be-seche hath no more but *quesumus*; aue, heyl hath no more but *aueto, auete, auetote*; Salve, heyl hath no more but *saluete, salueto, saluetote*; vale, far-wel hath no more but *ualete, -to, valetote*; and memento, haue in mynde hath no more but *mementote*.<sup>35</sup> (f. 10<sup>b</sup>) And note wel for a rewle þat þe futur tens of indicatyf mood in þe thrydde & þe fourt coniugacyon' turnyth a into e in alle personys singuler & plurer saue in þe furst persone of þe singuler nowmbyr, as *audiam, -es, -et*, and in þe futur tens of þe oftatyf [*sic*] mood & þe present tens of coniunctyf mood he kepyth styлле a in alle personys, as *audiam, -as, -at*.

Qwerby knowyst an aduerbe? ffor he is cast to a verbe & fulfyllyth þe significacyon of þe verbe. How many degre of comparyson hath aduerbe? Iij: þe posityf, þe comparatyf, & þe superlatyf. How knowyst þe posityf degre of aduerbe? ffor he endyth in Englysch most comunly in -ly, as fayrly, goodly, swetely, & soche oþyr. How knowyst þe comparatyf degre? ffor he endyth in Englysch in -er<sup>35a</sup> or in -jr, as swetter, betyr. How knowyst þe superlatyf degre? ffor he endyth in Englysch in -est, as fayrest, fowlest, & soch othyr.

Qwerby knowyst a participyl? ffor he takyth part of nown, part of verbe, & part of bothe. Qwat takyth he of nown? Gendyr & case. Qwat of þe verbe? Tyme & significacyon. And quat of bothe? Nowmbyr & persone. How many tens be þer of participyl? Iij. Qwech iij? þe present tens, þe preter tens, and þe futur tens. Qwerby knowyst þe participyl of present tens? þe he endyth in Englysch in -yng or in -and, as redyng, louand, & in Latyn in -ens or in -ans as legends, amans. Qwerby knowyst þe participyl of pretyr tens? ffor al soch scort Englysch wurdys, loued, red, tawt, herd arn synes of þe preter

<sup>35</sup> Paradigms of *amo, doceo, lego, audio, sum, possum, volo, nolo, malo, fero, edo, fio*, with English equivalents, occupy fol. 5<sup>b</sup>, l. 20-10<sup>b</sup> l. 20.. These I omit.

<sup>35a</sup> *He endyth in Englysch* written in the left margin.

tens of partici[pyl] & endyth in Latyn in *-tus* or in *-sus*, as *lectus*, *visus*. Qwerby knowyst (f. 11<sup>a</sup>) a participyl of þe futur tens? ffor if he be a participyl of þe actyf voys he hath þe Englysch of þe infenityf mood of þe actyf voys & endyth in Latyne in *-rus*, as *lecturus*, for to redyn. And if it be a participyl of þe passyf voys he hath þe Englysch of þe infenityf mood of þe passyf voys, as *legendus*, for to be red. How many participulys hath a verbe actyf? Too. Qwech ij? On of þe present tens endyng in *-ens* or in *-ans*, as *legens*, *amans*, and anoþyr of þe futur tens endyng in *-rus*, as *lecturus*, *amaturus*. How many participulys hath a verbe passyf? Too. Qwech ij? On of þe preter tens endyng in *-tus* or in *-sus*, as *lectus*, *visus*, and anoþyr of þe futur tens endyng in *-dus*, as *legendus*, *videndus*. How many participul' hath a verbe neutyr? Too. Qwech ij? On of þe present tens endyng in *-ens* or in *-ans*, as *currens*, *stans*, and anoþyr of þe futur endyng in *-rus*, as *cursurus*, *staturus*. How many participul' hath a verbe deponent? Thre. Qwech iij? On of þe present tens endyng in *-ens* or in *-ans*, as *loquens* auxiliars; a-noþyr of þe preter tens endyng in *-tus* or in *-sus*, as *locutus*, *lapsus*; and a participyl of þe futur tens endyng in *-rus*, as *locuturus*. How many participul' hath a verbe comun? Iiij. Qwech iij? On of þe present tens endyng in *-ens* or in *-ans*, as *experiens*, *hortans*; a-noþyr of þe preter tens endyng in *-tus*, as *expertus*; & too futurys, on endyng in *-rus*, as *hortaturus*, and anoþyr in *-dus*, as *hortandus*. How many endynggys be þer of participyl? Vj. Qweche vj? Too of þe present tens endyng in *-ens* & in *-ans*; too of preter tens endyng in *-tus* or in *-sus*; & too of þe futur endyng in *-rus* or in *-dus*. *Vnde versus*.

*-Ens, -ans presentis semper dic temporis esse,*

*-Tus, -sus preteriti, -rus, -dus dic esse futuri.*

*-Ens, -ans, -rus & agunt, -tus, -sus, -dus paciuntur.*<sup>36</sup>

(f. 11<sup>b</sup>) [Q]werby knowyst a coniunccyon? ffor it joyneth or disioyneth oþyr partys of reson & ordeynyth in hem perfyth sentence. Qwech be þo coniunccyons þat ioynyn? Alle þe wurdys þat be in da copulatiuas. And qwech be þo þat disioynyn? Alle þe wurdys in da disiunctiuas. Qwat partys of reson joyne þei or disoynne [*sic*]? Nownys, pronownys, verbys, & participulys. Qwan joyne þei or disioyne? Qwan ony coniunccyons of joynyng or disioynyng come be-twyn too nownys, or too pronownys, or too verbis, or too participulys, da copulatiuas, vt *que* & *que*, *atque*, *at*, *ac*, *ast*, da disiunccinas, vt *aut*, *ve*, *vel*, *ne*, *nec*, *an*, *neque*; da expletivas, vt *quidem*, *equidem*, *saltem*, *videlicet*, *quam*, *quamuis*, *quoque*, *autem*, *porro*, *licet*, *tamen*, *siu*, *autem*; da causales, vt *si* & *si*, *eciam*, *si*, *siquidem*, *quoniam*, *quoniamquidem*, *quin*, *quineciam*, *quatinus*, *siu*, *seu*, *siue*, *niue*, *nam*, *namque*, *ni*, *nisi*, *ne*, *ne*

<sup>36</sup> At this point the scribe wrote the beginning words of the section of conjunctions by error and then crossed them out: "[Q]werby knowyst a coniunccyon? ffor it joyneth or disioyneth oþyr partys of reson & ordeynyth in hem perfyth sentence Qweche þe coniunccyons þat joynyn? Al þe wurdys þat be in das copulatiuas." Following this come paradigms of the participles *amans*, *legens*, *lectus*, *lecturus*, and *legendus*, which occupy fol. 11<sup>a</sup>. l. 30-fol. 11<sup>b</sup>. l. 4. I have omitted them.

set, interea, quamobrem, presertim, item, itemque, ceterim, alioquin, preteria; da racionales vt ita, itaque, enim, etenim, vero, quia, quapropter, quum, quidem, quippe, nempe, ergo, ideo, igitur, silicet, videlicet, preteria, propterea, adcirco.

[Q]werby knowyst a preposicyon? ffor he is set be-forn oþyr partys of reson & seruyth to certeyn case. To qwath case seruyth a preposicyon to? To þe accusatyf case, to þe ablatyf, or to boþin. Qweche preposicyons serue to þe accusatyf case? Alle þe wurdys in da preposicyones accusatiui<sup>37</sup> da preposiciones casus accusatiui: ad, aput, ante, aduersum, cis, citra, circum, circa, contra, erga, extra, inter, intra, infra, iuxta, ob, prope, propter, secundum, post, trans, vltra, preter,<sup>38</sup> supra, circiter, vsque, secus, penes; da preposiciones casus ablatiui. a, ab, abs, cum, coram, clam, de, e, ex, pro, pre, palam, sine, absque, tenus, da vtriusque casus preposiciones vt. in, sub, super, & subter.

[Q]werby knowyst an interieccyon? ffor it lyth a-mong oþyr partys of reson & betokenyth passyon of sowle wit an vnperfyth voyis & betokenyth joye, or sorow, or dred, or wunderyng, or indignacyon, as aha, alas, welawey, out, out, owgh, so howgh, & soch oþyr.

[H]ow many acordys ben þere of grameer? ffyue. Qwech v? The furst be-twyn þe nominatyf case & þe verbe, The secunde betwyn þe substantyf & þe adiectyf, þe thredde þe relatyf & þe antsedent [*sic*], þe fowrt be-twyn þe (re) superlatyf degre & þe genityf case folwyng, þe fyfte be þe nown partityf or þe nown distributyf & þe genityf case þat folw<sup>t</sup>. In how many a-corde þe nominatyf case & þe verbe? In too. In qwech too? In nowmbyr & persone. Vnde versus:

Vult in persona numero rectus similari.  
Cum personali verbo sibi voce sequente  
Non pones rectum sine verbo per precianum,  
Nec personale verbum pones sine recto.

Qwech preposicyons serue to þe ablatyf case? Alle þe wurdys þat be in da preposiciones casus ablatiui. Qwech wurdys serue to bothe casys? Alle þe wurdys þat be in da vtriusque casus preposiciones Qwan wyl in serue to accusatyf case & quanne to þe ablatyf? Qwan in comth wit a to it wyl serue to be accusatyf case, & qwan in comth a-lone he wyl serue to þe ablatyf case. Vnde versus:

In campo curro bene dicis si sis in illo,  
Si sis exterius in campum fit tibi cursus.  
Into vult quartum sine to iugito sextum.<sup>39</sup>

(f. 12\*) In how many schal þe substantyf & þe adiectyf acordyn? In thre. In qwech iij? In gendyr, nowmbyr, & case. Vnde versus:

Cum substantiuis tribus adiectiua locabis,  
In casu, genere, numero debes retinere.

<sup>37</sup> Da *perposicyones accusatiui* was writteen by error and not excised.

<sup>38</sup> *Preter* written in the left margin.

<sup>39</sup> The fourth and sixth cases are referred to, *i.e.*, the accusative and the ablative.

In how many schal þe relatyf & þe antecedent a-corde? In thre. In qwech thre? In gendyr, nowmbyr, & persone. *Vnde versus:*

*Antecedenti tribus hijs coniunge relatiuum,  
Persona numero sit genus hijs quoque datum.*

In how many schal þe superlatyf degre & þe genityf case þat folwit acorde? In on. In qwech on? In gendyr. *Vnde versus:*

*Omne superlatiuum partitiue recitatum  
Semper vult generi genituo sociari,  
Vt pateat verum sic est deus optima rerum.  
Ymmo superlatiuum propria vi quoniam locatur  
Per genus hoc fixo precedenti famulatur.  
Naso dat hoc verum quid agis dulcissime rerum.*

In how many schal þe nown partityf & þe genityf þat folwyt acorde? In on, In gendyr. *Vnde versus*

*Conformes genere dic cum casu genituo  
Nunc partituum veh <iti> venit vna sororum.  
Sic in gramatica dicas concordia quina*

#### THE DONET IN ENGLISH FROM DOUCE MS. 103

(f. 53<sup>a</sup>) How mony partyse of speche ben þer? Viiij. Wyche viij? Nowne, pronowne, verbe, aduerbe, partycypull', coniunccion, preposicion, and interieccion. How mony byth' declynd and how mony byn' vndeclynd? Iiij byn' declynd & iij byn' vndeclynd. Weche iij byn' declynd and wyche iij byn' vndeclynd? Nowne, pronowne, verbe, & partycypull' byn' declynd'; aduerbe, coniunccion, preposicio[n], & interieccion byn' vndeclynd. How mony byn' declynd with case & how mony with-owte case? Iij byn' declynd with case & j with-owte case. Wyche iij with case; wyche j with-owte case? Nowne, pronow[n]e, & partycypull' with case; verbe oyle<sup>40</sup> with-owte case.

How knowyst (a partycypull) a nowne? A nowne ys all' maner of thyng' þat y may see, fele, or hondyll', or beryth' þe name of a thyng',—þe name þer-of ys a now[n]e. How mony maner of nownys byn' there? Ij. Wyche ij? Nowne substantyfe & nowne adiectyfe. How knowyst a nowne substantyfe? For he ys y-declynd with j artycull' or ij at þe most. How knowyst a nowne adiectyfe? For he ys declynd with iij artyculys or with iij dyuerse yendyngys Wyche h<sup>41</sup> byn' þe artyculys? Hic, hec, & hoc. Wyche byn' þe iij dyuerse yndyngys? -vs, -a, & -vm, how<sup>42</sup> as bonus, bona, bonum for goode. How mony nomburs (h) byn' there? Ij. Wyche to? The synguler nombur & the plurell' now[m]bur. How knowyst the synglere nowmbur? For he spekyth' of on' thyng', (f. 53<sup>b</sup>) as mon' or beste. How knowyst the plurell' numburs? For he spekyth' of mony theyngys, as [men] or bestys. How mony degreys of compar[i]sons byn' there? Iij. Wyche iij? The posityff degre, the comparatyf degre,

<sup>40</sup> Oyle. May only have been intended here?

<sup>41</sup> H was written by error and not excised.

<sup>42</sup> How was written by error and not excised.



& the super[latyf] degree. How *knowyst* thow the posytyf degree? For he ys begynner & growndere of all' opyr degreys of comparsonys, & þey byn' formyd of hym & he ys not of them. How *knowyst* the comparatyf degre? For he endyth' yn -r, as fayryre, lyngyr, schortyre. How *knowyst* the super-[latyf] degre? For he endyth' (ys) yn' -ys, as: feyryste, lengyst, schortys[t]. How many persons byn' there? Iij. Wyche iij? I & we the fyrst person, þu & 3e the secund person. All' opur byn' þe iij person', excepte the vocatyf case. How *knowyst* the fyrste person'? For he spekyth' of hym-sylfe, as y or we. How *knowyst* the ij person'? For he spekyth' to a-opur, as þu or 3e. How *knowyst* the iij person'? For he spekyth' of a-opur, as he or they. How many gendrys byn' there? Vij. Wyche vij? Masculyn' gendur, femyn[yn] gendur, neutur gendur, & commyn' of two, commyn' [of] iij, dubyn' gendur, & ypsen' gendur. How *knowyst* masculyn' gendur? For he ys declyned with hic, as hic magister. The femyn[yn] with hec, as hec Musa. The neutur with hoc, as hoc scannum. The commyn' of two with hic & hec, as hic & hec sacerdos. The commen' of iij, with hic, hec, & hoc felix. The dubyn' gendur for he ys declyned with hic hec & vel conjuncion' be-twene as hic uel hec dies. (f. 54<sup>a</sup>) How *knowyst* the epcyn' gendur? For vndur oon' artycul' he comprehendyth' bothe male & female, as hic pascere, hec aquila. How many nowmburs byn' there? Ij. Wyche ij? Syngulere & plurell'. How *knowyst* þe synguler nowmbur. For he spekyth' but of on' thyng, as a mon' or beste. How *knowyst* þe pluler [sic] nowmbur? For he spekyth' of mo thyngys then of on', as men' or bestys. How many cases byn' the[re]? Vj. Wyche vj? Nominatyfe case, genetyfe case, the datyfe case, accusatyfe case, the vocatyfe case, & the ablatyfe case. How *knowyst* the nominatyfe case? For he cumyt afore the verbe & askyt thys questyon' who or wat. How *knowyst* the genetyfe case? For of aftur a nowne substantyfe, verbe substantyfe, nowne party[ty]fe, nowne dystributyfe, or a superlatyfe degre byn' the synes of the genetyfe case. How *knowyst* the datyfe case? For to be-fore a nowne or a pronowne wyttoty [sic] remewyng ys the senys [sic] of the datyfe case. How *knowyst* the accusatyfe case? For he cumyth' aftur the verbe & enseryth' to thys questyon' whom' or what. How *knowyst* the vocatyfe case? For he clepyth' or callyth' or spekyth' to. How *knowyst* the ablatyfe case? By my synes? Wyche byn' they? Yn' & wyth', throge, fro, & by & [þanne] aftur a comparatyf degre<sup>43</sup> ys the synes of the ablatyfe case. (f. 54<sup>b</sup>) How many declynsuns of now[n]ys? V. Wyche v? The furst, the ij, the iij, the iiij, the v. How *knowyst* the furst? For the genityfe case synguler endyth' yn -e & datyffe also. How *knowyst* the ij? For<sup>44</sup> þe genityfe synguler endyth' yn -j & datyfe & the ablatyfe yn' o. How *knowyst* the iij? For the genityfe case<sup>45</sup> synguler endyth' yn -ys, the datyfe yn -j. How *knowyst* the iiij? For the genityfe case synguler endyth' in -vs, the datyfe yn' -vj. How *knowyst* the v? For the genityfe case synguler endyth' yn' -ei & the datyfe also. How

<sup>43</sup> *De in degre* is written above the line.

<sup>44</sup> *Fer* is written in the MS. with an *o* written directly above the *e*.

<sup>45</sup> *Case* is written above the line.

*knowyst*.<sup>46</sup> How many *persuns* byn there? Iii. Wyche iij? The furst, the ij, the iij. How *knowyst* the j persone? For he spekyth' of hym'-selfe as j or we. How *knowyst* the ij persone? For he spekyth' of a-nodur, as thou or se. How *knowyst* the iij persone? For he spekyth' of a-nodure, as he or they.

How *knowyst* a *pronowne*? For he ys a *parte* of *speche* declynynd *with* case þe wyche ys seyt for a *propur* name of a man' & resewyth' to hym' certey[n] personys. How many *pronow*[n]ys byn' there? Xv. Wyche xv? Ego, tu, sui, ille, ipse, hic & his,<sup>47</sup> meus, tuus, suus, noster & vester, nostras & vestras. How many byn' the *primityfis* & how many byn' the *deruatwes*? Vij byn' þe *primitywes* & vij (f. 55<sup>a</sup>) byn' *deruatywes*. Wyche vij byn' *primitywes*? Ego, tu, sui, ille, ipse, iste, hic, & js. Wych' vij byn' *deruatywes*? Meus, tuus, suus, noster & vester, nostras & vestras. How many *declynsuns* of *pronownes* byn' there? Iiiij. Wych' iij? The j, the ij, the iij, & the iij. How *knowyst* the j? For the *genytyf* case *synguler* endyth' yn -j or yn -ys, the *datyfe* yn -j. How many *pronownes* *conteynyth* the [j]? Iij. Wych' iij? Ego tu, sui. How *knowyst* the ij? For the *genytyfe* case *synguler* endyth' yn' -is or yn' -ius, the *datyfe* yn' -j or yn' -c. How *knowyst* the iij? For the *genytyfy* case *synguler* endyth' yn' -j or yn' -e & yn' -j & the *datyfe* yn -o or in -e or in -o. How many *pronownes* *conteynyth* he? V. Wych' v? Meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester. How *knowyst* iij? For the *genytyfy* case *synguler* endyth' in -atis & *datife* in' -ati. How many *pronownes* *conteyneth* he? Ij. Wych' ij? Nostras & vestras. & how many *nownes*? On'. Wych' on'? Cugeas<sup>48</sup> -ati.

How *knowyst* a *verbe*? For he ys a *party* of *speche* edecly[n]y[n]d *with* mode, tyme, & *coniugacion*', *withowte* case or arty[c]le be-tokynyng to do or *suferyng*' to be. How many *maner* of *verbis* byn there? V. Wych' v? *Verbe* actyfy, *verbe* passyfy, *verbe* neutur, *verbe* deponent, & *verbe* *commyn*'. (f. 55<sup>b</sup>) How *knowyst* a *verbe* actyfy? For he endyth' in -o & be- (toke) tokenyth' to do & may take -r a-pon' -o & make of hym' a passyfy, as *amo* amor. How *knowyst* a *verbe* passyfy? For he endyth' yn' -r & be-tokenyth' to suffure and may do a-way ys -r fro ys -o & turne a-(j)-yene in-to ys actyfy, as *amor*, *amo*. How *knowyst* a *verbe* neutur? For he endyth' in -o & may not take -r appon' -o ne *constur* *with* hys *accusatyf* case *hominem* aftur hym. How *knowyst* a *verbe* deponent? For he endyth' jn -r as a *verbe* passyfy & hath' the Englyssche of the actyfy. How *knowyst* a *verbe* *comyn*'? For he endyth' jn -r as a *verbe* passyfy & hath' the Englyssche of þe actyf & of the passyfy booth'. How *knowyst*<sup>49</sup> mony *coniugacions* byn' there? Iiiij. Wych' iij? The j, as *amo*, -as,<sup>50</sup> *amor*, -aris,<sup>51</sup> the ij as *doceo*, *doces*, *doceor*, -ris; the iij, as *lego*, -itis, *legor*, -ris; the iij, as *audio*, -dis, *audior*, -ris. How *knowyst* the j? For he hath' a long' be-fore the -re jn-fenitfy mode, a-fore the -ris *indicatyf* mode, as *amare*, *vel* *amaris*. How *knowyst* the ij? For he hath

<sup>46</sup> The scribe made a false start with *How knowyst*, but did not excise it.

<sup>47</sup> *Has* for *is*.

<sup>48</sup> *Cugeas* for *cujas*.

<sup>49</sup> *Knowyst*, of course, should not be here.

<sup>50</sup> *As* is written above the line.

<sup>51</sup> *Aris* is written above the line.

a e long' be-fore the -re jnfenityf mode, be-fore the -ris indicatyf mode, as docere vel -ris. How knowyst the iij? For he hath' a e schorte be-fore the -re indicatyf<sup>52</sup> mode, be-fore the -ris indicatyf m[o]de, as legere vel -ris. How knowyst the iiij? For he hath' a j long' (f. 56\*) be-fore the<sup>53</sup> -re jnfynityf mode, be-fore the -ris indecatyf mode, as audire vel -ris. How mony modys byn' there? V. Wyche' v? Indicatyf mode, jmperatyf mode, optatyf mode, coniunctyf mode, & jnfenityf mode. How knowyst indicatyf mode? For he tellyt or sowyt [sic] & hath' no syne of no nothyre mode. How knowyst jmperatyf mode? For he byddyth or commawndyth'. How knowyst the optatyf mode? For he well' or desyryt, & by ys ij synys woldeor sculde. How knowyst the coniunctyf mode? By my synys. Wych' byn' they? Si, cum, licet, quamvis, quamqua[m], and othyre coniunctions moo wyll' haue coniunctyf mode aftur hym. How knowyst jnfenityf mode? For whan' ij verbis commyth to-gedur with-out a relatyf or a coniunccion' be-twene, the latur verbe schall' be the jnfenityf mode. How mony tymes byn there? V. Wych' v? The tyme þat ys noo, the tyme that ys nott fullich'e a-gonne & the tyme that ys agon', the tyme that [ys] more then' a-goon', and the tyme that ys to cum. How knowyst the tyme that ys no? For he be-tokynth' the tyme þat ys no, as amo, y loue. How knowyst the tyme þat ys not folych' a-gon'? For he be-tokynyt the tyme þat ys not fullych' a-gon, as am[a]bam, y louyd. How knowyst the tyme þat ys a-gon'? For he be-tokynynd [sic] the tyme þat ys a-gon', as amauy, y haue louyd. How knowyst the tyme þat ys to cum? For he be-tokynynd the tyme þat ys to cum, as amabo, I schal loue. (f. 56<sup>b</sup>) How knowyst an aduerbe? For he ys a party of spech' vndeclynynd, the wych' ys caste to a uerbe & makyth playne & fullfyllth' the syngnyfycacion' of the verbe.

How knowyst a partycypull? For he ys a party of spech' edclynynd' with case & takyth parte of a nowne, party of a verbe, & party of both' two. What takyth of a nowne? Gendur & case. What of a verbe? Tyme & syngnification'. What of both to? Nombur & fugur.<sup>54</sup> How mony maner partycypull' byn' there? Iiij. Wych' iiij? The partycypull' of the tyme þat ys now, the partycypull' of tyme þat ys <to cum> a-gon', the partycypull' of the<sup>55</sup> tyme þat ys to cum actyf, the partycypull' of the tyme þat ys to cum passyf. How knowyst the partycypull' of the tyme þat ys noo? For he endyth yn -yng' yn' Engglyssch', as louyng', techyng', redyng', heryng', & endyth yn -ens or yn -ans yn Latyn'. Where-of schall' he be for-mynd? Of the furst' person' synguler now[m]bur of the tyme þat ys nott fullych' a-gon, as amabam', change -bam to -n or [sic] s & make nominatiuo hic, hec, hoc amans. How knowyst the partycypull' of tyme<sup>56</sup> tyme þat ys gon'? For he be-gynnyth', be j- yn Englysse, as y-louyd, y-tau3th, y-radde, y-herde, & endyth yn -tus or yn -sus<sup>57</sup> yn <lar> Laten', as amatus, doctus, lectus, auditus. Where-of schall' he be formyd? Of the latur suppyne, as lectu, sett' ther to -s & make

<sup>52</sup> Indicatyf is an obvious error for *infynityf*.

<sup>53</sup> The is written above the line.

<sup>56</sup> Of the is written above the line.

<sup>57</sup> Yn sus is written above the line.

<sup>54</sup> Fugur, for figur.

<sup>56</sup> Of tyme is written above the line.

*lectus* -a -um. How knowyst the partycypull' of the tyme þat ys to *cum* actyf? For he be-gynnyth,<sup>58</sup> as to be<sup>59</sup> yn Englysse, as to loue, to (f. 57<sup>a</sup>) *teche*, & *cetera*, and endyth yn Laten yn -rus, as *amaturus*, *docturus*. Where-of schall' he be formyd? Of the *latur* suppyn', as *lectu*, set there-to -rus, & make *lecturus*. How knowyst the partycypull' þat ys to *cum* passyfe? For he be-gynnyth (with) to be yn' Englysse, as to be louyd, to be *tazt*<sup>60</sup> to be rad, to be harde, & schall'<sup>61</sup> endyth' yn -dus in Laten, as *amandus*, *docendus*, *legendus*, *audiendus*. Where-of schall' he be formyd? Of the genityf case synguler of the partycypull' of the [tyme] that ys nou, as *legentis*, change the -tis in-to -dus & make *legendus* -da -dum.

How knowyst a coniunccion'? For he ys a party of speche vndeclynynd the wych' cowpullyth or dyscowpulyth' all' othere partes of (se) speche yn' ordur.

How knowyst a preposicion'? For he ys a party of speche vndeclynynd the wych' ys set' be-fore or be<sup>62</sup> endyth yn a-pocycyon' or yn compocycyon', & odor wyle *seruyth* to accusatyf case & odor wyle to ablatyf case and odor wyle to both too.

How knowyst an interieccyon'? For (y) he ys a party of speke vndeclynynd the wych' schew<sup>t</sup> a monnys wyll' with a vnperfytt voyce, as wondur, drede, or merwell'.

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<sup>58</sup> Two letters of a word were written before *be-gynnyth* and the first letter illegible to me was crossed out. The second letter is *e*.

<sup>59</sup> *To* is required; not *to be*.

<sup>61</sup> *Shall* should be omitted.

<sup>60</sup> An illegible letter is added to *tazt*.

<sup>62</sup> Some error has spoiled the scense here

# LXIII

## INFLUENCE OF SUPERSTITION ON VOCABULARY: TWO RELATED EXAMPLES

(PREPARED FROM THE FILES OF THE *EARLY MODERN  
ENGLISH DICTIONARY*)<sup>1</sup>

### *Fly* AND *Bug*

**D**URING the period covered by the *Early Modern English Dictionary*, witchcraft occupied the mind of the average man, and became the subject-matter of literature (dramatic, theological, philosophical, legal) to an extent probably not known in any other epoch. It is natural that such a predominating interest should have its effect on the vocabulary. There can now be described, with more detail than has hitherto been available, one instance in which the beliefs and practices of contemporary charlatans, pretending to supernatural connections, made an interesting development of meaning for a common word. This instance will be illustrated at length, for the sake of the analogies which it suggests as to possible starting points for studying other words. The discussion seems to indicate that elements in the problem go back to learned tradition and at the same time to primitive Teutonic folk-lore.

**Fly.**—The *OD* treats three transferred meanings of *fly* (*sb.*) under sense 5, without separating the quotations; of the latter (five in all) three refer to sense 5a “A familiar demon (from the notion that devils were accustomed to assume the form of flies).” The abbreviated form in which the citations were necessarily given does not make clear that all three refer to the familiar spirit said to have been employed by persons trafficking with the black art in order to bring luck or skill in games.

Four examples in our files would indicate that *fly* (*sb.*, 5a) was established in the Elizabethan vocabulary. Two occur in reports of incidents from real life. The earlier is given in Reginald Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), where we are told that

... at Towne *Malling* in kent, one of Q. *Maries* iustices, upon the complaint of many wise men, and a few foolish boies, laid an archer by the heeles; bicause he shot so neere the white at buts. For he was informed and persuaded, that the poore man plaied with a *flie*, otherwise called a *divell* or *familiar*.<sup>2</sup>

Here the italicized phrase alone (as in *OD*) gives no hint that an actual incident was in question—localized, and dated before 1558. The date

<sup>1</sup> To the making of this collection the University of Michigan, the General Education Board, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Oxford University Press, and the Philological Society of England have all contributed.

<sup>2</sup> *Bk. III, c. xv.*, ed. Montague Summers (London, 1930), p. 37.

of the second falls before 1574, the year when Father Robert Parsons, S. J., left Balliol College.<sup>3</sup> In this reference, lately brought to light by Mr. L. S. Powell, Father Parsons stated, in regard to his quarrel with Adam Squier, the Master of Balliol, that it had arisen " . . . for certaine deceyts used to some contrey men of his in selling them dycing flies, and other like toyes."<sup>4</sup> Mr. Powell found that the same incident was referred to in a later letter of Parsons' brother,<sup>5</sup> from which it appears that the "countrymen" of Parsons in question lost all that they had when gambling with a "fly,"<sup>6</sup> given to them by Squier. Parsons made a stir about the matter at Oxford and Squier retained his mastership only because of his "great friends." The facts of Father Parsons' career are involved in much prejudice.<sup>7</sup> Some general corroboration may, however, be said to be given by the fact that Anthony à Wood refers to Squier (a Doctor of Divinity, 1576) as "a learned but fantastical Man," saying that he was the son-in-law of Bishop Aylmer of London, by whose favor he was made Archdeacon of Middlesex.<sup>8</sup> Aylmer is supposed to be the "Morrell" satirized by Spenser in the *Shepherd's Calendar* (July).<sup>9</sup> Altogether, the incident in question must have been a *cause célèbre* of the day, if, as seems likely, it is true in its essentials. Fresh currency must thus have been given to the use of *fly* as *familiar spirit*.

The general use of *fly* in the sense of demon and the claims of contemporary charlatans to provide such flies for use in games is further indicated by the literary references. As late as 1643, nearly a hundred years after the case of the archer of Malling, Cartwright, in his play *The Ordinary* (II, iv, 14 ff.), depicted a character who has, in the phrase cited by the *OD*, "a fly only to win good clothes."<sup>10</sup> The allusion is made clear by the preceding lines:

AND. He was as like our Master Shape as could be . . .  
It was somebody in his clothes, I'm sure.

<sup>3</sup> *DNB*, s.v. Robert Parsons.

<sup>4</sup> *A Briefe Apologie* (1601), p. 91 (quoted here from the transcript of Mr. Powell). His research on the career of Father Parsons brought an enquiry to Professor Fries as to "dycing fly" (see *LTLS* June 27 and August 1, 1935).

<sup>5</sup> Foley, Henry, S. J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1880), vi, 677 ff. Mr. Powell cites other editions in Andrews' *Orthodox Journal*, II, 123; and *Catholic Record Society*, II, (1906), 38 (ed. J. H. Pollen).

<sup>6</sup> This is misread as "fey" in all three editions, as Mr. Powell discovered.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide* the accounts of his leaving Balliol cited in the *DNB* (where judgment on the conflicting accounts is suspended).

<sup>8</sup> *Athenæ Oxonienses* (London, 1691), I, 740.

<sup>9</sup> *Shepherd's Calendar*, ed. W. L. Renwick (London, 1930), p. 201. I owe this fact to Professor Tilley, who also directed me to the discussion of the "dicing fly" in *The Alchemist* (not recognizable from the abbreviated citation in *OD*, s.v. *fly*).

<sup>10</sup> Hazlitt-Dodsley, *Old English Plays*, 4th ed. (London, 1875), XII, 249 (ex. edit., 1651).

MEAN. Some cunning cheater, upon my life, won  
His cloak and suit too!

The most complete and clear account in literature of the use of the fly in the Elizabethan period is to be found in Jonson's *Alchemist* (1610).<sup>11</sup> A "fly" is sold to Dapper "for all games" (I, ii, 283 ff.), "a rifling flye: none o' your great familiars" (OD). Highly significant details regarding this fly are given when it is later delivered to Dapper (v, iv, 219 ff.). Dol Common (as Queen of the Fairies) gives it to him in a purse,<sup>12</sup> and tells him to feed it by letting it suck blood from his right wrist once a week. Here Jonson shows his grasp of the fundamental principles of witchcraft, for, as Professor Kittredge remarks: "This idea—that witches feed their familiars with their blood—is persistent in the later history of English witchcraft."<sup>13</sup> He cites an interesting case of 1510, where "iij. humble bees, or like humble bees," were kept and said to have been fed with his blood by a man on trial for witchcraft. "That an insect should serve as a witch's familiar is natural and proper," Professor Kittredge goes on. "Such creatures, therefore, occur in considerable variety among men, savage and civilized; but the fly and the bee are especially noteworthy in English tradition." He cites Thomas Nashe's gibe at the Anabaptists in 1594, that "inspiration was their ordinarie familiar, and buzd in their eares like a Bee in a boxe euerie hower what newes from heauen, hell, and the land of whipperginnie";<sup>14</sup> and he gives various references to the fly as the embodiment of the witches' familiar, in actual

<sup>11</sup> I cite the edition of *The Alchemist* in *Yale Studies*, ed. C. M. Hathaway (New York, 1903). For a possible relation of Jonson's plot to the scandal of Squier's "fly," cf. a contemporary letter from a fellow of Christ Church which seems to describe (bitterly) a performance of the play as taking place at Oxford in the autumn of 1610. It is said to have been once hissed; see Hathaway, p. 246.

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Powell points out, in notes on this subject, sent for our use, that these lines show that "the buyer got something visible for his money—presumably something in the nature of our modern mascots." In this connection he cites *The Knave of Clubs*, by S. Rowlands, brought to his attention by Mr. Percy Simpson (who kindly looked up his as yet unpublished commentary on the *Alchemist*):

A craftier knaue then he (of late)	An artificall flie of silke,
Had got him on the hip,	(a devill with a pox)
Which should him a familier sprite,	For this my Gull giues twenty pound.
A devill in a box,	(Sig-D <sub>2</sub> v)

I cite the reprint of the edition of 1609 (Hunterian Club, 1872). Cf. also Thomas Heywood, *The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells* (London, 1635), p. 475: "These kindes of familiar Spirits are such as they include or keepe in Rings hallowed, in Viols, Boxes, and Caskets."

<sup>13</sup> *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 179.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180; Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), *Works*, ed. McKerrow, R. B., (London, 1904), II, 233.

records of trials for witchcraft, or in the literature of the period.<sup>15</sup> In the same way, when John Cleveland writes his *Bee Errant*, a characteristic specimen of the poetic treatment of insects which followed *Midsummer Night's Dream*,<sup>16</sup> he casually cites the bee sucking blood on a lady's hand, under a name which can only be understood in the light of the preceding discussion: "It was decreed . . . The small *familiar* should be weaned."<sup>17</sup>

The persistence and general circulation of the idea of a *fly* being possibly a devil is also illustrated in the *OD.* under sense 6: "a. A 'printer's devil' (cf. 5a) . . . the Workmen do Jocosely call them Devils; and sometimes Spirits, and sometimes Flies";<sup>18</sup> and under sense 8: "a festival formerly observed by the Oxford cooks" of "fetching the fly" at Whitsuntide and "carrying the fly away" at Michaelmas (thus propitiating "the enemie the Flie" at the opening of the fly-season and at the end).<sup>19</sup>

Professor Kittredge remarks (p. 180), in citing the case of the archer of Malling: "Flies of this demonic nature are good old figures in Germanic lore. They were well known in Lappish, Finnish, and Norse sorcery." The last example found in our files for *fly*, *sb.*, sense 5, may be explicitly attached to Germanic folk-lore. In 1705 John Beaumont wrote:

*Petrus Claudius* calls it [a magic dart] a *Gan*, which they send abroad; he likens it to a *Flye*, but says its some little Devil, of which the *Finlanders* in *Norway*, that excel most in this Art, keep great Numbers in a *Leather Bag*, and dispatch daily some of them abroad.<sup>20</sup>

In spite of the Germanic and related contribution to the development of the sense of *fly* as demon, a considerable and perhaps more consciously

<sup>15</sup> See p. 499, n. 55. For many cases of an insect as familiar or as associated with bewitching, cf. the records of prosecutions in Suffolk, 1645 (Ewen, C. L'Estrange, *Witch-Hunting and Witch Trials*, [London, 1929], pp. 291 ff.). It is characteristic of the selective character of the quotations from the vast material for witchcraft, used by different authors, that Miss M. A. Murray, who offers as consecutive an account of familiars as any, gives no reference to insect forms for such. See *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (Oxford, 1921). All sorts of other small creatures are pictured amongst the "imps" of a witch in pictures from a manuscript of 1621 reproduced by Mr. Ewen (*op. cit.*). For insect-familiars see also Professor Notestein, *History of Witchcraft in England*, Amer. Hist. Assn. (1901), pp. 175, 263, etc.

<sup>16</sup> See Latham, M. W., *The Elizabethan Fairies* (New York, 1930), pp. 176 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Berdan, J. M., *The Poems of John Cleveland*, (New Haven, 1911), p. 65. The italics are mine. This poem was first printed 1651 (*ibid.*, p. 201).

<sup>18</sup> Moxon, J., *Mechanick Exercises* (1683), ed. De Vinne, Theo. L., (1896), p. 373.

<sup>19</sup> Audrey, J., *Remaines of Gentilisme* . . . (1686-87), Folk-Lore Society (1881), p. 202, where the custom is derived from classical examples (*v. infra*). Sir E. K. Chambers interprets this ceremony otherwise in *The English Folk-Play* (Oxford, 1933), p. 37. The present discussion would surely confirm Audrey's own explanation.

<sup>20</sup> *Treatise of Spirits* (London, 1705), p. 273. For the association of sorcery with Lapland, *v. OD*, *s.v. Lapland*.



active influence came from ancient civilizations. The *OD* has noted under sense 5 the analogy of Latin *musca* and French *mouche*, but the transferred senses on record for these words apparently do not include that now under discussion.<sup>21</sup> Such a sense, however, is implied in various propitiatory rites of classical religion on record, and in the legend of Virgil's fly-talisman which kept flies out of Naples.<sup>22</sup>

In the Elizabethan period, amongst learned men at least, the classical connections of "the fly-lord" were well known. The pioneer English work on insects is the great "Theater of Insects" by Thomas Moufet (1553-1604), a very distinguished court-physician.<sup>23</sup> Moufet's manuscript (Sloane MS. 4014) was finished by 1590, though not printed till many years after his death.<sup>24</sup> This work illustrates the dependence of the ideas under discussion on classical and Hebraic tradition, among the learned of Ben Jonson's time. In the English version of 1658 we read:

*Pliny* . . . relates also how the *Cyrenaicks* were wont to worship *Achor* the god of Flies, that by his means they might be secured from being troubled with them. *Pliny* more truly might have read this name *Acaron*, or *Ithechron*, in stead of *Achor*, if he had heard of the Town *Acaron* where *Bahalzebub*, i.e. the god of Flies, that famous Idol used to be worshipped. *Urspergeusis* [*sic*] saith that the Devil

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Harper's *Latin Dictionary*, Littré, *Dict. de la langue Fr.*

<sup>22</sup> Vide Spargo, J. W., *Virgil the Necromancer*, *Harvard Studies*, (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 69-73, 345 (pointed out by Dr. Hull.) Mr. Montague Summers writes: ". . . when the demon, under whatsoever guise or name he might be adored, had received those divine honours he ever covets . . . he withdraws his emissaries the tormenting flies who are often his imps in the form of insects" (*The Vampire* [London, 1928], p. 199). An easy connection with such ideas can be made for the fact that the witch is accused of sending lice, caterpillars, etc.—Possibly Virgil's "fly-talisman" was imitated: Ducange quoted (*s.v. musca*) a reference from English sources to a "golden fly beautifully adorned with jewels." There were quantities of antique gems in England during the Middle Ages (for seals incorporating antique intaglios see Birch, W. de G., *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of MSS., British Museum* [London, 1887], *passim*, etc.). For the "visible fly" (demon), cf. *supra*, n. 12. Sir J. G. Frazer gives brilliant discussions of the propitiation of vermin in folk rites in England, and elsewhere, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London, 1898), III, 558-559; *The Golden Bough, Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* (London, 1919), II, 274 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *V.DNB*, *s.v.* Moffett. He dedicated to his patroness, Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, his only English work, a poem on the silkworm (1599).

<sup>24</sup> *Insectorum sive Minimorum Animalium Theatrum*, olim ab Edoardo Wottono, Conrado Gesnero, Thomaque Pennio inchoatum, Tandem Tho. Movfeti Londonatis opera sumptibusque . . . perfectum, London, 1634. This work was quoted by the *OD* from the English translation by Dr. J. Rowland, affixed (under the name of "Moffet") to Topsell's *Historie of foure-footed beastes*, new edition, (London, 1658); but in a very few cases (none of those here cited) they used the English glosses found in the Latin edition of 1634. We wish to thank Professor Gaige of the University of Michigan for the use of his copy of the latter, and other aid. The glosses (all found in Sl. MS. 4014) allow us to carry back a large number of entomological names.

did very frequently appear in form of a Fly; whence it was that some of the Heathens called their familiar spirit *Musca* or Fly: perchance alluding to that of Plautus:

*Hic pol musca est mi pater,  
Sive profanum, sive publicum, nil clam illum haberi potest:  
Quin adsit hic ibi illico, & rem omnem tenet.*<sup>25</sup>

Here Moufet gives what appears to be an inaccurate quotation (perhaps from memory) of Plautus, *Mercator*, II, iii, 26–27,<sup>26</sup> where, however, *musca* is usually interpreted “inquisitive, prying person.”<sup>27</sup> It illustrates the prevalence of the notion of the fly as familiar spirit in Moufet’s day that he understands in that sense the allusion in *Plautus*.

With this passage from Moufet before us, we can better understand his later statement in which, disregarding all the cats, dogs, hares, etc., of contemporary witch-familiars, he declares flatly:

Hebraei denique muscam significare Bahalzebub dæmoniorum corphæum dixerunt, qui eadem diligentia utitur, & maleficiendo nunquam desistit: Qua forte de causa exorcistae & malefici omnes familiarem suum genium muscam faciunt, pessimi animalis corpore ad res longe pessimas utentes.<sup>28</sup>

There is no doubt that a factor contributing largely to the idea that devils took the form of flies was the use of *Beelzebub* in the Vulgate to render both the New Testament phrase “prince of demons” and the Hebrew name in 2 Kings 1, 2 meaning “fly-lord.”<sup>29</sup> Interpretations of *Beelzebub* as “fly-lord” are very frequent in seventeenth-century theological literature, and must have influenced Moufet, who shows himself at this point out of touch with contemporary witchcraft.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Theater of Insects*, Bk. I, c. xii, p. 951. In the original, Moufet introduces the verses: “forte item ad illum allusit Plautus cum diceret” (p. 79).

<sup>26</sup> “. . . muscast meus pater, nil potest clam illum haberi, Inéc sacrum nec iam profanum quicquam est, quin ibi illico adsit” (Leo, F., *Plauti Comædiæ* [Berlin, 1895], I, 450)

<sup>27</sup> *Harper’s Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *musca*.

<sup>28</sup> *Insectorum . . . theatrum*, Bk. I, c. x, p. 56 (Rowland, p. 932). The italics are mine.

<sup>29</sup> For this confusion, see *OD*, s.v. *Beelzebub*. Cf. also Spargo, and Summers, *loc. cit.* The commentaries on *Exodus* VIII, 24 make clear that it was commonly taken for granted that the fly sucked blood, hence making an easy connection with the familiar spirit, who was fed from the veins of the witch. Cf. Bishop Symon, Patrick, (of Ely), *Commentary upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, 5th ed. (London, 1738), I, 206; Fuller, T., *Wounded Conscience*, 1647 (London, 1841), p. 282. Professor Bredvold points out an allusion in Swift’s *Battle of the Books*: the spider “swollen up to the first magnitude by the destruction of infinite numbers of flies,” when he felt his cobweb fall, feared “that *Beelzebub*, with all his legions, was come to revenge the death of many thousands of his subjects” See Nichols, J., *Works of Jonathan Swift* (New York, 1812), III, 211–212.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 11. The persistence of these ideas makes it possible that *fly*, sb. Sa may be the origin of *fly*, adj., as Professor Fries points out to me (see *LTLS*, *loc. cit.*).

Thus, for the learned of the time, at least, Hebraic tradition joined with classical to give the transferred sense of *fly* meaning *demon*, also found in native folk-lore. The connections of English and Continental witchcraft have been much debated, but it is clear that in England the learned, again, were influenced by necromancy on the Continent. It is therefore significant for our discussion to note a statement of John Wier (1515-88), a German writer on demonology much quoted by Reginald Scot, already cited (the author of one of the earliest and most important of English treatises on this subject).<sup>31</sup> Wier called Beelzebub the "emperor" in "Hades," who "is said to have founded the Order of the Fly; the only order of knighthood which appears to have existed among the demons!"<sup>32</sup>

Bug, *sb.*<sup>1</sup> and Bug, *sb.*<sup>2</sup>, sense 1.<sup>33</sup>—The *OD* treats two substantives under *bug*. Bug, *sb.*<sup>1</sup>, is defined: "An object of terror, usually an imaginary one; a bug-bear, hobgoblin, bogy, a scarecrow." Of *sb.*<sup>2</sup> (the insect), it is said: "Etymology unknown. Usually supposed to be a transferred sense of *prec.*; but this is merely a conjecture, without actual evidence, and it has not been shown how a word meaning 'object of terror, bogle,' became a generic name for beetles, grubs, etc." In the citations given under *bug* (*sb.*<sup>2</sup>), the earliest example is of 1622 (applied to the bedbug). Under *sharnbug* (*q.v.*) it is carried back to 1608.

In the preceding discussion, the quotations have been made at length in order to show the widespread notion of devils taking insect form at the time when *bug* the word for insect arose. Actually, it is found first in *turdbug* (a synonym for *sharnbug*) in 1577. At this time superstition

<sup>31</sup> Kittredge, *op cit*, p. 339 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Chambers, R., *The Book of Days* (Edinburgh, 1864), II, 722 (*s.v.* Dec. 20). From a German source Professor Stith Thompson cites the following: "*Flies on the Ark*. Noah tries to keep them out. Devil says that either the flies go in or he does. Noah chooses the lesser of two evils. Later the devil slips in nevertheless." See *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, I, 191, *Indiana University Studies*, vol. XIX (1932). Such legends give the background to the following statement regarding Martin Luther (pointed out by Professor E. S. McCartney): "The flies which lighted upon his body, the rats which kept him awake at night, he believed to be devils;" see White, A. D., *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (New York, 1896), II, 114. A supernatural association with flies may be indicated by the superstition "If you kill a fly or a blackbeetle, twenty flies or blackbeetles will come to the funeral"; see *N. and Q.*, 5th Ser., x (1878), 205. It is said that among Greenock deep-sea fishermen it is lucky to have a fly fall into your glass (*ibid.*, 1st Ser., XII, 488). Among theologians the notion of the fly as the follower of Beelzebub continued to be known. Mr. G. W. Noyes points out that J. H. Noyes humorously announced a campaign against flies in the Oneida Community as a "raid into the Dominions of Baal Zebub" (*The Circular*, Mount Tom, Wallingford, Ct., New Ser., Vol. I. Sept. 19, 1864).

<sup>33</sup> The separation of *bug* into two words (found in *OD*) is here retained for convenience.

might have made the transition between the two senses of *bug*, on the analogy of the similar transferred meaning of *fly*. However, in the two cases opposite courses were probably run under the same influence: the sense of *fly* as demon arose because familiar spirits were said to take the form of flies; in the case of *bug*, a word meaning a supernatural being apparently became attached to the insect. The transfer appears in literature at a moment when not only popular witchcraft and learned necromancy were both rampant, but when *bug* (*sb.*<sup>1</sup>) was a word immensely popular. The fashion for the original use of the word ran a very short course, and was dying before the end of the excitement over witchcraft.<sup>34</sup> It is a plausible conjecture that "When *bug* became current as the name of an insect, this sense fell into disuse." It "now survives only in the compound Bugbear."<sup>35</sup> Probably this development was partly due to the fact that Nature had introduced a fortuitous element into the history of the word, as will be described in a later note, treating *bug* (*sb.*<sup>2</sup>).

In the *OD*, with the vast span of time to be covered, a graphic picture could hardly be given of the immense popularity of *bug* (*sb.*<sup>1</sup>) for a little more than a century, in the EMnE period. Before the editors were about sixty slips for *bug*, fourteen for *scare-bug*, seven for *fray-bug*. There are now, altogether, in the files of the *EMnED* nearly a hundred citations for *bug* meaning a supernatural being, ranging from 1529 to 1684. The three earlier examples will be discussed later: the *OD* cited ME examples of 1388 and *c.* 1440; from the *Century Dictionary* may be added one of the late fifteenth century (a variant reading in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, l. 116). Of *bug*, meaning insect, there have been found only about twenty examples<sup>36</sup> before 1715. For this sense the *OD* printed all available slips: four, 1622, 1642, 1683, 1691, respectively, under *bug*; two, 1608 and 1668, under *sharn-bug*; one, 1698, under *May-bug*. Among the slips now added are three from Moufet's Latin entomological work (printed in 1634),<sup>37</sup> which go back to 1590, and one of 1577. These additions change the picture of the origin of *bug* applied to an insect: instead of being first attached, as the citations before the editors of *OD* suggested, to the bedbug (in modern times *the bug* in England), it is attached first to the

<sup>34</sup> Only four examples are in the files for the period 1650–1700. When, in 1695, Settle revised Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, he substituted for "bugs" "'boasts,' conceiving that 'bugs' was here equivalent to 'bugs-words'." See Dyce, A., ed. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Works* (1843), I, 203, 217.

<sup>35</sup> Furness, H. H., *The Winter's Tale*, Variorum edition (Philadelphia, 1900), p. 125.

<sup>36</sup> Of these, some were compounds, cited by *OD* under the other element. The immensity of the materials collected for the *OD* made it possible for only a small portion to be accessible to the editors at once.

<sup>37</sup> *Insectorum . . . theatrum*; *vide*, n. 24. Of these, *OD* printed one *s.v.* *dungbeetle*.

dung-beetle. This is a fact of great assistance for tracing the sense-history of the word, even though, of course, we have no surety that *bug* was not also applied very early to a variety of insects: it so happens that the history of the nomenclature of the dung-beetle gives us hints as to the causes which may have made the transfer between the two meanings of *bug*. These causes might not have been so obvious, if another insect had been in question.

Our first recorded use of *bug* applied to an insect occurs in Harrison's *Description of England* (1577)<sup>38</sup> as follows: "Yet haue we beetles, horse-flies, turdbugs (called in Latine *Scarabei*)." In the second edition (1587) "or dorres" is added after "turdbugs."

Thus, Harrison defines *turd-bug* as *Scarabeus*, and at the other end of our EMnE period, he is supported by the citation given by the *OD* from John Ray (1691): "*Bugge*; Any insect of the *Scarabæi* kind. It is, I suppose a word of general use." Moreover, Harrison's definition is strikingly borne out by the citations of *bug* next in order. These are among the English glosses given by Moufet, who, in his Latin text, printed in 1634 (but finished by 1590), used *bug*, applied to the insect, three times; his first two examples are as follows: "*Scarabeus . . . Angli Beetle vel bugg, Angli Boreales Clock vocant*" (p. 147). "*Pilularem alij Stercorarium vocant, atque fimarium, quia tum ex fimo & stercore nascitur, tum in illis lubentissime versatur . . . dicitur . . . Anglice, Dungbettle, sharnbugge*" (p. 153).<sup>39</sup>

In the English translation of Moufet (1658) "*Scarabæus*" is translated "dung-hill beetle" (p. 1009), thus attaching both of Moufet's references cited above to the same insect. Many examples from our files would suggest that such was a common usage of his time, and that the creature was an insect very conspicuous in contemporary life: thus, we find in the English translation of Moufet of 1658: "*Beetles [scarabæi] first breed from dung . . . everyone knows this sufficiently, unlesse they live where no dung is*" (p. 1010). Here is probably an interesting Tudor development of meaning for *beetle*: the early vocabularies of English (*OE* and *ME*) use this word to render several Latin words, but never *scarabæus*, which they gloss variously (generally by a compound of *shard*, making explicit the reference to the dung-beetle).<sup>40</sup> *Beetle* is first

<sup>38</sup> Bk. III, Furnivall, F. J., *Shakspeare's England*, Pt. II, p. 38, *New Shakspeare Soc.*, Ser. VI (1878) The *OD* noted the use of *turd* in ancient and modern Teutonic languages (including *OE*) in combination with a form of *weevil*, to mean *dung-beetle*; cf. *infra*.

<sup>39</sup> Also in SL MS. 4014, fols. 142, 146 (Bk. I, c. xxi).

<sup>40</sup> See *OD*, s.v. *beetle*: *blattis* (a. 800, a. 1000), *mordiculus* (c. 1000), *buboscus* (c. 1440), *carembes* (c. 1450); Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies* (London, 1884), II (v. index, s.v. *scarabæus*, *scarabeus*, *scarabæus*, *scarabo*). On the sources of the Latin words used in such glosses,

identified with *scarabo* in a vocabulary of the fifteenth century.<sup>41</sup> The Tudor development of meaning for *beetle* appears in an alteration made in Trevisa's translation of *Bartholomeus Anglicus*, by which the phrase, "as sherne buds ben gendryd of careynes of horses," as copied (1495) in the edition of Wynkyn de Worde from the late fourteenth-century original,<sup>42</sup> is altered in the revision of Batman (1582) to: "as Beetles be [made] of Oxe dounge."<sup>43</sup>

Literary references over a wide range support the special use of *beetle* for dung-beetle in the EMnE period, as, in slips which may be quoted as follows: "1598 Jonson *Ev. Man in His Hum.* (II, ii) Men of thy condition feed on sloth As doth the beetle on the dung she breeds in"; "1635 Walton *Compl. Angl.* 54 The Dor, or Beetle (which you find under a Cow-turd)." The *OD* notes, for the EMnE period (*s.v. scarab*), a special connection with dung for *beetle* (*sb.*<sup>2</sup>); the definition of the latter under sense 2 describes a meaning doubtless also due to the influence of its special association with the dung-beetle: "In popular use applied especially to those of black colour and comparatively large size; hence many coleopterous insects of different appearance . . . are usually excluded, and other insects included under the name; among the latter are the Black-beetle or Cockroach." In the modern consciousness probably the latter has taken the place, and, in some quarters probably the superstitions, of what John Ray called (1691) "*Dorr*: the common great round-bodied black beetle."<sup>44</sup>

Many other slips bring out other points, of interest for the present discussion, made evident by the fact that *bug* (*sb.*<sup>2</sup>) seems to have been very early attached to the dung-beetle, as, for example: "1525 transl. *Boke Secret. Albert. Magn. H.* VI, v. Scarabeus, that is a flye with a blacke shell, that breadeth in coweshardes and is blacke, called a bitel"; "1530 Palsgr. 198/1 Bettle, a blacke flye"; "1552 Huloet, Bytel, flye with a blacke huske" (also, ed. 1572). In other words, we come back to the fly, for in early times this word was applied to "any winged insect" (*OD*, sense 1). Thus, the traditions attached to the fly (*musca*) might also be

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see Mayhew, A. L., *Promptorium Parvulorum, EETS, Extra Ser.*, 102, pp. xvii ff. The wide range of names for the dung-beetle in our period is significant: cf. *OD. s.v. scarabæus, scarabee, scarab, clock, dor, dung-beetle, shard-borne beetle, sharn-bud, sharn-bug* and (*supra*) *turd-bug*. An American name is "tumble-bug" (*v. OD*).

<sup>41</sup> Wright-Wulcker, I, 609.

<sup>42</sup> From the reproduction made for the *EMnED*, sig. A<sup>8</sup> (*Bk.* xii, c. 4). In Wynkyn's edition "buds" appears as "birds". The relation of both words to *bug* will be discussed in a later note.

<sup>43</sup> From the reproduction made for the *EMnED*, fol. 178<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> *South and East Country Words*, ed. Skeat, W. W., English Dialect Soc. (1874), p. 81.

extended to the dung-beetle, which was often, in Tudor usage, *the* beetle.<sup>45</sup>

The citations made also show that the beetle was a black insect, and the connection with *bug* (*sb.*<sup>1</sup>) would be facilitated as a result. For, the reading *bug*, as a variant for *devil*, cited from a Chaucer MS. in the *Century Dictionary*, as already noted, gives the form: "black bugs," which also appears (*inter alia*) in the citation from Sir Thomas More (1529) which opens the immense series of citations of *bug* (*sb.*<sup>1</sup>) in the EMnE period (see *OD*, *s. v. bug*). The term "black bug" will be discussed in a later note, but should here be mentioned, since it makes easy a further very significant implication of the use of *bug*, as attached to dung-beetle. Black is of course the color of necromancy, hence of Beelzebub and his cohorts. We are brought back to the associations of evil, and of corruption, which the black dung-beetle bred in, and the fly fed on. Altogether, it is not surprising that Beelzebub, the Prince of the Powers of Darkness, was not only the "fly-lord," but also "the dung-lord." As John Selden wrote (1636): "Baal Zebub *Dominus* sive *Deus Musca* seu *Muscae* . . . Beelzebub autem sonat, *Jupiter*, *Belus*, sive *Dominus Stercoreus*, aut *Stercoris*."<sup>46</sup> Thus, to the dung-beetle would be attached all the sinister traditions of the ancient world, as well as the nobler associations of the scarab, with which Mouffet shows himself perfectly familiar.<sup>47</sup> Ancient fertility rites doubtless lay behind these superstitions.

Evidently, however, there was the same mixture of primitive Teutonic tradition with classical, connected with the dung-beetle, which we found for the fly. For, in the nomenclature for the dung-beetle in Scandinavian languages, there is the same trace of an association with supernatural beings which we find in the English names, *turdbug*, *sharnbug*, as the following citations will show:

<sup>45</sup> Two slips may be compared here: "1579 Gosson *Sch. Abuse* (Arb.) 19. The Scarabe flies ouer many a sweete flower, and lightes in a cowshard"; "1580 Lyly *Euphues* (Arb.) 240. . . . The fly that shunneth the Rose, to light in a cowshard" (both authors echo an idea ascribed by Bartholomeus, in the passage just cited, to Isidore).

<sup>46</sup> *De Diis Syris, Opera*, 1726, II, c. vi, pp. 346-347 (pointed out to me by Dr. Hull); cf. also what is evidently a veiled reference to Beelzebub in Aldous Huxley's *The Cicadas and Other Poems* (New York, 1931), p. 37: ". . . the shitten Lord of Flies . . . the Learned Lord of Dung" (pointed out to me by Mrs. Constance Robertson). The dung-beetle's habit of flying at nightfall might also appear sinister: cf. *OD*, *s. v. dor* (*sb.*<sup>1</sup>), 2a, and the following: "1687 Dryden *Hind & Panther* l. 321. Such souls as shards produce, such beetle things As only buzz to heaven with ev'ning wings" (a citation which shows our special sense of *beetle* as still active).

<sup>47</sup> Mrs. H. M. Snyder points out the interesting studies of the insect by Fabre, collected in the volume *The Sacred Beetle*, transl. de Mattos, A. T. (New York, 1918) What may be modern survivals of the special association of *bug* with dung will be mentioned in a later note. Cf. *supra*, n. 32, for a modern superstition connecting flies with blackbeetles.

*Torbist* (roßkäfer, *scarabæus stercorarius*), ält. dän. *torbis*, zu schw. dial. *bise* „obmann, älterer würdiger mann“ (schw. *tomtebisse* „hofkobold“), schw. *bjässe* „mächtiger mann“ dial. auch „großer und fetter ochse, bär, teufel“; siehe *basse* und vgl. *skarnbasse* „mistkäfer“. Eine andere zusammensetzung liegt vor in schw. dial. *torbuse* „mistkäfer“: schw. *buse* „(schreck) gespenst, mächtiger mann, großer und starker kerl“, norw. dial. *buse* und *busse* = *bause* „großer und starker kerl, mächtiger mann“ (siehe *baus*) . . . <sup>48</sup>

Thus, in tracing the sense history belonging to Danish *torbist*, it is found that the first element is *turd* and the second a word which in Swedish cognates means “housegoblin,” “devil,” “spectre.” This would support the suggestion that *turdbug* and *sharnbug* contain as their second element, *bug*, the English word which has exactly those meanings. These facts seem to indicate that the superstition involved in the history of the names for the dungbeetle in several Teutonic languages goes back to prehistoric common Teutonic folk-lore.

Moufet’s third and last example of *bug* applied to an “insect” must be discussed in a later note; it is of great interest for the argument presented above. But a possible analogy, from non-Germanic sources, to the transfer of meaning of *bug* should here be mentioned; it might seem to show that the sense-history of *bug*, like that of *fly*, was rooted in general European influences. The *OD* notes, *s.v. cococut*: “The Portuguese and Spanish authors of the 16th c. agree in identifying the word with Pg. and Sp. *coco* ‘grinning face, grin, grimace,’ also ‘bugbear, scarecrow . . .’ the name being said to refer to the face-like appearance . . . Historical evidence favours the European origin of the name, for there is nothing similar in any of the languages of India, where the Portuguese first found the fruit; and indeed Barbosa, Barros, and Garcia . . . expressly say ‘we call these fruits *quoquos*’, ‘our people have given it the name of *coco*’, ‘that which we call *coco*’.”<sup>49</sup>

The word *coco* here in question can be carried back at least to 1517, when Gil Vicente makes a child use *coco* in referring to the devil.<sup>50</sup> It is

<sup>48</sup> Falk und Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1911), II (Germanische Bibliothek, IV, I), 1272–73.

<sup>49</sup> For primitive myth and ritual, in Melanesia, Indonesia, and Burma, arising from the “general resemblance of the coco-nut to the human head,” see *The Mythology of All Races*, Archaeological Institute of America (Boston, 1928), IX, 56, XII, 344 f. Possibly *coco* was suggested as a name for the nut by the first explorers from native superstition, if not native nomenclature.

<sup>50</sup> *Auto da Barca do Purgatorio*, Obras (Coimbra, 1907), I, 138, cited by J. Cornu, in a note on *coco*, giving also the very interesting similar use (1554) by Lazarillo de Tormes (to be later discussed). This was pointed out to me by Professor Bredvold in the English translation of 1586, where it is rendered “the bugge” (*Percy Reprints*, Oxford, No. vii, 1924, p. 8). For a valuable note carrying Cornu’s discussion further, see Michaëlis, *Krit-*



also spelled *coca*, *cuca*, *cuco*, and is applied to "the figure of a serpent borne at the festival of Corpus Christi," otherwise *tarasca* (defined as "indicating the triumph of Christ over the devil"). But *coco*, *cuco*, are also applied to insects, grubs, caterpillars. It is usual to derive *coco*, the bugbear, from Greek *κῆκος*; the insect, from *κόκκος*.<sup>51</sup> Discussion of these etymologies will be welcome, as well as early citations of *coco*.

Almost until modern times, throughout the civilized world, it was taken for granted that spirits could change their forms, and it was believed that devils were constantly appearing in ordinary life in the shape of the creatures of ordinary life. Since insects passed through metamorphoses more visibly than other beings, the superstitions as to their embodying devils, which have been traced here, were only to be expected. It is with reference to these general principles that the etymology of English *bug* and Spanish-Portuguese *coco* should be considered: the two words can doubtless be studied best when taken together. The dictionaries of Spanish and Portuguese, used in England during the EMnE period, when the influence of those languages was most potent, at least make clear that *coco*, to the Englishman of that time, carried almost exactly the variety of meaning which he attached to his own word *bug*. Thus, in Minsheu's revision (1599) of Percivale's *Spanish-English Dictionary* we read: "*coco*, m. a woorme that eateth vines, a weeuill. Also a voice to skar children with, as we say, the bugbeare. Also a fruit growing in the Indians"; only the reference to the weevil is given by Percivale (1591). In the *Portuguese-English Dictionary* by "A.J.", published at the very end of the EMnE period (1701), we read: "*Côco de fazer mêdo a mentnos*: A sprite, goblin or bugbear . . . *Côcos fazer*: To feign visions, to affright people."

Percivale's application of *coco* to an insect almost exactly coincides in date with Mouflet's use of *bug* in entomology; no earlier use of *coco* in this sense has been cited (tho, in the absence of an *OD* for Spanish and Portuguese, we cannot be sure that none exists). It was natural that, as the

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*ischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Romanischen Philologie*, ed. K. Vollmöller, iv, Erlangen, 1, pp. 346-347, which concludes: "Es erübrigt *Côco coca*=Fratz Popanz in Texten vor 1497 nachzuweisen." Dr. Michaëlis here uses all the resources of Portuguese literature and scholarship. For Cornu's note see *Romania*, xi, 119.

<sup>51</sup> See *Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*, Velasquez, new edition, Gray E., and Iribas J. L. (New York, 1900); Pagés A. de, etc, *Gran Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana* (Barcelona, 1905) (from the *Dictionary of the Spanish Academy*, with citations, the pioneer Covarruvias, *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Espanola* (Madrid, 1674-73) (pointed out to me by Professor Wagner), etc. In both senses there are interesting derivatives of *coco*.—In Spanish, as in English (*v. OD*), *cacodemon* occurs, which might, conceivably, have influenced, or even originated, *coco*. Can the latter have been the influence responsible for the medieval forms of *crocodile* (*q.v. OD*) with *coco*?

Spaniards and Portuguese were the great explorers of the sixteenth century, their vocabulary was extended to English terms of natural history.<sup>62</sup>

HOPE EMILY ALLEN

*Early Modern English Dictionary*

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—It should be noted that modern Welsh, at least, applies *bwg* (possible source of *bug*) in both the senses of *bug* (cf. Spurrell's Welsh Dict., 4th ed.), probably borne also by AS *grima*, though the application to insects occurs only in a single Scriptural gloss hitherto interpreted doubtfully (cf. Bosworth-Toller, and Suppl.). Holthausen, *s. v. grimenā*, cites in this connection "ahd. 'hawi-grimmila' Heuschrecke," a similar insect-name. Furthermore, there is an equivalent OHG gloss, on which compare Grimm: "Schon dem namen und noch mehr dem begrif nach beruhen sich die elbe mit den geisterhaften, aus wiederholter verwandlung ihrer gestalt hervorgehenden schmetterlingen eine ahd. glosse (Graff 1, 243) sagt: brucus, locusta quae nondum volavit, quam vulgo *albam* vocant. der *alp* soll oft als schmetterling erscheinen und in den hexenprocessen heissen elbe bald die kriechenden raupen, bald die puppen, bald die entfliegenden insecten. auch die benennung der *guten holden* und der *bosen dinger* theilen sie mit den geistern selbst." *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th edit., ed. Meyer E. H., [1875], I, c. 17, p. 382.) Grimm says later. "gleich dem riesen (s. 460) hat der teufel das vermogen sich *gross oder klein* zu machen . . . werden *donnerschroter und mistkafer* teuflisch genommen, so verburgt das ihre heidnische auffassung (s. nachtr.," (II, 834, c. 33). He remarks of the elfish beings sprung from the commerce of witches with the Devil: "die rathselhafte kafer und larvengestalt eignet sich ganz fur solche wesen" (c. 34, p. 898). When Linnæus finally fixed entomological nomenclature he attached to one metamorphosis the word *larva*, which had meant *spirit*, then the mask which represented the spirit; already in the EMnE period *larva* (*q v. OD.*) had been used in entomology in the general sense of *disguise*. There is significant continuity between modern *larva*, Swedish *mask* (worm), and *larva* as used in old dictionaries to render AS. *grima* and EMnE *bug*.

<sup>62</sup> The continuity of European custom may appear in the case of *tarasca*, cited as an equivalent for *coco*, etc. It has been described as "Figura de sierpe monstruosa, con una boca muy grande" (*Gran Diccionario*, where it is also cited, from Costa Rica and Chile, in the sense of "coca grande"). Cf. *OD*, *s. v. bogle*, for the *boggle-bo* in England (1678): "an ugly wide-mouthed picture carried around in Maygames," and Minsheu, *s. v. tarasca* (to be discussed later); also, Körting, *Lat.-rom. Worterbuch* (Paderborn, 1891), *s. v. coco*: "im Frz. bedeutet *coco* auch Gurgel, Schlund, ohne dass sich sagen liesse, wie diese Bedtg. sich entwickelt hat." The influence on vocabulary of the dramatic representations of demonology will be discussed later. Since Galicia, where pilgrims from all over Europe went on pilgrimage to St. James, is the district where the "Teufelsdrache der Maiprocession" (Michaelis) is called *coca*, etc., a widely spread influence from this representation is likely. The name *tarasca* is however derived (*Gran Diccionario*) from *Tarascon*, where the custom should also be investigated (cf. Littré, *s. v. tarasque*).

## LXIV

### SPENSER'S IRISH RIVER STORIES

IN his *Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser* (1923) Carpenter remarked (p. 101) that the "Spenserian place-names in Ireland have been but slightly studied." The statement still holds. Although materials for the study of Irish place-names have been made accessible, editors and critics since 1923 have persisted in keeping alive fictions and interpretations which are no longer tenable.

If it has been the purpose of A. C. Judson's recent monograph<sup>1</sup> to demonstrate the poet's thorough-going familiarity with the hills and rivers around Kilcolman Castle, the author has in general succeeded admirably. But one must take exception to his readiness to ascribe too much to the fertility of the poet's imagination: "Nothing perhaps shows more clearly his growing reconciliation with life in 'the salvage island' than the little stories he invented about the rivers flowing on or near his estate."<sup>2</sup> Certainly Spenser did not *invent* these stories about the Bregoge and the Mulla, or the Funcheon and the Behanagh; to maintain as much would be to deny Spenser's own assertion concerning their antiquity:

Heare then (quoth he) the tenor of my tale,  
In sort as I it to that shepheard told:  
No leasing new, nor Grandams fable stale,  
But auncient truth confirm'd with credence old.<sup>3</sup>

Yet if Spenser had not specifically disclaimed "invention" in these lines, the stories would still bear a striking enough resemblance to local folk-traditions as well as legends in the Irish place-name collections preserved in both prose and verse,<sup>4</sup> to suggest that Spenser was not weaving his tales out of whole cloth. Indeed, the two works which Professor Judson states that he has read<sup>5</sup> are too full of Spenser's familiarity with Irish

<sup>1</sup> *Spenser and Southern Ireland* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1933).—This study is based on a pilgrimage to the Spenser country in June, 1929. I was there in the same month, for somewhat the same purpose, but did not, to my regret, happen to meet Professor Judson.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, ll. 100–103.

<sup>4</sup> W. Stokes, "The Bodleian Dinnshenchas," *Folk-Lore*, III (1892), 467–516; "The Edinburgh Dinnshenchas," *Folk-Lore*, IV (1893), 471–497; "The Rennes Dinnshenchas," *Revue Celtique*, xv–xvi (1894–95); Edward Gwynn, "The Metrical Dinnshenchas," I–IV (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1903–24).

<sup>5</sup> P. W. Joyce, "Spenser's Irish Rivers," *Fraser's Magazine*, xcvi (1878), 315–333, reprinted in *The Wonders of Ireland* (1911), pp. 72–114; Pauline Henley, *Spenser in Ireland* (Cork, 1928) —For a brief statement of Spenser's "declared interest in Irish poetry," as expressed in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, see H. S. V. Jones, *A Spenser Handbook*, pp. 385–386.

folklore and topographical legend, gleaned either from his bardic tutor or from the natives about Kilcolman, to admit of the suggestion that he was indebted for his tales to his own fancy.

The first of the stories in question is told in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, lines 92-155, the second in the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*, Canto vi, stanzas xxxviii-lv. Dr. Joyce explains plausibly enough Spenser's derivation of the name Mulla (for the Awbeg River) from Kilnemullah (more correctly, *Cell na mullach*), the old name for Buttevant. (Spenser himself gave the clue in line 113.) But he is less successful in accounting for "my old father Mole" and the Molanna: "these names, Mole, Mulla, Armulla, are all fictitious . . ." and later,

having got the name Mulla, he used it ever after for the river, and loved it and multiplied it in every direction. Its first reproduction is in "Old Father Mole," the fanciful name of the range of hills already noticed, father of the nymph Mulla, who, following up, or rather reversing, the fiction, took her name from her gray old sire, as did also her sister nymph Molanna.<sup>6</sup>

This interpretation is taken over by Renwick<sup>7</sup> in his commentary: "Mole is then a back-formation from *Mulla*, perhaps with the Latin *moles* behind it" (1)

The name Mole, as a matter of fact, Spenser obtained in exactly the way he obtained his Mulla—from the second element in a compound place-name. In the Fourth Book of *The Faerie Queene*<sup>8</sup> Spenser lists among the Irish rivers "the three renowned Brethren," the Shure (*an tSiúr*), the Newre (*an Fheóir*), and the Barow (*an Berbha*),

Which that great gyant Blomius begot  
Of the faire nimph Rheusa wandring there;  
One day, as she to shunne the season whot  
Under Slewblome in shady grove was got,  
This gyant found her. . . .<sup>9</sup>

*Blomius* and *Slewblome* are the forms which Spenser chooses for the Irish legendary Blod (Blad) or Bladma, and the mountain named for him, Slíab Bladma,<sup>10</sup> now commonly spelled Slievebloom. But it was

<sup>6</sup> Joyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 96, 108.

<sup>7</sup> W. L. Renwick, *Daphnaida and Other Poems*, by Edmund Spenser (London, 1929), p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> Canto xi, stanzas xl-xliv.

<sup>9</sup> Spenser's story of Blomius is in keeping with the giant's reputation as suggested by the *Dindshenchas* of Slíab Bladma (Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*, II, 54, l. 22: *Slíab Bladma co mbantolcaib*, "Mountain of Blad with [i.e., known for] woman-assaults").

<sup>10</sup> On the approximate pronunciation of Bladma as "Blawma," see Joyce, p. 88. There are indications that a nominative form *Bladma* existed beside the common *Blad*, but they are not conclusive. There are at least two legendary Blads to whom the name of the mountain is ascribed.

obviously from the Anglicized form (Slievesmole)<sup>11</sup> of *Slíab Smóil*, another old name for these mountains, that Spenser, making a less correct partition of the word than in the case of Mulla, drew his Mole. The long-perpetuated theory that Mole is a "back-formation from Mulla" must be discarded. The name of Molanna may have been formed by Spenser, as Joyce proposed, from a combination of *Mole* and *Behanna* or *Behanagh* (Irish *Bethachánach*, "full of birches"), but it should be pointed out that if Spenser made the fifty-five mile journey by road from Kilcolman (via Lismore)<sup>12</sup> to Youghal, where Raleigh's house still stands, he would doubtless have been familiar with the name of the sixth-century abbey Molana (Irish *Molanfhaidh*).<sup>13</sup> As for Armulla, the last of the related names which Joyce considered fictitious, it is difficult to say where, in the absence of Spenser's own statement, the poet found his prefix *Ar-*. Miss Henley's explanation, "The first syllable he takes from Armoy, the Anglicised form then used to designate the barony of Fermoy,"<sup>14</sup> is by no means convincing; Armoy (Irish *Airther maige*) as the source of the prefix has even less to recommend it than Arlo<sup>15</sup> (Irish *Etharlach*; *Glenn etharlaige*,) better known to-day as the Vale, or Glen, of Aherlow—the Arlo which gave Spenser his name for Galteemore,

Of Arlo-hill (Who knowes not Arlo-hill?)  
That is the highest head (in all mens sights)  
Of my old father Mole. . . .<sup>16</sup>

The original of Spenser's Armulla would be established beyond a peradventure if we could find a clear-cut manuscript reference to *Ard mullaig*,<sup>17</sup> which would have developed into *Armulla* just as *Ard macha*

<sup>11</sup> See Miss Henley, *op. cit.*, p. 85.—Her hybrid form *Slieve Smól* is indefensible and does not indicate clearly how Spenser arrived at "Mole." Nor is the identity of the Fenian *Smól* so completely lost as Miss Henley imagines, but this is too long a story to recount here.

<sup>12</sup> Whether or not Spenser followed this road to Youghal to sail for London with Raleigh in October, 1589, it is not at all improbable that he visited Youghal a number of times before he wrote *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, independently of Raleigh. It would be hard to prove that Spenser did not pass Molana in the autumn of 1581 with Grey on his progress from Lismore to Youghal.

<sup>13</sup> The extensive ruins of Molana Abbey stand close to the bank of the Blackwater, about five miles north of Youghal. The sight of them may well have recalled to Spenser the more familiar ruins of Ballybeg Abbey at Buttevant.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>15</sup> Mentioned by Miss Henley on the very next page (87).

<sup>16</sup> *Faerie Queene*, Bk. VII, Canto VI, stanza xxxvi.

<sup>17</sup> *Mullaig* is the genitive of *Mullach*, which means "summit" or "mountain top"; as *Mullach Eireann* is the name for the summit of Slievebloom, Spenser's "old father Mole" (see Dinneen's Dictionary, 1927, *s.v. mullach*), it would not be too much to hope to find an occurrence of *Ard mullaig*, which would mean "Height, or mountain-side, of Mulla," and would satisfy Spenser's location of it "under the foote of Mole":

becomes modern *Armagh*. Until such a place-name turns up, attempts to establish Spenser's source for *Armulla* can be only guesswork.

If the actual river stories which Spenser learned and used have come down to us,<sup>18</sup> it should be an easy matter to equate the Gaelic goddesses which take part in them with their classical counterparts.<sup>19</sup> It is no doubt the appearance of the names of Diana and Cynthia, and Faunus and Phoebus and Jove, which has led Professor Judson to assume that Spenser invented his tales. Indeed, how could Spenser possibly have explained or justified to Gabriel Harvey or Edward Kirke, or even to Lodowick Bryskett, the presence in his poems of the name of the Dagda in place of Jove or the outlandish Lugh Lamhfhada instead of Phoebus Apollo? By Edmund Spenser, late of Merchant Taylors School and Pembroke Hall,<sup>20</sup> the classical nomenclature only could be employed, even if Spenser's prejudice against the Irish cannot be said to have extended to their mythology or their poetry.

It is not necessary to demonstrate that the Irish legends which Spenser drew upon were uncontaminated by classical mythology. The country about Kilcolman teemed with traditions which still survive. In Spenser's time the region from the Hill of Allen (Almu) in Kildare to Loch Léin in Killarney, of which Spenser's Ballyhoura Hills and Galtee Mountains comprise the very heart and center, had become the traditional home of the epic which had grown up about the hero Finn mac Cumhaill.<sup>21</sup> It is only natural, then, that Spenser should have been more familiar with the Fenian, or Ossianic, cycle than with the Ulster, or Red Branch, cycle. The earlier Fenian tales show none of the classical accretion which begins apparently in the twelfth century and is found so marked, for example, in the later *Duanaire Finn*.<sup>22</sup> Even if Spenser knew an Irish tale un-

Mole hight that mountain gray  
That walls the North side of Armulla dale.

(*Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, ll. 57, 104-105)

For *Mullach Eireann ábu* as the motto of the O'Dunnes, cf. John O'Daly, *Laoithe Fian-nuigheachta*, Transactions Ossianic Society, iv (1856), 292, note 3. *Mullach* is of exceptionally frequent occurrence among place-names in the vicinity of Kilcolman.

<sup>18</sup> It would not be surprising to learn of their existence somewhere in the many Irish manuscripts still unpublished.

<sup>19</sup> The parallelism between the Celtic pantheon and the classical gods has long been recognized, cf. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, II (1884); J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh, 1911); Alexander MacBain, *Celtic Mythology and Religion* (New York, 1917).

<sup>20</sup> Spenser left Cambridge in 1576; he was visited by Raleigh at Kilcolman in 1589.

<sup>21</sup> On attempts like MacNeill's (*Duanaire*, Introd.) to trace the origin of the Fenian cycle, see Kuno Meyer, *Fianuigeacht*, Todd Lecture Series xvi (1910), pp. xiv-xvi.

<sup>22</sup> Ed. Eoin MacNeill, Irish Texts Society VII (London, 1908). See especially "The Sword of Oscar."

touched by foreign influences, as seems quite likely, the parallelism between classic and Fenian myth would still suggest itself: the story of Bregoge and Mulla would remind him of Ovid's tale of Alpheus and Arethusa,<sup>23</sup> and the story of Fanchin and Molanna could hardly help recalling the legend of Actaeon and Diana.<sup>24</sup>

It is just this resemblance between the two mythologies which makes it easy to explain, in part, Spenser's fondness for the Irish landscape and the topographical legends connected with it—almost the only feature of his Kilcolman existence designed to be congenial to a poet of his training and temperament. It is a resemblance which has been given surprisingly little attention.<sup>25</sup> A recent study of Gaelic deer-divinities,<sup>26</sup> however, will serve at once to help us identify the Irish goddess whose legends Spenser may have learned in one form or another, and to explain his readiness to substitute, out of deference to his English readers, the classical huntress Diana.

Finn, from whose *fiana* the Fenian cycle is named, was originally more than a hero: he was a god, whose ancestors were likewise immortals and whose chief pursuit was hunting.<sup>27</sup> Finn's son by Sadb—who was transformed into a deer by a rival goddess—was the famous Ossian, whose very name (Oss-ín) means "little deer."<sup>28</sup> Among the best-known Fenian tales in Spenser's time were apparently the Chases of Slieve Cullinn, Slieve Fuad, and Slievenaman (in southern Tipperary, about twenty-five miles east of Galteemore);<sup>29</sup> in the *Duanaire Finn*, for example, fifteen of the lays have to do with a Fenian chase. It is this stress upon hunting which could only lead Spenser to associate Finn and his compan-

<sup>23</sup> Ovid, *Metam.*, v, 585-641.

<sup>24</sup> Ovid, *Metam.*, III, 138-252.

<sup>25</sup> MacNeill (*Duanaire*, pp. xlv-xlvi) suggests some parallels, and then leaves "to experts the further investigation of the Fenian epic as related to mythology."

<sup>26</sup> J. G. McKay, "The Deer-Cult and the Deer-Goddess Cult of the Ancient Caledonians," *Folk-Lore*, XLIII (1932), 144-174. This article is quite as true for the mythology of Ireland as it is for that of Scotland. For the analogy with Diana, see especially p. 160. On the connection with the Fenian cycle see p. 151, as well as Miss Hull's questionable comment on that connection in *Folk-Lore*, XXXVIII (1927), 230. On the bones of gigantic deer found in Ireland, perhaps connected with the giant deer-goddess cult, see Wood-Martin, *Elder Faiths of Ireland*, I, 12-13, 62 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Duanaire*, p. xlv.

<sup>28</sup> Meyer, *Fianaigeacht*, p. xviii, note 3.—The text of another version of Ossian's birth is printed by Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi, from which I translate as follows:

... Blái Derg from the swift Banba, mother of Ossian the hardy:  
Blái came in the form of a deer to the meeting of the brigands,  
So that Ossian was born thereby, to Blái Derg in the form of a deer.

The unidentified Banba may refer to the Bannow, now the river Corrock, in Wexford.

<sup>29</sup> Published along with four other "Finnian Hunts," including the "Chase of Glenn-an-Smóil," by O'Daly, *Trans. Ossianic Soc.*, VI (1858). Joyce has a translation of the first two in his *Old Celtic Romances*. On the *Glenn-an-Smóil* poem, see note 48 below.

ions with Phoebus and Diana, those divinities who assumed a prominent rôle in the curriculum of Richard Mulcaster, as Spenser's poetry amply shows. No wonder both classical divinities appear in Spenser's versions of the Irish river stories!

In the tale of the Fanchin and Molanna<sup>20</sup> the distinguishing traits of Spenser's "Diana" are her bathing in the Molanna and her resentment at the eavesdropping of the "foolish Faune," who cannot contain himself at the spring

where, doffing her array,  
She bath'd her lovely limbes, for Jove a likely pray . . .  
The Goddess, all abashed with that noise,  
In haste forth started from the guilty brooke;

the decision to punish the offender as Actaeon had been punished:

But most agreed, and did this sentence give,  
Him in Deares skin to clad; and in that plight  
To hunt him with their hounds, him selfe save how hee might;

and the further punishment of the "guilty" Molanna, whom they "whelm'd with stones."<sup>21</sup> The Irish goddess of ancient times who in each detail corresponds to Spenser's "Diana" is Aine,<sup>22</sup> a virgin<sup>23</sup> fertility and water goddess who until very recent times has been worshipped on the commanding height of Cnoc Aine, now Knockainey, barely ten miles north of the source of Spenser's own Bregoge.<sup>24</sup> In the North of Ireland and in Scotland Aine is better known as the Cailleach Bheara (Vera).<sup>25</sup> Spenser's treatment of the bathing scene recalls the resentment of Aine when, upon Ailill Aulom's attempt to violate her, she bit off his ear "so that she left neither flesh nor skin upon it."<sup>26</sup> Like the Northern Cailleach

<sup>20</sup> The quotations are from *Mutabilite*, Canto vi, stanzas xlv, xlvii, and l.

<sup>21</sup> Spenser perhaps saved Faunus from the classical fate of Actaeon in order to emphasize the more authentic detail from his Irish source of the stony chastening of Molanna.

<sup>22</sup> I propose this identification knowing that Grainne, daughter of Cormac and Isolt-like wife of Finn, has also been identified with Diana: see *Folk-Lore*, xvii, 441 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Westropp, *Proceedings Royal Irish Acad.*, xxxiv, Sec. C, p. 50: "Aine was unmarried." See also E. Hull, *Folk-Lore*, xxxviii, 244: "Aine certainly had lunar traits in her legend."

<sup>24</sup> A thorough-going study of the archaeology and traditions of Knockainey has been made by Westropp, *Proc. R. I. A.*, xxxiii-xxxiv, Sec. C. If the Midsummer rites still survived in the early years of the twentieth century, they must have been even more in evidence in Spenser's time.

<sup>25</sup> This is the "best-known legend" (Westropp, xxxiv, 52) concerning Ailill Aulom. See E. Hull, "Legends and Traditions of the Cailleach Bheara or Old Woman of Beare," *Folk-Lore*, xxxviii (1927), 225-254. On the Cailleach's connection with the Fenian cycle, see p. 230; also McKay, *Folk-Lore*, xliii (1932), 151, and note 26 above.

<sup>26</sup> *Revue Celtique*, xiii, 436; *Silva Gadelica*, ii, 438; *Coir Anmann* (Irische Texte, iii, 304-305), §41.



Aine is gigantic in stature; the *Lebar Gabála* calls her *Aine ard*, "tall Aine."<sup>37</sup> A late survival of the Ailill Aulom legend is to be seen in the popular belief concerning the Earl of Desmond who violated Aine (here a water goddess, who still "dwells on Cnoc Aine") after she had been bathing in the river Camoge, at the foot of Cnoc Aine.<sup>38</sup> Finally, that Spenser's account of the "whelming" of the Molanna with stones is appropriate to the goddess Aine is made clear by her status as a "stone-carrying woman."<sup>39</sup> Both Aine and the Cailleach Bheara are credited with the laying of the stone causeway over the Camoge at Knockainy.<sup>40</sup> The most remarkable engineering feat attributed to the Cailleach is the dropping of an apronful of stones at Slieve-na-Cailliahe (the Old Woman's Mountain), Loughcrew, County Meath.<sup>41</sup>

The Earl of Desmond story just referred to seems to be a survival not only of the Ailill Aulom tradition, but also of the legend of Aengus "Mac ind Oc" and Caer Ibormeith,<sup>42</sup> the scene of which is laid at Loch Béal Dracon at the "harp of Clíu" (*oc cruitt Clíach*)—in other words, at Spenser's very doorstep.<sup>43</sup> This legend offers an admirable instance of the universal Swan-maiden motif discussed by Hartland.<sup>44</sup> Clíu, the ancient name for the Spenser country, is explained in the *Dindshenchas* of

<sup>37</sup> Ed. R. A. S. Macalister and J. MacNeill (Dublin, 1916), p. 38. Cf. McKay, *Folk-Lore*, XLIII, 149: "one was so tall that, when wading across the Sound of Mull, the water reached only to her knee" See further Wood-Martin, *Elder Fairs of Ireland*, I, 360: "she was so tall that she could easily wade all the rivers and lakes of Ireland. . . . Some of the early Christian female saints seem also to have been fond of wading" On this adoption of a pagan legend see Hull, p. 226. "the pagan goddess reappears in later days as a Christian nun"

<sup>38</sup> The modern story (*Revue Celtique*, IV, 186-192) indicates the persistence of the old tradition and offers further parallels with Diana On Aine as a water goddess, see MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>39</sup> Mrs. M. M. Banks, "Some Traditions of Stone-Carrying Women," *Jubilee Congress of the Folk-Lore Society* (1928), pp. 40-47.

<sup>40</sup> Banks, *op. cit.*, p. 43, Hull, *op. cit.*, 236, 247.

<sup>41</sup> See E. A. Conwell, *Proc. R. I. A.*, LX (1867), 42, 356; E. A. Conwell, *Discovery of the Tomb of Ollamh Fodla* (Dublin, 1873), pp. 47-48.—I visited Slieve-na-Cailliahe with Dr. Mahr of the National Museum of Ireland and Dr. Hencken of Harvard University, in August, 1928; it was quite as attractive as Rhys pictured it after his visit in 1894 (*Celtic Folklore*, I, 393). The view is as commanding as that from Knockainey, but thanks to the neighboring lakes, much more majestic.

<sup>42</sup> *Revue Celtique*, III, 342-355; Thunneysen, *Irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 302.

<sup>43</sup> Westropp (*Proc. R. I. A.*, XXXIV, 156) rightly locates the district of Clíu "in southeast Limerick and along the Galtees to the Suir. . . . The mighty mountains bore his name, *Crotta Clíach*, which I venture to suggest are the two harp-like *cooms*, with stings and frames of stream gullies, seen on the flank above Aherlow." Dinneen (Keating's *History of Ireland*, Irish Texts Society ed., IV, 218) also makes Clíu roughly co-extensive with the Spenser country.

<sup>44</sup> E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (London, 1891), pp. 255-349.

Crotta Clíach (the Harps of Clíu),<sup>45</sup> which further accounts for the name of Loch Bél Draccon. Clíu, the supernatural harper of Smirdub son of Smól (the same Smól from whom Spenser derived his "old father Mole"), is in love with Báine, but their love is thwarted by Báine's father Bodb Derg, just as the love of Spenser's Bregoge and Mulla is thwarted by the lady's father Mole; finally, after Bodb keeps his daughter indoors for a year, she leaps out, in her grief, in the form of a dragon, and Clíu dies from fear at the sight of her. Thus is explained the name of the unidentified lake, Loch Bél Draccon.<sup>46</sup> Westropp cites another version:<sup>47</sup> "The Leabar Breac tells a nearly identical story . . . Clíu seeks Bodb's daughter at Síd Femen, till the water bursts up under his feet, and forms *Loch Béal Séad*, on the mountain. On this Coerabarboeth, swan-daughter of Ethal, and her fifty companions float; it is also 'Loc Crotta Clíach' and 'Loc Bél Dragan.' It is evidently some lake, still unidentified, on the Galtees. Rarely in Western Europe do we tread so closely in 'the footsteps of the dead old gods' as around Cenn Febrat and the Galtees."

Spenser's tale of the Bregoge and the Mulla, who elude "old father Mole,"<sup>48</sup> appears to offer another instance of the folk-tale motif of the Escaping Couple and the Pursuing Father, which occurs in Irish as

<sup>45</sup> *Revue Celtique*, xv, 440-441, *Metr. Dinds.*, iii, 224-225, O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, ii, 477, 523.

<sup>46</sup> The striking resemblances between the legends of Clíu and the Earl of Desmond are not, I think, accidental. For Loch Gur, where the Earl dwells with Aine (who may well, like Báine, have taken the form of a serpent or dragon), is still inhabited by its serpent. Are not the two names, in fact, variants of the same name? *Báine* (*Uáine*, *Bu-áine*) might well be the Irish name for the "dead Aine." See *Revue Celtique*, iv, 185, 186, 192.—Strangely enough, Bodb Derg, who opposes Clíu's suit of his own daughter, helps Aengus to win Caerib. All three are *síd* legends: the *síd* (*shee*) of Aengus was the famous *Brug na Bóinne* or *Brug meicc ind Oc* (at Newgrange); the *síd* of Ailill was at *Brug rig* (Bruce, near Kilmolman); the *síd* of Bodb was named for him *Síd Boidb*, although the legend of Crotta Clíach is associated with *Síd Femen*, the mound on the Suir. See Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*. According to the *Acallam na Scédrach* 3350 (*Irische Texte*, iv, 1 Hefl), Bodb, like Aengus, was a son of the Dagda, the father of the Gaelic gods.

<sup>47</sup> *Proc. R. I. A.*, xxxiv, Sec. C, p. 157. See also Joyce, *Spenser's Irish Rivers*, p. 106, for a summary of the story.

<sup>48</sup> If, as seems likely, Spenser knew the story of the "Chase of Glenn-an-Smóil" (cf. note 29 above), or Glennasmole, he would naturally have associated it with his "old father Mole." See Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, p. 404; *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, vi, p. 74, note, 120. It is possible that there were two distinct places named Glenn-an-Smóil. For indications of the popularity of the tale, see Seán O'Faoláin, "The Spurious Fenian Tale," *Folk-Lore*, xli (1930), 157, and Darrell Figgis's modernization, *The Return of the Hero* (publ. 1923), *passim*.—The "Chase of Glenn-an-Smóil," as it happens, is based largely on two themes: the chase of a woman (apparently a giantess) transformed into a deer, and the loathly hag or Wife of Bath motif, which O'Faoláin strangely fails to remark. See G. H. Maynardier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, pp. 34-37.

elsewhere, and is regularly associated with water.<sup>49</sup> Mole's punishment of "false Bregoge," by rolling "in great auenge"

downe from his hill  
Huge mightie stones, the which encomber might  
His passage, and his water-courses spill

is hardly to be laid to a "Stone-carrying Woman," but parallels can be drawn again from the popular traditions associated with the neighborhood of Kilcolman. What were once lovely lakes and streams are now dry and rocky beds, like those of the Bregoge and the Camoge. Explanations of these vanished lakes and stony expanses<sup>50</sup> are numerous in the topographical lore of this region. From the extant stories concerning legend-haunted Belach Febrat (Spenser's Ballyhoura hills) and the Sléibe na Caillte (the Galtee Mountains), many analogues to Spenser's stories could be cited, but a few more from the *Dindshenchas* should suffice to show the prevalence of such topographical myths in sixteenth-century Ireland.

1. Tipra Sen-Garmna (*Metr. Dinds.*, III, 242-253; *Rev. Celt.*, xv, 446-448), connected with the Fenian cycle. Tale of a river which spreads (*semais*, line 113) into several streams, only one stream escaping, and vanishes into the ground (lines 103, 125); compare Spenser's Bregoge:

First into many parts his streame he shar'd,  
That whilst the one was watcht, the other might  
Passe vnespide to meete her by the way;  
And then besides, those little streames so broken  
He vnderground so closely did conuay . . .

2. Sinann (*Metr. Dinds.*, III, 286-297; *Rev. Celt.*, xv, 456-457). The sacred Well of Condla (*Tipra Chondlai*) divides into seven streams; the water goddess Sinann, profaning it, is turned at the *Lind Mná Feile* (Pool of the Modest Woman; cf. *Inber Féile*, under the next entry) into the river *Sinann* (Shannon).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> D. MacInnes and A. Nutt, *Folk and Hero Tales from Argyllshire*, p. 437.

<sup>50</sup> Ancient lake sites and streams shrunk in modern times are pointed out by Westropp, *Proc. R. I. A.*, xxxiv, 61, note 3; 173. According to the *Metrical Dindshenchas* (Gwynn, iv, 258; also *Lismore Lives*, p. 244), Loch Cenn ("the Lake of Heads"), formerly a beautiful sheet of water known as Loch Silenn, got its name from the nine hundred heads lopped off in battle by Cairpre Crom and thrown into the lake, which thereupon became "all blood beneath and above" and has been dry ever since ("Loch Cenn! woe to him who rows along its shore!"). Loch Cenn has been located in Mag Femín, the home of Finn's wife Sadb, or as a "broad expansion of the Camoge river"; in either case, it is only a short distance from Kilcolman Castle—Since this paper was written, O'Rahilly (*Hermathena*, XLVIII, 208 ff.) has identified Loch Cenn in Mag Femín with the modern townland of Lough Kent, about fifteen miles east of Galteemore, Spenser's "Arlo-hill."

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Wood-Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 30.

3. Loch Gile (*Metr. Dinds.*, iv, 12; *Rev. Celt.*, xvi, 145-147). Gile, like Fíal (Macalister-McNeill, *Lebar Gabála*, p. 260; Keating II, 92; *Trans. Oss. Soc.* v, 238-239), dies of shame when seen bathing in a pool. (*Melusina motif?*) Gile is to-day Loch Gill, Fíal becomes *Inber Feile* (the river Feale), which has its source in *Tipra Sen-Garmna* (1, above).

4. Snám Dá Én (*Metr. Dinds.*, iv, 350-367). Deception of father (Ferdoman) by his daughter (Celg) and her lover (Conan the Dagda's son). Like Mole, Ferdoman discovers the ruse and slays Conan.

5. Loch Meilge (not printed in any *Dindshenchas*, but see *Lebar Gabála*, MS. 23. K. 32, R. I. A., p. 121). That Spenser knew the story of Loch Meilge is shown by his line "Sad Trowis that once his people overran", see Joyce, "Irish Rivers," p. 78.<sup>52</sup> In the *Dindshenchas* of Faffand (*Metr. Dinds.*, II, 66; *Rev. Celt.*, xv, 306), Aige *co serc-ballaib* ("of the love-spots," a Fenian touch<sup>53</sup>) undergoes two transformations: first into a deer,<sup>54</sup> whereupon she is slain by the hounds of the Fíanna of Meilge of Imlech (Emly, a few miles from Knockainey) and changed into a river (now unidentified, though called by the poet "deathless until the Judgment-Day").

6. Aided Duinn (*Duanaire Finn*, pp. 130-132). A late poem, but without question current in Spenser's time. Donn, turned into a deer by the jealous queen of Aed, is slain after a long chase by Finn and his Fíanna.

Even if Spenser's sources for his river stories are unwritten or no longer extant, there can be little doubt that he drew heavily on the topographical lore he picked up in Ireland. This is the only view which is consistent with his recognized knowledge of Irish legend.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The same lake-formation story is told of Loch Laiglinni (Macalister-MacNeill, *Lebar Gabála*, p. 56; *Metr. Dinds.*, iv, 256, *Rev. Celt.*, xvi, 164) and Loch Garman (*Metr. Dinds.*, III, 174, *Rev. Celt.*, xv, 428-431). The latter is another Finn story, with an interesting legend of the lake (Loch Garman, now Wexford Harbor) sprung after eight hundred years from the womb of his mother, the river Slane (Slaney), whom he overwhelms and drowns.

<sup>53</sup> The best-known "love-spots" are those of Diarmaid; see *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, III, 50, note 2. See also *Folk-Lore*, xli, 155 ff.

<sup>54</sup> D. MacInnes and A. Nutt, *Folk and Hero Tales from Argyllshire*, p. 406.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Miss Henley, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

# THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ANONYMOUS LIFE OF MILTON

THE conviction of Miss Helen Darbishire, to which she has given expression in the Appendix to *The Manuscript of Paradise Lost, Book I*, and later in *Early Lives of Milton* (xvi-xxvii), that the anonymous Life of Milton<sup>1</sup> was the work of John Phillips, the poet's nephew, is so strong that, after having stated it and given her reasons therefore, she uses the suggested authorship as a certainty in the title she gives to the Life and elsewhere throughout the *Early Lives of Milton*. Her argument is two-fold:

1. In a manuscript of John Phillips's poem, "A Satyr against Hypocrites," is "a page and a half of Dedication signed by John Phillips.<sup>2</sup> This dedication "written in a formal Italian hand," she believes to be his. She also believes that certain marginal notes and textual corrections are in his hand. Comparing these specimens of what she believes to be John Phillips's handwriting with the handwriting of the anonymous Life, she "was struck at once by the similarity of the handwriting"<sup>3</sup> in the two manuscripts. Her conclusion is that the manuscript of the anonymous Life was written by the same hand which wrote the Dedication and the notes and corrections of "A Satyr against Hypocrites," and that the hand was that of John Phillips. Later she compared the handwriting of these two documents with that of the sonnets to Cyriack Skinner in the Cambridge manuscript, and concluded that Phillips penned these also.

2. Another fact came to light when she compared the documents. The Dedication, etc., to "A Satyr" has "the word *thir* spelt there eight times. The text of the poem is copied out in another hand and in it *their* is always spelt in the ordinary way."<sup>4</sup> In the marginal notes and corrections which she thinks are in Phillips's hand "the spelling *thir* occurs again."<sup>4</sup> This form is common in much of Milton's prose and in his longer poems, but she adds, "The Oxford Dictionary does not record the form. I looked for it in vain in manuscripts and books of the seventeenth century."<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the second of the sonnets to Cyriack Skinner has the spelling *thir* once and *their*, with the *e* elided, once.

Turning again to the anonymous Life, Miss Darbishire "was struck at once . . . by the pervasive presence of *thir* for *their*."<sup>5</sup> The presence of

<sup>1</sup> Bodl. MS. Wood D. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Bodl. MS. Rawl. Poet. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Lives of Milton* (London: Constable & Co., 1932), xviii.

<sup>4</sup> *The MS. of Paradise Lost, Book I*, 73.

<sup>5</sup> The anonymous Life uses the form *thir* eleven times and *their* five times.

this peculiar spelling in the Dedication, etc., of "A Satyr" was to her "the clinching proof" that John Phillips wrote these parts of the manuscript. It also confirmed her in her belief that he was the amanuensis who copied the Cyriack Skinner sonnets. And the use of this form in the anonymous Life gave her the certainty that she was right in believing that John Phillips was the penman of all three. "My conclusion is," she writes, in summing up the discussion, "that John Phillips learnt to spell *thir* in his uncle's peculiar fashion, that he acted as his amanuensis at least once in later years, and that he wrote the anonymous Life."<sup>6</sup>

Miss Darbishire's conjecture is most interesting, but her argument does not carry conviction. She cannot, of course, prove that John Phillips wrote the parts of the manuscript of "A Satyr" which she ascribes to him. There is no other manuscript in his hand for comparison.<sup>7</sup> Her reason, therefore, for attributing the marginal and textual additions to him has no scientific basis. She says:

in one place the scribe has left a blank in the text, and into it this third hand has inserted the bars of music and accompanying words which satirize the Presbyterian manner of singing. Now Phillips alone would know exactly how he wished this to stand: naturally he would tell the scribe to leave a space and would write in the staves and words himself.

This may have been a natural thing for Phillips to do, but there is no evidence that *he* did it.

There is an interesting likeness in the handwriting of the three documents—vastly more, as she acknowledges, between the Cyriack Skinner sonnets and the anonymous Life than between the "Satyr" and the other two. But even Miss Darbishire is not convinced absolutely that the hands are identical. She says:

The general effect of the two hands (in the *Satyr*) is different. . . . In judging the handwritings we must remember that John Phillips was a young man of twenty-three when in 1654 he wrote the *Satyr against Hypocrites*, and that the anonymous Life was written, according to Malone, in 1686 or 1687. A man's hand may change much in thirty years.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Miss Darbishire seems for the most part to have won over her reviewers to an acceptance of her conclusions. Miss Rose Macaulay, however, in a signed review in the *Spectator* (London), CXLIX, 835, carefully guards her acquiescence: the proof is "pretty convincing"; "it looks very much as if the same hand had written" the three documents cited. B. A. Wright in *MLR*, XXVIII, 518-523, is much more critical and only accepts Miss Darbishire's judgment "for the present." The present writer's conclusions were arrived at before reading any of the reviews.

<sup>7</sup> Miss Darbishire says, there is only one in the Bodleian (*E. L. of M.*, xvi). She must have searched in vain elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> *E. L. of M.*, XVIII, XIX. B. A. Wright above (*op. cit.*, note 6) expresses an unsettling doubt as to the accuracy of Miss Darbishire's identification of the handwriting. "She ad-

She herself needed the "clinching proof" of the use of the Miltonic *thir*. She must have felt the uncertainty of the ifs in her reasoning. If the handwriting of the Dedication, etc., is the work of the same person that wrote the anonymous Life, and if John Phillips wrote the first, then her conclusion is valid. But she has not succeeded in establishing with certainty the fact in either case. No one can rightly be considered hypercritical who feels that on such slight evidence she was not justified in asserting that she had "discovered" that the author of the anonymous Life was "John Phillips, Milton's younger and scapegrace nephew."<sup>9</sup>

Miss Darbishire's study of the use of *thir* and *their* in Milton's prose and poetry is most thorough. Before I had read the Appendix to *The Manuscript of Paradise Lost, Book I*, I had made a similar study which tallies well with hers.<sup>10</sup> As neither she nor Professor Grierson have published their figures with any completeness, it may be of interest for me to include mine in an appendix. (See below.) All these studies show that while Milton used the spelling *thir* in the Cambridge Manuscript, it was not then his customary spelling. He used it only nine times and the form *thire* seventy-nine times. Professor Grierson says: "it was not until after 1642 that Milton changed it to *thir*, perhaps only when he began to print this form."<sup>11</sup> Miss Darbishire has discovered, as I did, one use in "Animadversions" (1641) and I have found also an instance in the pamphlet "On Reformation," printed earlier in the same year.<sup>12</sup> Professor Grierson further states that "up to 1645 he (Milton) allowed the printer to print '*their*' apparently without demur."<sup>13</sup> The 1645 edition of the poems contains only one use of *thir*—in "The Passion"—and until the publication of the Martin Bucer pamphlet (1644) there were only the two above-mentioned instances of the printing of *thir* in the prose. But in this pamphlet *their* occurs twenty-five times and *thir* forty-five. The *Areopagitica*, published in the same year, has three uses of *thir* and ninety-eight of

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mits "that the handwriting of the sonnets is much more evidently like that of the anonymous Life than either is like the handwriting of the Dedication to the *Satyr against Hypocrites*!" So far as the two latter manuscripts are concerned this can be explained by a natural change in handwriting during the thirty years between the *Satyr* (1654) and the Life (1686), but the sonnets were composed about 1655 and the hand here might therefore be expected to resemble that of the *Satyr* rather than that of the Life. Miss Darbishire seeks to get over this difficulty by arguing in a circle—if her identification of all three hands is correct, then the sonnets were copied out 'clearly, it seems, for the edition of poems to be published in 1673.' But she omits to note that the second of them, with which she is particularly concerned, was withheld by Milton from publication in 1673. . . One regrets that she has not set out the facts quite clearly and fairly."<sup>9</sup> *E. L. of M.*, xvi.

<sup>10</sup> Making use of the Columbia University edition of Milton's works in the original spelling.

<sup>11</sup> Grierson, *The Poems of John Milton*, Vol. II, LVI.

<sup>12</sup> See page 76, l. 24 of the Columbia University edition.

<sup>13</sup> Grierson, *loc. cit.*

*their*, but in *Tetracordon*, (1645), there are twenty-nine uses of *thir*, though *their* is still much more abundantly used, one hundred and twenty-three times. With *Colasterion* the balance goes strongly over to the other side, and it continues there with the exception of the *Articles of Peace*, till the last pamphlets, beginning with *Of True Religion*, when Milton apparently gave up the struggle with his printers. The 1673 edition of the Poems has *their* without exception. So from 1645 on until a short time before Milton's death *thir* is the prevailing form, with *their* also used, by no means, as Miss Darbishire asserts, always for emphasis.

Phillips became Milton's pupil shortly after the latter's return from the Continent in 1638. It is entirely possible that during the time he lived in Milton's home and studied under his direction he caught the trick of using the spelling *thir*. But that he is the only one who could have adopted this mannerism is certainly not proven.<sup>14</sup> Some amanuensis, or some other friend as intimately acquainted with Milton and his work, could easily have been attracted by Milton's spelling of the word and have adopted it. Whoever wrote the anonymous Life did not follow Milton's distinction between the use of the two forms. As has been said above (Note 5), the word occurs there sixteen times, eleven times as *thir* and five times as *their*. In not a single instance is the use of *their* necessarily emphatic. The author is evidently fonder of the form *thir*, but uses the two interchangeably.<sup>15</sup>

Neither the similarity of the handwritings nor the use of *thir* nor the two together is sufficient ground for the absolute conviction that John Phillips wrote the anonymous Life. Moreover, there are positive reasons against the suggested authorship, not absolute proof, because human nature is capable of strange inconsistencies, but stronger reasons against Miss Darbishire's contention than any she offers in its support. Though there exists no other manuscript of a work by John Phillips, there are a number of printed works from his pen. A study of these has revealed even to Miss Darbishire that Phillips had an "incurably gross mind."<sup>16</sup> She seeks to anticipate the objection, from this angle, to her conjecture by saying that "John Phillips' Life is yet to be written," that he "has been much reviled" by his biographers.<sup>17</sup> But that a mind "incurably gross"

<sup>14</sup> B. A. Wright pertinently asks. "Was this spelling adopted by only one of Milton's associates?"

<sup>15</sup> Neither does the writer of the anonymous Life use the device of doubling vowels for emphasis. He spells the pronoun *he*, for example, nine times as *he*, one hundred and five times as *hee*. He is fond of doubling both vowels and consonants—*shee*, *bee*, *beeing*, *habitt*, *modell*, *farr*, *fit*, *hatt*, *sonn*.

<sup>16</sup> *E. L. of M*, xxiii. Godwin (*Lives of E. & J. Phillips*, p. 112) is of the same opinion: John Phillips has "an unconquerable propensity to coarseness."

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi.



could have written the anonymous *Life*, which has nothing in it to which Milton himself in his best moments could not fully subscribe, that has in it not a "gross" word or thought, is to me incredible.<sup>18</sup>

If John Phillips wrote the anonymous *Life*, he was certainly posing.<sup>19</sup> If he was posing, the *Life* is an insincere piece of work. Miss Darbishire's opinion is that if John Phillips wrote the work, its importance is greatly enhanced. But the contrary is true. He being what he was and the *Life* being what it is, every argument in favor of John Phillips's authorship is an argument against the validity of the *Life* and a lowering of its importance as a biographical source.

Much of Miss Darbishire's argument is based upon what in her judgment are probabilities. One may therefore be permitted to argue in similar fashion that, if John Phillips wrote a life of his uncle some time between 1674 and 1691, and if, near the close of that period, or just after it, not later than 1694,<sup>20</sup> his brother Edward wrote another life of the same person, Edward would naturally be acquainted with what his brother had written and would reveal in his own work something of that acquaintance. If Edward's biography was the earlier, though not published until 1694, John would probably have known something about it, unless there were complete estrangement between the brothers, and would have betrayed this knowledge in his own story. There is, however, not the slightest evidence that either Edward Phillips or the author of the anonymous *Life* knew of the other's work.

Miss Darbishire conjectures that Aubrey secured the *Life* from Phillips and "sent it in triumph to Wood . . . then Wood's statement may be strictly true that Aubrey got from Milton and from his relations after his death most of the account of his life and writings which he, Wood, was able to print."<sup>21</sup> She thus implies that both Aubrey and Wood knew the source from which the manuscript came. It is well known that Wood took a very hostile attitude toward John Phillips. Arguing again from probabilities, it is hardly reasonable that he would have been so complacent in his reception and use of material from such a source.

Inasmuch as Miss Darbishire takes exception<sup>22</sup> to the suggestions as to the authorship of the *Life* made by its first editor,<sup>23</sup> I may be allowed

<sup>18</sup> Miss Darbishire, following Malone, thinks the anonymous *Life* was written in 1686 or 1687. John Phillips in 1685 wrote his "Ode on the Death of Charles II," which was full of royalist sycophancy and in 1687 his coarse version of *Don Quixote*.

<sup>19</sup> cf. *E. L. of M.*, *ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>20</sup> The anonymous *Life* records the death of Milton (1674) and was used by Wood in his life of the poet, published 1691. Edward Phillips's life of his uncle was printed in 1694.

<sup>21</sup> *E. L. of M.*, xx, xix.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, xx.

<sup>23</sup> *The Earliest Life of Milton*, edited by Edward S. Parsons, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1902).

a personal word. She says my conjectures are right in so far as they are negative, that the author was not an Oxford man nor a clergyman. She does not comment on the suggestion that "he was a well-educated though not altogether scholarly man, with good but not carefully practised literary ability." She objects to the suggestion that the biographer may have been a physician,<sup>24</sup> saying that "the details . . . of Milton's optical trouble . . . are such as might be familiar to the sufferer's lay friends,"<sup>22</sup> which is entirely possible. But the confident assumption with which she attributes the death-bed scene, as described in the *Life*, to John Phillips, saying, "John must have been present, Edward unexpectedly absent,"<sup>25</sup> has no evidence whatever to justify it. That scene might as reasonably be interpreted as the recollection of the poet's friend and intimate of many years, his physician, Dr. Paget.

She dismisses most cavalierly one other suggestion: "He was probably of Milton's generation, an older man than Anthony Wood. He writes as one who had passed through the civil struggles, in which he was evidently an Independent, though one of Milton's type." Her reply to this is a single sentence, an opinion without a reason: "Neither did I detect the marks which stamped him as an elderly man, of an age to be Milton's contemporary."<sup>26</sup> The careful reader must be the judge which of us is right on this point. Frequent reading of the *Life* during more than thirty years has left me of the same opinion still.

In conclusion, Miss Darbishire's argument and her facts and conjectures do not justify the certainty of her conviction that John Phillips wrote the anonymous *Life of Milton*. What she so often brings forward as certainties are at best only probabilities, and often only possibilities. On the other side, that such a high-minded bit of biography could have been the work of a man like John Phillips is too much for one who is not credulous of modern miracles to accept. I at least must wait until Miss Darbishire gives us the biography which she says is yet to be written. And as for the probabilities, there are as many against the theory of his authorship of the *Life* as she has been able to cite for it. My own judgment is

<sup>24</sup> Miss Darbishire says the first editor conjectured that the author was "probably a doctor." What the text actually says is, "Perhaps he was a physician." *E. L. of M.*, ix, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (Jan., 1902), 97.

<sup>25</sup> *E. L. of M.*, xxi. Godwin's conjecture as to the funeral of Milton is an amusing contrast to Miss Darbishire's certainty as to the death-bed scene. "It is obvious to conjecture that Edward Philips, his nearest male relation, and afterwards the historian of his life, probably filled the place of chief mourner, in this last farewell to the ashes of his adored preceptor and uncle. John Philips, on the contrary, who, we shall have reason to think, as long as he existed, never relaxed in his unnatural animosity to Milton, did not, I trust, pollute the sad solemnity with his unhallowed presence." (*Lives of E. & J. Philips*, p. 157.)

<sup>26</sup> *E. L. of M.*, xx, xxi.

that the suggestion of Dr. Paget's authorship, though it does not explain all the facts, is a better guess than Miss Darbishire's.

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## APPENDIX

### THE OCCURRENCE OF THE SPELLINGS *THEIR* AND *THIR* IN MILTON'S POETRY AND PROSE<sup>27</sup>

In the Trinity College manuscript the word now spelled *their* occurs 96 times. It is in Milton's hand 88 times and spelled by him 79 times *thire* and 9 times *thir*. Amanuenses spell the word once *thir*, once *their* with the *e* later crossed out, four times *their*, and twice *theire*. Milton in these manuscript papers used only the forms *thire* and *thir*, but he used the first nearly nine times as often as *thir*.

The edition of 1645, containing five English sonnets and seventeen other English poems, has 83 uses of the word. These are all in the form *their*—except in the stanza viii of the Passion, where *thir* appears once.<sup>28</sup> The edition of 1673 includes the English poems of the first edition with "On the Death of a Fair Infant" and "At a Vacation Exercise" added, ten other sonnets, seventeen paraphrases of Psalms, and a translation of the Fifth Ode of Horace. In this group of added poems are 59 uses of *their* and none of *thir*. Thus in all the English poems of the 1673 edition there are 141 cases of the spelling *their* and none of *thir*.

Of the four sonnets not included in the editions of 1645 and 1673, xvii to Sir Henry Vane was printed in a life of Vane by G. Sikes which appeared in 1662. The other three, xv (Fairfax), xvi (Cromwell) and xxii (Cyriack, this three years day) were first printed in 1694 by Edward Phillips at the close of the *Life of John Milton*, prefixed to his *Letters of State*. In these four sonnets there are three uses of the word, once as *their* in xv, and twice as *thir* in xxii<sup>29</sup>—the sonnet cited by Miss Darbishire in her argument. There are then only three uses of this form in Milton's published work outside the major poems and the prose. Two of these appear in the Cambridge manuscript in the hand of an amanuensis, and were not in print until twenty years after Milton's death.

In the prose works are the following uses of the word:

	<i>Their</i>	<i>Thir</i>			
1641 <i>Of Reformation</i>	180	1	1642 <i>Reason of Church Govt.</i>	182	0
1641 <i>Of Prelatical Episc.</i>	49	0	1642 <i>Apology for Smeckymnnus</i>	152	0
1641 <i>Animadversions</i>	119	1	1643 <i>Doct. and Disc. of Divorce</i>	116	0
			1644 <i>Of Education</i>	45	0

<sup>27</sup> This study was made possible by the Facsimile of the Trinity Manuscript of Milton's writings and the recent publication of the Columbia University Edition of Milton in the original spelling. The page references are to this edition. It has been carefully gone over several times. In the quest valuable assistance was given by Miss Pauline Frederick of the Marietta College Department of English.

<sup>28</sup> Miss Darbishire points this out. The Harvard Library copies confirm Miss Darbishire's statement. The edition of 1673 changes *thir* to *their*.

<sup>29</sup> In the first of the two cases in Sonnet xxii, as indicated above, the word was originally written *their* and later the *e* was elided.

	<i>Their</i>	<i>Thir</i>	1659 <i>To Remove Hirelings</i>	11	171
1644 <i>Martin Bucer</i>	25	45	1660 <i>Brief Notes</i>	1	18
1644 <i>Areopagitica</i>	98	3	1660 <i>Letter to General Monk</i>	0	17
1645 <i>Tetrachordon</i>	123	29	1660 <i>Readie and Easie Way</i>	6	140
1645 <i>Colasterion</i>	6	12	1669 <i>Accedence</i>	7	44
1648 <i>Tenure of Kings and Mag</i>	8	191	1670 <i>History of Britain</i>	42	714
1649 <i>Eikonoklastes</i>	50	419	1673 <i>Of True Religion</i>	50	0
1649 <i>Letters to a Friend</i>	2	19	1674 <i>Letters Patents</i>	11	0
1649 <i>Articles of Peace</i>	161	57	( <i>Muscovia</i> printed 1682		
1659 <i>Civil Power in Eccl Causes</i>	10	32	after Milton's death)	88	0

If there were space, these figures could be analyzed and it could be shown how in very many cases the spelling persists in one form for a time and then suddenly changes to the other and changes back again. Here are two striking examples<sup>30</sup> Pages 65-95 of the Columbia University edition of *Tetrachordon* contain nothing but *their* (29 uses); pages 95-132 have 29 uses of *thir* and only 7 of *their*; and pages 135-232 have 33 uses of *their* and not a single *thir*. In *Articles of Peace* for the first seventy pages through p. 251, l. 7, only *their* occurs; on pp. 251-252 *thir* is used four times; from 253 to 259 inclusive *their* occurs 38 times and *thir* only 9 times; from 260 to the end (271) *thir* is found 47 times and *their* only 9 times. On p. 258 *their* occurs once and *thir* 4 times; on p. 259 *their* 10 times, *thir* not at all; on p. 260 *thir* 5 times and *their* once. Milton's own work begins on p. 242 of this pamphlet and continues to the end. In this section *their* is used 74 times and *thir* 56.

In all the prose works there are 1542 uses of *their* and 1913 of *thir*. Of the latter number 1133 are found in *Eikonoklastes* and the *History of Britain*.

The three works of Milton's last poetical period show similar variations. In *Paradise Lost* (including the Verse and Arguments) *thir* is almost exclusively used—607 uses to 16 of *their*.<sup>31</sup> *Paradise Regained* has a different proportion. The figures are as follows.

	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Total
<i>Their</i>	9	4	12	6	31
<i>Thir</i>	2	12	19	18	51

In *Samson Agonistes*, *thir* is used without change through line 176, then *their* is used three times in succession, after which *thir* comes back. From line 886 to 1215 *their* is used 10 times and *thir* ten times, then *thir* continues through the rest of the poem. In the whole poem *thir* is used 86 times and *their* 15. *Thir* appears also twice in the argument and once in the introduction.

<sup>30</sup> See also the occurrence of the spellings in *Samson Agonistes*. See below, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup> According to Miss Darbishire's figures in *The Manuscript of P. L. Book I*, *their* occurs in the First Edition of Book I, 39 times and *thir* 30 times. In the MS. *their* 5 times, *thir* 64.

DRYDEN'S DEDICATION FOR  
*THE MUSIC OF THE PROPHETESSE*, 1691

THE manuscript Dedication for the music of Purcell's opera, *The Prophetess*, has curiously remained unprinted and apparently unobserved by the editors and biographers of Dryden since its first notice in a report of the Historical Manuscript Commission, 1881.<sup>1</sup> Its almost unique interest to any treatment of the poet's literary relations, his canon, and technique is barely indicated by a contemporary notation at the bottom of the second folio: "This Epistle is the handwriting of John Dryden Esq Poet Laureat to Ch: 2, and James 2. it was the first draught of an Epistle Dedicatory to some Opera's of Mr. Purcell, and writ at his Request & for his use." Of an accompanying manuscript, the original for an unsigned Advertisement to the printed score, it is added that: "The other is a letter from Jacob Tonson the Famous Bookseller in London."<sup>2</sup> Both pieces were published, though with extensive deletions in the case of the Dedication, in a folio volume of 1691. This work, whatever the authorship of its parts, with its Dedication and Advertisement, assumes therefore a new importance to bibliographers and students of the poet. The form of its title page is as follows:

THE/Vocal and Instrumental/MUSICK/OF THE/PROPHETESS,/OR THE  
 /HISTORY/OF/DIOCLESIAN./COMPOSED/By *Henry Purcell*, Organist of  
 Their MAJESTIES/Chappel, and of *St. Peters* Westminster./[Printer's orna-  
 ment]/LONDON,/Printed by *J. Heptinstall*, for the Author, and are to be/Sold  
 by *John Carr*, at his Shop in the *Middle-/Temple* Gate near *Temple-Barr*.  
 MDCXCI./<sup>3</sup>

Despite the warrant of a contemporary, the question arises whether the manuscripts are to be accepted as those of the poet and publisher. In the case of Dryden, the answer seems clearly affirmative, after comparison with numerous examples of his handwriting. But may it not be mere assumption that he was the composer rather than the copyist of the Dedication, particularly since the appended signature is also in his hand? This, upon the face of it, would appear unreasonable. That Dryden should copy for future reference the critical judgments of Purcell, the musician, would seem strange enough; that these judgments, assumed to issue from Purcell, should so clearly be in the line of Dryden's thought

<sup>1</sup> Eighth Report, App. III, p. 8b, item 24.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscripts are now located in the British Museum, Stowe MSS. 755, fols 34-35.

<sup>3</sup> From two copies at Yale. A<sub>2</sub> and *verso* have the Dedication: "To his Grace Charles Duke of Somerset," &c. It is signed Henry Purcell.

and temperament, even to the extent of anticipating certain of his subsequent remarks, would mean the recasting of much of the biography of the poet's mind and enthroning of Purcell as a major prophet in criticism. As for the signature, that matter is easily disposed of. The manuscript Dedication, by comparison with its printed version, was more than a first draught. It was clearly printers copy—in which case the authenticity of a signature, particularly when guaranteed by Purcell himself, would be immaterial. As for the other manuscript, it will be observed that in the title page of the published work there is no reference to Tonson, nor indeed anywhere else in the volume. The score was printed, according to the statement, "for the author."

What then was the part of Tonson? The publication, eight months before, of the play—or what may inexactly be termed the libretto—of *The Prophetess* involved both publisher and playwright. The interest of Dryden may be definitely proved by his composition of a prologue, which for political reasons was immediately suppressed after its first recital, May or June, 1690.<sup>4</sup> Tonson brought forth the play in quarto early in June. Doubtless it had been intended that the prologue should be a selling point, but apparently the Lord Chamberlain intervened. That the printing of the book came simultaneously with the censorship may be deduced from the fact that at least two copies are in existence with the prologue included.<sup>5</sup> From the others that have been examined there is a probable cancellation, judging by the abortive appearance of the *Dramatis Personæ* immediately after the title page and the absence of one whole folio before the beginning of Act I at the signature B. The printer seems to have been allowed no time in which to rearrange his set-up.

It is only natural to assume that Tonson's interest in *The Prophetess* should have lagged after so discouraging a reverse. Nor does there appear to be any solid argument to connect his name with the publication of its *Vocal and Instrumental Musick*. Whereas the handwriting of the Dedication is indubitably Dryden's, that assigned Tonson has on the contrary only the warrant of an early notation. Its authenticity is challenged by the statement upon the title page, "printed for the author"; the script itself bears little resemblance to his hand; and its text finally is badly garbled—to a degree surprising if it be associated with a fairly articulate publisher. One other piece of evidence fails equally to substantiate Ton-

<sup>4</sup> The play was advertised in *The London Gazette*, June 12–16, 1690. This would place its first production earlier than that commonly accepted, Nov. 17. Cf. Nicoll, *Restoration Drama*, p. 314, "Lord Chamberlain's Records." The earlier date makes it possible to identify *The Prophetess* as the "late Opera" mentioned in Dryden's Dedication to *Amphitryon*.

<sup>5</sup> In the libraries of Christ Church, Oxford, and of Mr. P. J. Dobell.

son's part in the venture. In *The London Gazette* of July 3-7, 1690, appeared the following advertisement:

The Vocal and Instrumental Musick, in the Opera, called, The Prophetess, Composed by Mr. Henry Purcell, is design'd to be printed by way of Subscriptions. Proposals may be seen at Mr. John Carr's Shop in the Middle-Temple-Gate, and at Mr. Henry Playford's Shop near the Inner-Temple Church, who are appointed to take subscriptions.

Another advertisement of publication, February 26—March 2, 1690/1 omits the name of Playford.<sup>6</sup> The strange delay is explained in the manuscript Advertisement:

I employed two several Printers; but one of them falling into some trouble, and the Volume swelling to a Bulk beyond my expectation, have been the Occasions of this Delay.

It all would seem a singular exhibit of ineptitude from so skilled a business man as Tonson. From beginning to end, however, his name nowhere appears.

Were one to hazard a conjecture, the manuscript Advertisement might better be assigned to Purcell. Such would be the testimony of its text. Therein, the writer remarks that "according to my Promise in the Proposals, I have been very carefull in the Examination of every Sheet, and hope the Whole will appear as Correct as any yet Extant." This statement would imply a degree of knowledge beyond Tonson's capacity in the proofreading of a musical score. It only remains to be noted that of the two copies in the Yale library the one "ex dono authoris" to J. Talbot contains Purcell's holographic corrections, according to his promise. Other similar copies are supposed to be in existence.<sup>7</sup>

The pertinence of this discussion of the so-called Tonson manuscript rests in its apparent disposal of the publisher as the one who led Dryden to write the Dedication. This would seem rather to have come from a friendship for Purcell, and to have been "writ at his request & for his use." But the friendship should perhaps be dated earlier than October, when Dryden is supposed to have turned from Grabut and delegated the Englishman to write the music for *Amphitryon*. The history of their relations involves the whole disputed matter of the authorship of *The Prophetess*.

Though the quarto of the latter is lacking any attribution upon the title page, it was categorically stated by Langbaine that Dryden contributed the changes and lyric additions that transformed Fletcher's ro-

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted for these references to the *Gazette* to Hazelwood's interleaved copy of Langbaine, Br. Mus. c 45. d 16

<sup>7</sup> *Croce's Dictionary of Music*, ed. Colles, iv, 288. The statement is a bit obscure.

mantic old play into an opera. On the other hand, Downes in his *Roscius Anglicanus* and Gildon in the continuation of Langbaine as definitely assigned the play to Betterton. Their testimony has the strong corroborative evidence of an unnoticed broadside in the Chetham library, entitled: "A New Song sung in the Prophetess . . . the words by Mr. Batterton."<sup>8</sup> While one may readily agree with Professor Saintsbury that there is nothing in the play that Betterton might not have written equally as well as Dryden, may not the actor in this instance have been the stalking horse for alterations in which the poet's part was that of hack?

Dryden had from the beginning evinced a singular interest in the production. First, we have his suppressed prologue. True, as the most prolific poet in the supply of these ephemeral introductions, he may merely have received the customary five or six guineas, without implication of further responsibility. There arises, however, his laudatory allusion to Purcell's part in *The Prophetess*, which reveals him as an attentive critic:

But what has been wanting on my Part, has been abundantly supplied by the Excellent Composition of Mr. *Purcell*; in whose Person we have at length found an *English-man*, equal with the best abroad At least my Opinion of him has been such, since his happy and judicious Performance in the late *Opera*; and the Experience I have had of him, in the setting my Three Songs for this *Amphitryon*.<sup>9</sup>

Here, perhaps, may be a distinction between impersonal observation and personal collaboration. But it need be no more conclusive than the omission of the author's name from the title page of *The Prophetess*. Certainly Dryden would have taken little pride in the mere hack work of modernization and transposition, nor in the lyrics, save for the famous one, "What shall I do to show how much I love her?"—a piece incidentally more admirable in its setting than in itself. The lyrics were not markedly better or worse, however, than much of the fanfare of his nearly contemporaneous opera, *King Arthur*. Opera at best in the seventeenth century was a species, as he pointed out, "principally designed for ear and eye." With *The Prophetess* remaining in its essentials the work of Fletcher, Dryden's own concern would have been largely monetary, as a sharer in the opera's profits. But the added fact of his supposed Dedication of its music for Purcell seems cumulative, and argues an interest from beginning to end. Until some more conclusive testimony is produced it may be advisable to accept as answer to the problem the manuscript notation in a copy of the play, once in the possession of Sir Edmund

<sup>8</sup> J. O. Hallwell, *A Catalogue of Proclamations &c.* Item 1873.

<sup>9</sup> "Epistle Dedicatory" to *Amphitryon*, dated Oct. 24, 1690. The date allows no question but that *The Prophetess* was the "late opera."



Gosse, that it was "By Mr. Dryden and Mr. Betterton,"<sup>10</sup> a collaboration in which perhaps the poet provided the finishing touches.

From this area of conjecture we come to certainties in identifying Dryden's hand and brain in the Dedication. Mature criticism as it is upon the subtle correspondencies of the sister arts of music, poetry, and painting, the Dedication, even did it lack a contemporary ascription of authorship, would be worthy of a place beside the best of Dryden's prose. For hardly another critic of his time could compose *ex cathedra* with the same felicitous inflection: certainly not Henry Purcell, who so far as we may discover nowhere else betrayed such nice discrimination of prose style or knowledge of the arts. The point, however, that calls for demonstration is not the obvious similarity of style, where the cadence may be its own proof, but the close parallelism of content to that of several of Dryden's better known prose treatises and poems. We have, as in no other place, a revelation here of the growth of his ideas, from their genesis on the manuscript before us to their final issuance in the printed form. If for nothing else the manuscript would be interesting as the only example of his holograph wherein he is shown in the actual process of composition; or, to express it differently, his other pieces were left uncorrected because in almost every case they were letters written with no view of publication. This is printer's copy, unique in its kind. But it has a further interest. Inasmuch as Dryden was here cloaked by anonymity he chose for once to utilize his ideas a second time in various acknowledged works, without fear of their being criticized for barrenness of invention. Thus they grow under our eyes; and we are afforded in our turn the rare glimpse of a poet's mind at work.

The manuscript itself displays a writer who struck off his ideas rapidly, even upon occasion deleting a word before he had finished the writing of it, and substituting synonyms in the flow of composition. Such we may take to be those words which are scratched and another written immediately after. Those that are inserted above may be assumed to have come when he reread his text. The manuscript reveals a writer so richly endowed that he could afford to strike out a particularly happy figure where either good sense or economy of expression dictated. To Dryden, as to most writers of his time, formal correctness of copy seemed to have counted for little. Capitalization and even spelling are almost whimsical, though the "pointing," with which he was more intimately concerned, is observed with a degree of care that shows scarcely any variation from that of the printed page. Finally it will be noted that most of his alterations, where not dictated by the sense, were determined by the niceties of his prose rhythm.

<sup>10</sup> Scott-Saintsbury, *The Works of John Dryden*, VIII, 10.

These various qualities may best be reproduced, short of actual photograph, by printing the scratched portions in another character from that of the main body. Thus Dryden's deletions are indicated below by the use of italics, and, with a few changes, what is left constitutes his final printed version in the folio of Purcell's music. The verbal variants of the latter have been indicated in the footnotes. For those changes made by Dryden in the extensive portions which afterwards he decided to omit altogether, the same procedure has been followed of printing in a different character, and hence they have been left unitalicized. The order of composition then may be conjecturally arrived at by first reading the text with the omission of all parentheses, and then re-reading for these insertions. Next followed the deletion of italicized passages, and finally the proof correction indicated in the footnotes.

YOUR Grace has been pleas'd, so particularly to favour the Composition of the Musique In Diocletian, that from thence I have *this* been incouaged to this presumption of dedicating not onely it, but (also) the unworthy Authour of it, to your protection. All arts and Sciences have had<sup>11</sup> their first encouragement from great persons; and owe their propagation and success to their *favour* (esteem): like some sort of fruit trees, which being of a tender constitution, and delicate in their nature, requirde the shadow of the Cedar to shield their Infancy, from *Stormes* (blites) and Tempests.<sup>12,13</sup> Musick and poetry have ever been acknowledgd Sisters, which walking hand in hand, support (& *grace*) each other: And As poetry is (*illeg.*) the harmony of words, so musick is that of notes: and as poetry is a rise above prose and oratory, so is Musick the exaltation of poetry. Both of them may excell apart, but sure they are most excellent when they are joind, because *then*, nothing is (then) wanting to either of their perfections: for *then* thus they appeare, like wit & beauty in the same person. *Painting* is, indeed, another sister, being like them, an Imitation of Nature: but I may venture to say she is a *dun.b* Lady, whose charmes are onely to the eye: a Mute actour upon the stage, who can neither be heard nor read there, nor read afterwards. Besides, that she is a single piece; to be seen onely in one place, at once: but the other two, can propagate their species; and as many printed (or written) cotypes as there are of a poem or a pie composition of Musick, in so many severall places (at the same time), the poem & the Musick, may be read, & practisd, and admir'd. Thus painting is a confin'd, & solitary Art, the other two are as it were in consort, & diffus'd through the world; partakeing somewhat of the Nature of the Divinity (Deity), which at once is in all places. This is not sayd in disparagement of that noble Art; but onely to give the due precedence, to the others, which are more noble; and which are of nearer kindred to the soule; have less of the matter, & more of the forme; less of the manuall operation, & more of the rationall spirituall part, in our humane nature. Yet let it allwayes be acknowledgd, that painting and Statuary can

<sup>11</sup> Have receiv'd.<sup>12</sup> Blites and Storms.<sup>13</sup> Paragraph.

*express both our actions & our passions: that if they neither speake nor move, they seem to do both: and if they impose on the eye, yet they deceive nobly: when they make shadows pass for substances, and even animate the brass & marble. But poetry and painting have arriv'd to their perfection in our own Country: Musick, is yet but (illeg.) in its Nonage: a prattling foreign forward child which rather gives hope of what it may be heerafter in England, than what it has produc'd already hetherto produc'd (when the Masters of it shall find more encouragement). Tis now learning Italian, which is its best Master; and studying somewhat (a little) of the French ayre, to give it somewhat more of gayety and fashion. Thus being farther<sup>14</sup> from the sun, we are of later growth, than our Neighbor Countreyes; and must be content, to shake off our barbarity by degrees; and leave the hedge notes of our homely Ancestours. The present age seemes already disposd to be refind: and to distinguish betwixt wild fancy, and a just, numerous composition. Thus (So) far, the Genius (and example) of your Grace, has already prevaild on them (us). Many of the Nobility and Gentry, have followd your Illustrious Example in this encouragement (protection)<sup>15</sup> of Musick. Nay even our Poets grow begin to grow ashamd, of their harshness & broken Numbers: and promise to file our uncouth Language, into smother words. For, by their pardon, I may be bold to tell them (say) that hetherto they have not enough considerd, the sweetness & Majesty of Sound: and that the little paines which they have employd on their ragged verses, has been the occasion of our great trouble labour & trouble in the composition of them. And therefore I will presume to tell them, once for all, that if they he who has not (naturally) a good eare, is not very (over) fit for his own trade, but is a very judgment and Flayle to ours. But I am too sensible of my own imperfections to expose the failings of other men, in an Art, which I pretend not to understand; at least not more than Nature teaches me, to abhorre the grateing of unharmonious sounds. Once more therefore I presume, to dedicate (offer) my selfe, & this present composition<sup>16</sup> (with all humility) to your Graces favour, & protection;<sup>17</sup> at least, till I can redeeme so meane a present by offering you one which may better deserve your acceptation. Be pleasd to pardon my Ambition, which had no other meanes to obtaine the honour of being made known to you, but onely this. The Toun, which has been so indulgent to my first endeavours in this kind, has encouragd my me to proceed in the same attempt, and Your Graces acceptance of (favour to) this trifle, will be a good omen (not onely) to the next success of the next, but (also) to all the future performances of*

Your Graces most obedient  
& most Obliged Servant  
Henry Purcell.

Even the signature of Purcell appears to be in the hand of Dryden.

One may conjecture as to what led the critic to strike out his elaborate argument upon the parallel of painting and the other two arts. Was it a limitation of space? Or, more plausibly, was it the thought that his ven-

<sup>14</sup> Thus being farther.

<sup>16</sup> this Composition.

<sup>15</sup> the Patronage.

<sup>17</sup> Grace's Protection.

triloquism could hardly escape discovery when issuing from the mouth of Purcell? Music the latter might pretend to know in its similarities to poetry, but not painting. The other deleted section concerning the musical qualities of poetry—with its gratuitous advice to the generation of bad poets—would have avoided censure only when propounded from the throne at Will's. Certainly it here came ill-timed from the composer. Whatever the cause, both portions by a nice economy were preserved until occasion more suitable should proffer itself.

It was not, however, the thrifty custom of Dryden, as that of Waller or Goldsmith, to treasure his very slightest words. With him the ideas were mulled over, until in due course they became parcel of his prose or poetry, changed in phrase or even contradictory of their original intention, but still recognizable. Thus, most immediately, one might suspect that he would have utilized the material of his first stricken portion for the well-known *Parallel betwixt Poetry and Painting*, 1695, the essay he prefixed to his translation of Fresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*. The suggestion for this latter work has been supposed, by Malone, to have come from the artists, Closterman and Kneller.<sup>18</sup> As Dryden remarked: "Many of our most skilful painters, and other artists, were pleased to recommend this author to me, as one who perfectly understood the rules of painting."<sup>19</sup> The translation was by his statement a two months' interruption of the *Aeneid*, while the *Parallel* was "begun and ended in twelve mornings."<sup>20</sup> Paraphrasing Lord Rochester he enquired of himself: "How the devil he could be so long about it?" But he probably had been about it much longer. As we have observed, the idea of such a *Parallel* had engaged Dryden's interest as early as 1691, which would suggest that the twelve mornings were the culmination of much study and discussion. Did the essay perhaps have its beginning when Dryden struck from his friend's Dedication that passage concerned with painting?

The one passage that seems particularly apposite in the *Parallel* is only so by contrast. Since now he was speaking in his own person, and, according to the new subject-matter, was more favorably disposed towards painting, he assumed as an advantage what in connection with music and from Purcell's viewpoint had appeared a weakness. In the Dedication we may notice his remark that painting "is a single piece; to be seen onely in one place, at once<sup>k</sup>. . . a confined and solitary Art." After some years of consideration, he thus reverses matters:

I must say this to the advantage of Painting, even above Tragedy, that what this last represents in the space of many hours, the former shews us in one

<sup>18</sup> *Prose Works of John Dryden*, I, i, 252.

<sup>19</sup> *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. Ker, II, 114.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 153.

moment. The action, the passion, and the manners of so many persons as are contained in a picture are to be discerned at once, in the twinkling of an eye; at least they would be so, if the sight could travel over so many different objects all at once, or the mind could digest them all at the same instant, or point of time.<sup>21</sup>

Both passages are concerned with the several arts as imitations of nature, but in the latter the treatment is so much more extensive that it would be fruitless to search for parallels. The only additional point of interest here is that the subjects of time, space, and imitation seem generally to proceed hand in hand through Dryden's criticism.

A less obvious place of search proves in all respects more rewarding. Dryden's epistle *To Sir Godfrey Kneller*, 1694, might be considered as the substance of the *Parallel* versified and transmuted into poetry, or, to be curiously exact, the poetic body from which, reversing due order, he derived a prose treatise. And, incidentally, nowhere does he give finer demonstration of the difference between prose and poetry. Quite properly, in an epistle to Kneller, he takes a position favorable to painting. It is now the poet who practices the "confined and solitary art" and not as in the Dedication the painter. With poetic allowance the thought now points in the general direction of the *Parallel*:

But poets are confin'd in narr'wer space,  
To speak the language of their native place:  
The painter widely stretches his command;  
Thy pencil speaks the tongue of ev'ry land.<sup>22</sup>

The Dedication, however, had discovered that "painting is a dumb Lady, whose charmes are onely to the eye: a Mute actour upon the stage, who can neither be heard there, nor read afterwards." The poet treasured the figure until by a turn of "wit" he could transform it into the substance of poetry:

Once I beheld the fairest of her kind:  
(And still the sweet idea charms my mind:)  
True, she was dumb; for Nature gaz'd so long.  
Pleas'd with her work, that she forgot her tongue,  
But, smiling, said: "She still shall gain the prize;  
I only have transferr'd it to her eyes."  
Such are thy pictures, Kneller: such thy skill,  
That Nature seems obedient to thy will;  
Comes out, and meets thy pencil in the draught;  
Lives there, and wants but words to speak her thought.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>22</sup> *The Poetical Works of John Dryden*, ed. Noyes, p. 415, ll. 124-127.

At least thy pictures look a voice; and we  
 Imagine sounds, deceiv'd to that degree,  
 We think 'tis somewhat more than just to see

So much for the charms that were "onely to the eye." By association the poet thence turned to the metaphysics of shadows:

Shadows are but privations of the light;  
 Yet, when we walk, they shoot before the sight,  
 With us approach, retire, arise, and fall;  
 Nothing themselves, and yet expressing all.  
 Such are thy pieces, imitating life  
 So near, thy almost conquer'd in the strife;  
 And from their animated canvas came,  
 Demanding souls, and loosen'd from the frame.<sup>23</sup>

The more ancient matter of the prose *Dedication* in this case had anticipated the very words:

Yet let it allways be acknowledgd, that painting and Statuary can express both our actions & our passions: that if they neither speake nor move, they seem to do both: and if they impose on the eye, yet they deceive nobly: when they make shadows pass for substances, and even animate the brass & marble.

The task seemed to Dryden prometheian; and so, by time and association, the figure was thus transmuted:

Prometheus, were he here, would cast away  
 His Adam, and refuse a soul to clay;  
 And either would thy noble work inspire,  
 Or think it warm enough without his fire.<sup>24</sup>

Whatever the advantages that Dryden, according to the circumstances of his writing, assigned the different arts, still they are "Sisters, which walking hand in hand, support and grace each other," though one of them, he ventures to say in the *Dedication*, is "a dumb Lady, whose charmes are onely to the eye." Such close relationship of the arts—a conception not so daring that it might not be duplicated from other writers—had appeared in Dryden's poetry at least so early as 1685. In the sub-title of his *Ode to Mrs. Anne Killigrew*, Dryden had noted that the subject of his poem was "Excellent in the Two Sister-Arts of Poesy and Painting." More specific is the character given to painting in the *Ode* itself, where it is said that:

all the large demains which the *Dumb Sister* sway'd,  
 All bow'd beneath her government;<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1-21.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 22-25.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213, ll. 102-103.

an idea which recurred some nine years later in the address *To Sir Godfrey Kneller*. Doubtless many such analogies might be discovered in the course of Dryden's poetry and prose.

It remains only to account for the second of the two long passages deleted from the *Dedication*. Therein, speaking as the musician, who had been troubled to set their "ragged verses," Dryden had taken to task the race of contemporary poets for their slight consideration of "the sweetness and Majesty of Sound." To this theme Dryden frequently reverted, most closely, perhaps, by phrase and context in his *Postscript* to the translation of Virgil, 1697. Something at last he would do for the honor of his language and reputation of English poetry abroad:

Somewhat (give me leave to say) I have added to both of them in the choice of words, and harmony of numbers, which were wanting, especially the last, in all our poets, even in those who, being endued with genius, yet have not cultivated their mother-tongue with sufficient care; or, relying on the beauty of their thoughts, have judged the ornament of words, and sweetness of sound, unnecessary.<sup>26</sup>

With this we may end. It is an accurate postscript to the poet's revisions of his prose *Dedication*, where every word is chosen with an ear to both the sense and the sound; and the clue that explains his transposition of prose into poetry, where from long cultivation of his mother tongue he relies equally upon the beauty of his thought and the harmony of his numbers.

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<sup>26</sup> Ker, *op. cit.*, II, 241.

## LXVII

### FORGED LETTERS OF LAURENCE STERNE

AS many have learned to their dismay, the materials upon which Sterne's biography is at present based offer problems of unusual complexity, problems that are due in part to the man's intricate and elusive nature and in part to his daughter and to his swarm of imitators. Sterne, it is evident, was too great a humorist ever to be quite honest either with his own or with future generations. He amused himself in his letters by deceiving his contemporaries and mystifying posterity. For many years now his devices have been familiar matter: he rewrote his letters with his eye upon the press; sometimes he made portions of a letter serve more than one correspondent; and, though lately we have known it, he readdressed a letter much after the manner of Pope in the expectation that the substituted name of Eliza Draper would make a better impression than that of an unidentified countess.

Nor have his daughter and his imitators exactly resolved the perplexities of biographers. Lydia, who in 1775 edited three volumes of her father's letters, was so irresponsible as to suggest to Wilkes that if he would write a few letters in imitation of Sterne's style she would insert them as genuine. By suppressing names of persons mentioned in the letters she made identification of some of them practically out of the question. To add to this confusion, which a discreet though foolish daughter purposely created, the forgers and imitators provided their own deceptions in the wake of the colossal popularity of Sterne's writings during the last years of the eighteenth century. A forged volume of *Tristram Shandy* appeared in 1760 and another in 1766. Four years later Sterne's acquaintance, Richard Griffith, gulled the public with his *Posthumous Works of a late celebrated Genius*, a book which Goethe believed genuine and which the credulous Alfred Hédouin actually translated in 1853.<sup>1</sup> It was not perhaps without a hope of profit that upwards of ninety imitations of Sterne were published between 1760 and 1800.

Although forgeries of Sterne's great novel no longer raise doubts as to their being forgeries, they are useful at least in suggesting that since Sterne's fiction was deemed profitable to imitate his letters too may have suffered the attention of the forger. One has, in fact, only to turn to the whole corpus of published letters purporting to be written by him to perceive that some of them did not meet with entire acceptance from

<sup>1</sup> Harvey W. Thayer, *Laurence Sterne in Germany* (New York, 1905), pp. 74, 103-108.



critics even in the eighteenth century. To examine these doubtful letters, of which I distinguish forty-seven, is merely to discover reasons enough why they may not lightly be attributed to Sterne. If, then, they prove to be forgeries, the familiar biographies of Sterne have been partially vitiated by a reliance upon them. And yet, should they by any chance contain fragments of genuine information respecting Sterne or even writing by him, it would be unwise to dismiss them wholly. Clearly a means of determining the nature of each of the forty-seven letters in question is imperative. And since no manuscript authority is known to exist for these particular letters, the enquirer is thrust back upon familiar and alternative methods of detection.

The first of these methods consists in listening to an author's verbal rhythms and in judging the questioned document by means of the similarity or dissimilarity of rhythm. It consists ultimately in saying to oneself, "I do (or I don't) think this sounds like —." To be sure, Spedding has employed it with impressive results. But the method is more serviceable in determining the authorship of verse than of prose. There is Coleridge's superb folly to remember, when in demonstrating the Porter's speeches in *Macbeth* to be an interpolation "perhaps with Shakspeare's consent" he declared emphatically that with the exception of two sentences "of the rest not one syllable has the ever-present being of Shakspeare." The method has the weakness of rarely bringing combatants upon common ground. It is so much a matter of my ear versus thy ear. Hence in this study of forty-seven suspicious letters I do not rest my case upon observed differences of prose rhythm and, because they are only less tenuous, of content and reflected personality. I prefer to this method the more pedestrian one of parallel passages. These I have noted. I have considered them both frequently and skeptically. And I have always returned to my initial belief that the writer of the forty-seven letters among which these passages are to be found was not Sterne but his friend and imitator, William Combe, the author of the *Tours of Dr. Syntax*.

Early in his life Combe, as a smart young fellow about town, attached himself to the circle of Sterne's admirers. Born in Bristol about 1741, he had at an early age come up to London where he "learnt accounts at a School in Windmill Street."<sup>2</sup> At twelve he entered Eton, remained there three years,<sup>3</sup> and in 1756 dipped for a time into that obscurity which too frequently surrounds him. He is said by one biographer<sup>4</sup> to

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Farington, *The Farington Diary* (London, 1922-28), I, 114.

<sup>3</sup> R. A. Austen-Leigh, *The Eton College Register 1753-1790* (Eton, 1921), p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Ackermann's *Repository of Arts*, Aug. 1823, p. 87.

have attended Oxford in 1760 and by another<sup>5</sup> to have made a tour upon the Continent, after which in 1766 he entered the office of a solicitor in the Temple and was later called to the bar. Records to substantiate these remarks are forthcoming neither from Oxford nor from the Inns of Court.<sup>6</sup> But we are told that at this period in his life he "possessed some fortune, a graceful person, elegant manners, a taste for literature, and an extensive acquaintance,"<sup>7</sup> all of which blessings had been aided by the will of his benefactor, Alderman William Alexander, who died September 23, 1762, leaving him a fortune of £2000. This indeed was a smaller sum than Walpole<sup>8</sup> and Farington<sup>9</sup> thought he had received. In any event he moved liberally among young men of wealth. In their company he may have met Sterne, introduced by mutual acquaintances such as Sir James Macdonald, Lord Beauchamp, and John Constantine Phipps, all of whom had been his schoolfellows at Eton. The time of this meeting was probably the year 1765 when Combe subscribed to the third and fourth volumes of the Sermons of Mr. Yorick. The next year, in July, 1766, Sterne refers in a letter to his having left him his postchaise.<sup>10</sup> A month later, writing to Becket from Coxwold, he enquires: "Is Mr Combes in Town? If you see him, tell him to write to me."<sup>11</sup> Further indication of intimacy between them appears to lie in a letter Sterne presumably wrote to Combe in 1767.<sup>12</sup> Finally we have Crabbe Robinson's *Diary*:

Of these connections, and of the adventures of his youth, he [Combe] was very fond of talking, and I used to enjoy the anecdotes he told me after dinner, until one day, when he had been very communicative, and I had sucked in all he related with greedy ear, Fraser said, laughing to Walter, "Robinson, you see, is quite a flat; he believes all old Combe says." . . . This, of course, was a sad interruption to my pleasure. I might otherwise have enriched these reminiscences with valuable facts about Sterne.<sup>13</sup>

If we may trust the purport of Ox 177, which Governor Cross believes addressed to this slippery scapegrace, the collapse of Combe's finances in 1767 obliged him to take refuge in France. For some years he occupied himself with the transient offices of an adventurer, and wandered, it is

<sup>5</sup> J. C. Hotten, ed., *Dr. Syntax's Three Tours*, by William Combe (London [1868]), p. viii

<sup>6</sup> Information from H. A. C. Sturgess, Librarian and Keeper of the Records, Middle Temple Library.

<sup>7</sup> *Repository of Arts* (London, 1823), 3rd Ser., II, 87.

<sup>8</sup> *Letters of Horace Walpole*, Supplement, II, 153.

<sup>9</sup> *The Farington Diary*, I, 114.

<sup>10</sup> Ox., pp. 281, 282, n. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Ox., p. 288.

<sup>12</sup> Ox., pp. 293-294.

<sup>13</sup> Henry Crabbe Robinson, *Diary* (London, 1869), I, 294. Robinson understood Combe to have been a man of fortune when young, to have travelled in Europe and even to have made a journey with Sterne (I, 293).

said, even into Wales.<sup>14</sup> It is not until 1775 that he is again seen, this time at Bristol as the author of a play, *The Flattering Milliner; or a Modern Half-Hour*. A year later, upon the occasion of his marriage,<sup>15</sup> he was living in London. He had now definitely adopted the profession of writing. At Bristol in 1775 he had prepared a sentimental excursion in the style of his hero Sterne and published it under the title *The Philosopher in Bristol*. At about the same time he appears to have concocted the series of Sterne's letters which along with a few genuine letters were published in 1775 (A). These he supplemented in 1779, at least according to his own declaration, with two small volumes bearing the title *Letters supposed to have been written by Yorick and Eliza* (B). Nine years later, in 1788, he evidently had the principal hand in the publication of *Original Letters of the late Reverend Mr. Laurence Sterne* (C). In 1784 he added to his list of imitations of Sterne his *Original Love-Letters between A Lady of Quality and A Person of Inferior Station* (OL), and in 1797 *Fragments in the Manner of Sterne* (Frag). Finally in 1803 he concluded his tawdry practice by inserting in the *Pic Nic* (D), a periodical he edited for the Pic Nic Society, three letters purporting to be by Sterne. Combe, we now know, was their author. That they may prove of invaluable assistance in our examination of the questioned documents is obvious.

Table of Abbreviations

<i>Ox</i>	<i>Letters of Laurence Sterne</i> , ed. L. P. Curtis, Oxford, 1935.	<i>Mem Ox</i>	Sterne's 'Memorandums.' Reprinted in <i>Ox</i> 146-148.
<i>Let Bk Ox</i>	Sterne's <i>Letter Book</i> , MS.: The Morgan Library. Reprinted in <i>Ox</i> .	<i>TS</i>	<i>Works of Laurence Sterne</i> . Oxford, 1926-27. <i>The Life and Opinions of</i> <i>Tristram Shandy</i> . Vols. I, II, III.
<i>Med Ox</i>	<i>Letters of the late Rev. Mr. Laurence Sterne</i> , ed. Lydia Sterne Medalle. 3 vols. London, 1775. Reprinted in <i>Ox</i> .	<i>SJ</i>	<i>Id.</i> , <i>A Sentimental Journey</i> .
<i>JE Ox</i>	Sterne's <i>Journal to Eliza</i> . MS.: Brit. Mus., Addit. MSS., 34527. Reprinted in <i>Ox</i> .	<i>Serm</i>	<i>Id.</i> , <i>The Sermons of Mr. Yorick</i> . Vols. I, II.
		<i>A</i>	Sterne's <i>Letters to His Friends on Various Occasions</i> . London, 1775.
<i>YE Ox</i>	<i>Letters of Yorick to Eliza</i> . London, 1775. Reprinted in <i>Ox</i> .	<i>B</i>	Laurence Sterne ( <i>sic</i> ), <i>Second Journal to Eliza</i> ,

<sup>14</sup> *The Farington Diary*, I, 169.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 239 n.

	ed. M. R. B. Shaw. <i>Frag</i>	[William Combe], <i>Frag-</i>
	London, 1929.	<i>ments in the Manner of</i>
<b>C</b>	<i>Original Letters of the late</i>	Sterne London, 1797.
	<i>Reverend Mr. Laurence</i>	<i>Let Mar</i>
	<i>Sterne</i> . London: Logo-	[William Combe], <i>Letters</i>
	graphic Press, 1788.	<i>to Marianne</i> . London,
		1823.
<b>D</b>	<i>The Pic Nic</i> , 2nd ed. Lon-	<i>Rep</i>
	don, 1806. Vol. II.	[William Combe], 'Letter
<i>Phil Brist</i>	[William Combe], <i>The</i>	to Rousseau,' Acker-
	<i>Philosopher in Bristol</i> .	mann's <i>Repository of</i>
	Bristol, 1775. Pts. I, II.	<i>Arts</i> . London, 1824.
		3rd Ser., III, 205-210.
<b>OL</b>	[William Combe], <i>Orig-</i>	<i>Cross</i>
	<i>inal Love-Letters be-</i>	<i>Works of Laurence Sterne</i> ,
	<i>tween A Lady of Quality</i>	ed. W. L. Cross. New
	<i>and A Person of In-</i>	York, 1904. <i>Journal to</i>
	<i>ferior Station</i> . London,	<i>Eliza and Various Let-</i>
	1784. Vols. I, II.	<i>ters</i> , p. 263.

A figure in boldface type indicates the number of a letter as it appears in the collection to which reference is made. Thus **C** 18. 99. 4 signifies Collection C, letter 18, p. 99, line 4. Roman numerals indicate particular volumes of a work.

Let us turn forthwith to the first of the important titles among these imitations and so-called forgeries.

A. *Sterne's Letters to His Friends on Various Occasions*.  
London 1775.

This was the second collection of Sterne's letters to appear after his death. It was published 12 July, 1775.<sup>16</sup> Of the twelve letters which it contains I admit four as genuine. The remaining eight I consider forgeries by Combe.

Six of the eight letters that I have rejected Combe declared in the preface to *B*<sup>17</sup> to have written himself. It would be impertinent to suggest that he did not speak frankly:

At length a small volume, with the title of *Letters by the late Mr. Sterne*, was published in London, the originality of which was most positively asserted by the Editor in his Preface,<sup>18</sup> and, if I recollect aright, passed current, and not without applause, with the gentlemen who conduct the Reviews. — Of these Letters, the *fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth*, were, I well knew, the offspring of that pen which wrote the contents of the following volumes. — They were written by way of experiment, and made their first appearance in a

<sup>16</sup> *London Chronicle*, 11–13 July, 1775.

<sup>17</sup> *B*, pp. 161–162; *Letters supposed, etc.*, i, ii–iii.

<sup>18</sup> *A*, p. ii.

provincial newspaper; and passing on thro' the common channel of Magazines, Chronicles, Evening-Posts, Journals, &c. &c. &c. were collected together, and, being blended with a few of Mr. Sterne's genuine compositions, were published, with a solemn declaration in the preface, that they were all faithful transcripts of original letters in the possession of the Editor;—nay, I perceived, to my very great astonishment, that one of them had even found its way into Mrs. Medalle's late publication of her father's posthumous works.<sup>19</sup>

But this disarming confession, which has the appearance of truth, has failed to give entire satisfaction. Some years ago Sterne's own copy of the ninth letter, to the composition of which Combe succinctly laid claim, turned up, addressed to Mrs. Vesey, in the *Letter Book* in the Morgan Library.<sup>20</sup> The discovery has led two writers,<sup>21</sup> both of whom were eager to detach *B* from the list of Combe's works and to bestow it upon Sterne, to reject the whole content of his confession. Such an act appears, perhaps, a trifle intemperate once we pause to consider how Combe in attributing to himself a letter Sterne had actually written might easily have erred not from design but from a hurried review of the false letters surrounding it. Indeed with the exception of the letter to Mrs. Vesey, and *A* 8 all the letters Combe attributed to himself contain so remarkable a series of parallels with Sterne's writings that the general truth of his assertion is virtually undeniable. Let us examine a few passages:

*A* 4.—This letter is an invitation from Sterne to a young friend to visit him at Coxwold. A portion of its phrases appear to be the stock in trade of the forger of *C*. Part derive from Sterne:

*A* 4. 16: Some tender-hearted damsel in distress would ever have been my object:—to wipe away the tears from off the cheek of such a friendless fair one.

*SJ* 51: in wiping them away from off the cheeks of the first and fairest of women, as I'm sitting with my handkerchief in my hand in silence the whole night besides her: *SJ* 144, 23–26; *B* 10, 8–10; 23, 9; 150, 9–11; *C* 3. 15, 3–10; 19. 107, 9–12; 36. 203, 16–204, 1; *D* 34, 15–17.

*A* 4. 16: I would go to *Mecca*—and for a friend—to the end of the world.

*TS* III, 53: *Mecca* . . . I would go a pilgrimage.

*Med Ox* 286, 16–17a: I would set out this hour upon a pilgrimage to *Mecca* for their sakes; *Let Bk Ox* 287, 17.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *A* 5, 19–25; *Med.*, II, 216–231.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *A* 9. 44–48; *Let. Bk. Ox.*, 137–138.

<sup>21</sup> *B*, v, xx.

A 4. 16: But wherefore do I think of arms and *Dulcineas*—when, alas, my spear is grown rusty, and is fit only to be hung in the old family hall, among pistols without *cocks*, and helmets that have lost their vizard.

A 4. 17: I fear I have little on my side but laughter and good spirits! these have stood me in great stead for twenty years past.

A 4. 15: I suppose this will overtake you at the Hot-wells, as you are walking a sentimental foot-pace beside some phthisical nymph of the fountain.

A 6—

A 6. 26: I have been much concerned at your overthrow; but our roads are ill contrived for the airy vehicles now in fashion. May it be the last fall you ever meet with in this world!—this reflection costs me a deep sigh—and I fear, my friend, you will get over it no cheaper.

A 6. 28: and all that charmed mankind, and delighted me, become a clod of the valley!

A 6. 28-9: Here, my *Cordelia*, I will weed clean thy grave—I will stretch myself upon it—I will wet it with tears—and the traveller shall not turn aside to observe me.

*Let Bk Ox* 294: *Dulcinea* . . . Ill enter the Lists with him and break a spear in your behalf; tho by the by, mine is half rusty, and should be hung up in the old family hall amongst Pistols without Cocks, and Helmets which have lost their Vizards; *SJ* 58, 25-7, *B* 23, 10-12; *C* 21. 119, 6-9; 25. 139, 12-15; 29. 163, 2-5, 33. 182, 7-9, 34. 189, 18-20.

*TS* III, 1: I swore it should be kept a-going at that rate these forty years, if it pleased but the fountain of life to bless me with health and good spirits; *A* 5. 24, 6-7; *C* 21. 119, 9-12.

(*Cross* 263: “commencing ‘Phthisical Nymph of the Fountain’.” Mrs. Draper to Mrs. James, 15 Apr., 1772.) *C* 8. 44, 2-3; 33. 183, 1-4; *Phil Brist* I, 37; *OL* II, 2, 18-19; *D* 26, 25-26.

*Let Bk Ox* 293: I first sympathize for the unkind greeting upon french ground which you met with by your overthrow—may it be the last shock you receive in this world!—this reflection, costs me a deep sigh—& alas! my friend! I dread it will let you go off no cheaper; *C* 4. 17, 1-7.

*TS* II, 245: and that warm heart of thine, with all its generous and open vessels, compressed into a clod of the valley! (cf. *Job* 21. 33); *C* 18. 100, 6-7; 20. 113, 18-19; *Phil Brist* I, 69; *OL* II, 19, 21-22; *Let Mar* 18.

*Let Bk Ox* 361, 10-11, 32-35: my *Cordelia*! and some kind-hearted Swain shall come and weed our graves, as I have weeded thine. . . . I can lie beside thy grave, and drop tears of tenderness upon the Turf w<sup>ch</sup> covers thee, and not one passenger turn his head aside to remark or envy me.

A 6. 29: excuse the wanderings of my pen; it governs me, I govern not it. *TS II*, 203: Ask my pen,—it governs me,—I govern not it.

A 7—  
A 7. 31: I am still weak, and can hardly make myself heard across my table. *TS III*, 2: Eugenius could scarce hear me speak across the table; *C* 5. 22, 10–11, 27. 150, 13–14; 37. 206, 17–19.

A 7. 35: to put on my fool's cap, and jingle the bells. *TS I*, 95: my cap and bell.

A 7. 36–37: My pen is a leaden one, and it is with some difficulty I trail it on. *JE Ox* 329: if I have strength & Spirits to trail my pen down to the bottom of the page. Combe to Rousseau, *Rep* 207b My pen is so unaccustomed to the business, that it trails heavily along the paper; *B* 151, 24–26, *C* 30. 167, 4–6.

A 8.—Although I have found no parallels to this letter, the anecdote which it contains may, like *B* 24–26, 135–139, be modelled upon sections of *SJ*.

A 10—  
A 10. 49: I am thus far on my way to Shandy-Hall;—two more stages and I shall be at the end of a tedious journey. *Med Ox* 346: I have got conveyed thus far . . . but press on to Barnby Moor to night, and if possible to York the next

A 11—  
A 11. 61: She shall retire to some corner of the world. *Ye Ox* 318: in what corner of the world fancy points out to thee; *Let Bk Ox* 259.  
Combe to Rousseau, *Rep* 205; corner of the world; *C* 5. 26, 8–9.

A 12—  
A 12. 67. you and I were not cast in *one mould*. *Let Bk Ox* 122: the Wise heads I see on the continent are . . . cast in the same Moulds.

Such parallels may seem damning evidence of forgery; at least it would be surprising if more complete proof of Combe's hand were to be disclosed. But we should proceed cautiously. We should note that, although most of the sources are to be found in Sterne's novels, there appear to be a few which, so far as I am aware, are to be found only within the pages of the *Letter Book* and the *Journal to Eliza*. These manuscripts did not happen to be printed until the present century. How did Combe gain access to them? Or did he possess copies of the letters as Sterne had

sent them through the post? Remembering Samuel Rogers's tale to the effect that Combe boasted it was with him, not with Sterne, that Eliza Draper was in love,<sup>22</sup> shall we conclude that she communicated to him manuscripts in her possession? The only known source for *A* 4. 15 would seem to warrant that supposition. But in 1775 Eliza Draper was in India.

There is another difficulty. *A* was published in July, 1775, three months before Lydia issued her important collection of Sterne's letters. Nevertheless *A* contains passages for which I can find sources only within Lydia's edition. As a result, I am obliged to conclude that Combe was acquainted with its contents before publication. At moments I will even suspect him of lending a finger to the rewriting of *Med Ox* 1. That conclusion is one alternative. The other is either to accept Sterne as the author of the entire contents of *A* (and perhaps of all but three of the suspected letters), which decision must collapse into absurdity, or to admit that the questioned documents in *A* are overpaintings, that Combe split up a letter or two in his possession and by copious additions eked out a profitable series. I myself cannot answer these questions and suppositions. I can only postulate the necessity for their existence.

#### *A* 5. The fire letter.

In his preface to *B* Combe said of this letter: "I perceived, to my very great astonishment, that one of them had even found its way into Mrs. Medalle's late publication of her father's posthumous works." Lydia printed it in vol. II, 126-131, addressing it to a certain Mrs. M——d——s and, no matter whether the letter is genuine or not, misdating it. In 1780 the editor of Sterne's *Works*, perhaps acquainted with Combe's declaration, omitted it from his collection of the letters.

Lydia's sanction of the letter is unimportant. She was not a scrupulous editor. We should accept it not upon her authority but upon the merits of its contents. These are precisely what most warn us against it. We note as parallels:

<i>A</i> 5. 19, 1-3.	<i>TS</i> II, 174, 4; III, 145, 1-2; <i>C</i> 16. 89, 19-90, 1; 28. 158, 1.
<i>A</i> 5. 20, 10-15.	<i>Med Ox</i> 256, 30; <i>C</i> 9. 46, 9-11.
<i>A</i> 5. 21, 1.	<i>C</i> 9. 47, 1; <i>D</i> 80, 4.
<i>A</i> 5. 21, 1-3.	<i>C</i> 9. 46, 18-19.
<i>A</i> 5. 21, 3-5.	<i>C</i> 9. 48, 9-12.
<i>A</i> 5. 21, 4-5.	<i>JE Ox</i> 336, 10-11; <i>C</i> 4. 19, 8-9; 28. 159, 7-8.

<sup>22</sup> *Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers*, ed. Dyce (New Southgate, 1887), p. 116.



- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| A 5. 21, 8-12.  | C 9. 49, 5-11.  |
| A 5. 21, 12-13. | C 9. 48, 14-15.   |
| A 5. 21, 14-17. | C 9. 48, 16-19.   |
| A 5. 22, 3.     | <i>SJ</i> 13, 6-8; C 9. 49, 11-13.                                      |
| A 5. 22, 11-13. | <i>Med Ox</i> 234, 5-6.   |
| A 5. 23, 2-5.   | <i>Med Ox</i> 353, 14-15b, 90, 24; C 3. 14, 2, D 27, 1-4.               |
| A 5. 23, 10-12. | A 4. 14, 1-12; <i>Med Ox</i> 254, 6-14a; C 8. 43, 7-14; 21. 118, 16-18. |
| A 5. 23, 15.    | <i>TS</i> II, 111, 3-4; III, 1, 2; C 5. 23, 7.                          |
| A 5. 24, 4-11.  | <i>TS</i> III, 1, 8-10; III, 1-3; A 4. 17, 1-10; C 21. 119, 9-12.       |

It is apparent that Combe stole heavily from this letter when preparing C 9. We might in consequence argue that his use of it is proof of its authenticity. But if we examine the method Combe employed in developing the "nun theme,"<sup>23</sup> a suggestion for which he had found in *Let Bk Ox* 201, in view of the numerous parallels with *TS* which the letter contains together with borrowings from A 4., we are certainly justified in associating the reappearance of the "fire theme" with that of the nuns of Byland Abbey.

*B. Letters supposed to have been written by Yorick and Eliza.*

London, Printed for J. Bew, 1779, 2 vols. Reprinted as  
Sterne's *Second Journal to Eliza*, ed. M. R. B. Shaw,  
London, 1929. References to *B* indicate the reprint.

The authorship of this work was quietly submitted by Combe's bookseller Bew in 1784 when at the end of the second volume of *OL* he advertised the book among others by Combe. Many years later Combe himself included it in a list of his writings: "Letters supposed to have passed between Sterne and Eliza. 2 vols."<sup>24</sup> Here then, we might argue, is a genuine imitation by Combe, one which, like the letters in *Pic Nic*, might serve to test the validity of *C*. But not many years ago these letters were reprinted under the title of Sterne's *Second Journal to Eliza*. The editor of the reprint, Miss M. R. B. Shaw, in the conviction that the authorship of these little volumes was pilfered by Combe, sketches in her introduction her reasons for restoring the work to Sterne. Possessing as she does a truly exquisite ear for prose rhythms, she declares that the work "contains no modulation, tonality or cadence foreign to Sterne"<sup>25</sup> and that its style "can bear comparison with Sterne's down to the smallest detail."<sup>26</sup> Hence, she maintains, Combe's stylistic deficiencies render impossible his authorship of "a work which, in characterization, composition, and style reveals a master in the art and craft of letters.

<sup>23</sup> See chart, p. 1093.    <sup>24</sup> *Gent. Mag.*, May, 1852, p. 467.    <sup>25</sup> *B*, xix.    <sup>26</sup> *B*, xvi.

Here all is music, all is 'in tune with itself' . . . Its supreme art . . ."<sup>27</sup> And Miss Shaw proceeds to disclose her sensitive appreciation of the beauties of Sterne's English. But lest anyone cavil with her for resting her case solely upon perfection of style, she examines the literary allusions as well and finds them to be "precisely those that we should expect to find in an authentic work. All Sterne's favourite authors have been laid under contribution, either indirectly or by explicit reference to their works."<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately Miss Shaw neglects to tell us at what point Burton, Cervantes, and Locke exert their influence upon the text of *B*. No more does she explain why Milton, whose name appears, so I think, more often upon Combe's page than upon Sterne's, should be selected for discussion. No doubt this is small matter. But Miss Shaw, firm in her conviction that she is editing a work by the author of *Tristram Shandy*, has more cogent arguments. She has detected, for example, a resemblance between *B* and two passages in *JE*. Wherefore she concludes logically enough that the author of *B* based his work upon Sterne's journal. Still, is it not just possible that Miss Shaw has ignored certain structural similarities between *B* and *YE Ox* which, since it had been published in 1775, was available to Combe as a guide?<sup>29</sup> And was there not a patent forgery with the title *Letters from Eliza to Yorick* published the same year? This too might well have served the author of *B* while preparing Eliza's portion of his book. Indeed it is more plausible to weigh this possibility than to admit with Miss Shaw that Sterne himself was the author of her section. But Miss Shaw does not stop here. She thinks of Sterne quite rightly as a great and painstaking writer. In consequence, having observed the similarities between *B* and *JE*, she concludes that Sterne, growing dissatisfied with the æsthetic unity of the journal he wrote from his sick-bed, abandoned it for *B* which, she feels, is "in every way . . . the natural fulfilment of the first" journal.<sup>30</sup> She continues:

If this work is taken as his, then his other Works [by which is meant the *Political Romance*, *Tristram Shandy*, the *Sentimental Journey*, together with sermons and letters] fall into place as the gradual endeavour of an artist to achieve a more perfect expression of emotional experience, by a process of translation from the world of determined facts into that of the higher, freer, reality of art.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *B*, xv.<sup>28</sup> *B*, xxvii.

<sup>29</sup> In a review of *B* (*Saturday Review of Literature*, vi, 586), Governor Cross observed that the letters reveal "an intimate acquaintance with Sterne's works, with 'Tristram Shandy,' 'A Sentimental Journey,' his sermons, and his letters, which are frequently drawn upon for paraphrase and dilution. With the exception of the last letter, which purports to have been written while death is impending, all the rest, except for some anachronisms, keep close to the period covered by the ten letters from Yorick to Eliza." Cf. Henri Fluchère. "Laurence Sterne et William Combe," *Revue Anglo-Américaine* (av., 1931), pp. 313-328.

<sup>30</sup> *B*, xxxv.<sup>31</sup> *B*, xxxix.

Thus Sterne's perfect utterance becomes the *Second Journal* (*B*). It is, so the editor with pardonable emphasis avers:

the supreme *apologia* of Sterne's genius, the most penetrating and judicious study of his personality that has yet been written, and one that, by its organic connection with his Works, transcends the limits of an imitation.<sup>32</sup>

I shall not offer arguments against so large a statement. I shall simply confess my inability to recognize Laurence Sterne in the self-conscious exquisite whom Miss Shaw portrays. William Combe, on the other hand, appears to me to receive less consideration from Miss Shaw than his literary merit would seem to require. Assuredly he was not unintelligent. The myriad parallels noted below under *C* are in themselves a valid instance. And even *B*, which was never intended to be other than a series of letters *supposed* to have been written by Sterne and Mrs. Draper, is a meritorious, if now contested, imitation. Combe, let it be said, possessed the tricky skill Miss Shaw would deny him. His memory was keen, his familiarity with Sterne's life and writings most intimate, his sense of Sterne's rhythms adequate. What he lacked (his want of the faculty is apparent on every page of his imitations of Sterne) was his hero's gift of incisive thinking. Combe's cloudy trivialities are not the stuff of Sterne's prose.

But we must limit ourselves to a consideration of parallel passages. A glance at those noted between *B* and certain miscellaneous passages may prompt us to restore to Combe that which he declared he made.

*a. B 11:* I had breakfasted at a coffehouse, among pert, ignorant ensigns, and grey-haired letchers.

[? Derived from Hill's account of Sterne's jest at the expence of a captain in a York coffehouse; cf. *London Chronicle* 3-6 May, 1760, 434-435. Quoted by Cross, *Life*, 125-126.]

*b. B 12:* Do thy shipmates, Eliza, answer the expectation thou hadst formed of them? . . . I am . . . jealous of the young Son of Battle who accompanies thee. . . . I am really apprehensive that he will fall violently in love with thee. . . . On the same ship with Eliza for six whole months together!

*YE Ox 314-315:* I think you could act no otherwise than you did with the young soldier. . . . I think it . . . likely that he attaches himself to thee, Eliza . . . Five months with Eliza; and in the same room; and an amorous son of Mars besides!

*c. B 13:* I hope the pianoforte keeps in tune.

*YE Ox 310:* your piano fort  must be tuned.

<sup>32</sup> *B*, xxxviii.

d. B 20: I did not write merely to be read,—but to be studied.

e. B 23: I will furbish up my armour,—and sharpen my spear—and brighten my target,—and put a new vizor to my helmet, and be thy knight,—and sally forth, my fair Dulcinea, in defence of thy injured virtue.

f B 72: you may add this to the other Essays of an unfortunate Indian Lady.

g. B 150: the tears are now upon my cheek.—As I wipe them off,—I pray the Angel of Pity to stretch forth his hand,—and wipe thine away for ever!

h. B 16: I am resolved therefore, to have a few casts in plaister of Paris from the marble busts of me done by the celebrated *Nollikens* when I was at Rome; a couple of which I will order to be well glazed in imitation of marble.

i. B 43: I see the white cliffs of Albion lift their heads above the sea.

j. B 107: How did it happen that they had not a place in your *Sentimental Journey*?—But I recollect . . . that you have not yet, in your sentimental travels, reached Italy.<sup>34</sup>

*Med Ox* 90: I wrote not to be *fed*, but to be *famous*.

*Let Bk Ox* 291. I'll put off my Cassoc & turn Knight Errant for you, & say the kindest things of you to Dulcinea that Dulcinea ever heard. . . . I'll enter the Lists with him, and break a spear in your behalf; tho by the by, mine is half rusty, and should be hung up in the old family hall amongst Pistols!

*YE Ox* 320–321: I shall print your letters, as finished essays, “by an unfortunate Indian lady.”

*TS* II, 214: The *accusing spirit* which flew up to heaven's chancery with the oath, blush'd as he gave it in—and the *recording angel* as he wrote it down, dropped a tear upon the word, and blotted it out for ever.

*Public Advertiser*, 13 Feb., 1771, 1: “A Bust of the late Reverend Mr. Sterne.

. . . T. Becket, Bookseller in the Strand is ready to deliver to Subscribers a Bust of the above celebrated Genius, done from a Marble one which he sat to at Rome, executed by the famous Noliken. . . . The price in plain Plaister is One Guinea, or if done in Imitation of Marble, or bronzed, they will be Six Shillings more.”<sup>35</sup>

*Letters of Eliza to Yorick*, London 1775, 45 [a forgery]: I can no longer behold the white cliffs of thy native land.

*Id.* 17: I received your *Sentimental Journey*.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> This advertisement, which seems to be the source for the corresponding passage in *B*, appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, it will be observed, three years after Sterne's death.

k. B 24n. Author's note: "This story has already appeared in a little local work, called the *Philosopher in Bristol*;—but although it may be found there,—yet as it was originally written for these volumes, it stands in its proper place."

Phil Brist. [By Combe.]

l. B 147: I love consistency in everything. . . . But of all the blunders of tasteless artists, or tasteless employers of them,—none can be so absurd as the introducing Grecian columns, etc., into Gothic buildings—I really lament the case of these fair daughters of ancient Art, when I see them in some of our Gothic cathedrals

[Combe], *History of the University of Cambridge* (London, 1815), II, 293: Of Gibbs's Senate House and its relation to King's College Chapel Combe wrote "Notwithstanding the acknowledged beauty of its elevation, yet 'when viewed in connection with King's College Chapel, it loses something of its magnificence by being placed in the vicinity of that celebrated structure.' Perhaps it may not be going too far to accuse the projectors both of the senate-house and the front of the public library, of a deficiency in just taste, evinced by their placing designs so totally incongruous in respect of architectural rules by the side of that venerable Gothic pile."

m B 27: When I am at Coxwold . . . I go to . . . the ruins of a Benedictine Monastery, about a mile and a half from my cottage . . . Many parts of the ruin are still entire, the refectory is almost perfect, and great part of the chapel has hitherto defied the power of time.

[Byland Abbey, built by monks of the Cistercian reform.] Cf. *Gent. Mag.*, Aug., 1811, 108. the "habitable parts of this Monastery have disappeared, if we except some slight vestiges to the South of the Church." The writer of this article is at a loss to locate the foundations of the refectory.

n. B 50: I had seen Nature in every dress,—in the savage rudeness of the

OL II, 100: *Browne*,<sup>35</sup> whom I consider as the *Claude Lorrain* of garden-

<sup>34</sup> These parallel passages are supposedly written in the early spring of 1767. But *SJ*, to which both allude, was at this moment little more than a few notes and was not published until Feb., 1768. Miss Shaw justifies the anachronism on the grounds that "Sterne, it is well known, was in the habit of making modifications of this kind" (*B*, xxvii). It is difficult to reconcile this explanation with the appearance of the same "modification" in the forged *Letters from Eliza to Yorick* which was published four years before *B*.

uncultivated mountain, and exquisitely adorned by Taste and her disciple Brown.<sup>35</sup>

ers . . . an improver of Nature with the implements of Nature.

Besides these suggestions of imposture and of Combe, there remains for consideration a group of phrases, to be found here and there among the letters of *B*, which afford quite as convincing proof of Combe's hand as any of the above parallels. The words *chaunted* (*B* 21) and *chaunt* (*B* 25) are uncharacteristic of Sterne. Suspicious likewise, because they recall a host of similar phrases appearing throughout the letters I believe Combe to have written, are such touchstones as "gouty world of its spleen" (*B* 133), "smooth thy pillow" (*B* 134), "vaticinated my destiny" (*B* 150), "that kind Being" (*B* 152) and a passage (*B* 148-150) devoted to Archbishops Sterne and Drummond. In my opinion these phrases are virtual proof of forgery. But I am well aware that to another they may not be such, since Sterne's own letters betray many occasions when he copied directly from himself. His letter to Lord Shelburne (*Med Ox* 196) is the most glaring illustration of his duplicity. Almost its entire contents are lifted from two passages in *JE*. Elsewhere his letters iterate a phrase or a series of sentences that he has already sent to other correspondents. Whence, it would seem, the occurrence of parallel passages in any collection of letters alleged to be his, far from furnishing proof of the presence of forgery, should on the contrary supply us with valid reasons for believing such letters genuine. But this argument is not based upon an intimate knowledge either of Sterne's habit of copying from himself or of the method employed by the writer of the questioned letters. Sterne copied from himself only upon occasion. In general, so far as is known, he relied upon fresh invention. But the writer of the letters under consideration, in order to simulate Sterne's style, was obliged to copy and recopy at almost every turn. This distinction, which is fundamental, is evident upon comparison of the parallels noted throughout my edition of Sterne's *Letters* with the bewildering number revealed in this study. In fine, throughout the entire series of Sterne's genuine letters, for the most part filled with accounts of his doings of which the doubtful letters are singularly innocent, the habit of repetition is at best infrequent, whereas among the latter a phrase is repeated until, as with Elaine's muttering, the ear wearies to hear it. And when Combe in established forgeries (*D*) is found using the tell tale phrase, there is only one conclusion to make, namely, that the phrase was part of his stock in trade and that letters, for the genuineness of which no authority exists, which

<sup>35</sup> This reference to the landscape gardener Lancelot Brown (1715-1783) is not especially characteristic of Sterne.

contain it, are from his pen and from no other. For it is not so much his anachronisms that detect him as it is the manner in which he manufactured his forgeries and imitations of Sterne.

*C. Original Letters of the late Reverend Mr. Laurence Sterne,  
London, Printed at the Logographic Press, 1788.*

This collection of thirty-nine letters, from which I have accepted three as presumably genuine,<sup>36</sup> was published in April, 1788. Despite the statement on the title-page that the letters were "Hitherto unpublished," thirty had already appeared in the *European Magazine* between February, 1787, and January, 1788. No preface, attesting the authenticity of the collection, accompanied the volume. As a result the *Critical Review*<sup>37</sup> remained cautious:

The Letters are really excellent, and truly Shandean: they are such as Sterne might have written, or as he would not have disowned. From the internal evidence, there is no reason to doubt of their being genuine; but, if we compare them with the Letters published by Mrs. Medalle, they are so much superior, in point of correctness and elegance, that, if they are Sterne's, they must have been written by him with no common care. . . . On the whole, if they are not written by Sterne, they are superior to his real Letters.

The *Analytical Review*<sup>38</sup> denounced them: "We suppose very few, who peruse these letters, will hesitate a moment to pronounce them spurious, and, as such, will pass them over with contempt." In modern times the late Sir Sidney Lee rejected them,<sup>39</sup> but Mr. Lewis Melville and the late Mr. Sichel have quoted from them not infrequently. Governor Cross, who at one time was surprised that "this correspondence could ever have been regarded as genuine,"<sup>40</sup> has in later years come to believe that "most of them are in substance genuine beyond reasonable doubt."<sup>41</sup> The whole collection was reprinted in the *Works of Laurence Sterne* (Oxford 1926-27), *Letters*, 195-293.

External proof of Combe's authorship of *C* is not wanting. Besides confessing himself the writer of *B*, Combe laid claim to "letters in imitation of Mr. Sterne. 1 vol."<sup>42</sup> On first thought we are apt to identify this title with *A* until we note the association between Combe and the

<sup>36</sup> *Ox*, 126, 144, 147.

<sup>37</sup> June, 1788, pp. 439-440.

<sup>38</sup> July, 1788, p. 335.

<sup>39</sup> *D.N.B.*, *v.s.* Sterne, LIV, 218a.

<sup>40</sup> *Works of Laurence Sterne* (New York, 1904), *Letters and Miscellanies*, i, xxviii.

<sup>41</sup> *Life* (New Haven, 1925), II, 278. In the last edition of *Life* (p. 611) he suggests that "several of them are in substance genuine."

<sup>42</sup> Three lists of Combe's acknowledged writings were printed by Robert Cole in *Gent Mag.*, May, 1852, pp. 467-469. A fourth list Hotten compiled for his edition of Combe's *Doctor Syntax's Three Tours* (London, 1868), xxv, n. 3, XL-XLVIII.

printer of *C* which issued, we know, from the Logographic Press. In 1784 John Walter, later to be famous as the founder of *The Times*, had set up an office under Royal Letters Patent "for printing by words intire instead of single Letters,"<sup>43</sup> a process which he termed logography. Between 1784 and the year in which *C* appeared he printed forty books. Two years later, in 1790, he published Combe's continuation of Le Sage's *Le Diable Boiteux*, the *Devil upon Two Sticks in England*. Combe, we know, was Walter's associate at this time. In 1787 the first part of his edition of Anderson's *History of Commerce* issued from the Logographic Press and was followed two years later by a further example of his editing, Meares' *Voyages to the North West Coast of America*.<sup>44</sup> During this period he was doubtless a contributor to the columns of Walter's *Universal Register*.<sup>45</sup> And when in 1788 that paper changed its name to *The Times*, Combe remained in close relations with it, lending his hand and advice to Printing House Square until he was past seventy-five years of age.<sup>46</sup> It is thus by no mere coincidence that Walter should have chanced to print both his friend's continuation of a novel by Le Sage and what is apparently a forged edition of Sterne's letters. Internal evidence points to William Combe as the author of *C*. His association with Walter serves to buttress suspicion with something just short of proof.

*C* 1.—This letter (see Chart) is perhaps the most interesting example of Combe's method. It describes Sterne's visit to nuns whom he imagined to reside among the ruins of Byland Abbey, a Cistercian monument near Coxwold. No mention of such visits occurs in Sterne's published writings until April 16, 1767, when he alluded to the nuns in *JE*. A fuller reference, that which evidently served Combe as a source, appears in *Lct Bk Ox* 360–361. Acquainted with Sterne's fanciful revery, Combe, it seems, sketched his version in *A* 6, developed it four years later in *B*, and in 1787 published in a magazine a third variant which the next year he incorporated into *C*. A fourth version Combe forged for the *Pic Nic* (*D*) in 1803.

<sup>43</sup> *London Chronicle*, 22-4 Apr., 1784, p. 397. Cf. C. H. Timperley, *Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote* (London, 1842), p. 749; *Macmillan's Magazine*, Nov., 1878, 17–22; *D.N.B.*, v.s. Walter, LIX, 248; *History of the Times*, I, 1785–1841 (London, 1935), pp. 3 ff.

<sup>44</sup> *History of the Times*, I, 13.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 32

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 133, 135.



C 1: Combe's use of the "nun theme," 1775-1803

1775 A	1779 B	1788 C	1803 D
I visited my abbey, as usual, every evening p. 28	To this place, after my coffee, unless prevented by inclement skies, I guide my daily steps p. 27	every day after coffee, I will take you to pay a visit to my nuns p. 2.	To this . . . spot, I take my walk every day after I have taken my coffee. p. 81.
		Have . . . patience, and I will tell you. p 2	have a little patience . . . to hear me out p. 80
		You must know then p 2	You must know then p. 80
	an afternoon pilgrimage I frequently make to the ruins of a Benedictine Monastery, about a mile and a half from my cottage p. 27.	on passing out of my back door, I very soon gain a path, which . . . brings me, in about twenty minutes to the ruins of a monastery p. 2.	about two miles behind my house, there is a fine ruin of a benedictine abbey. p. 80.
	'The pathway leads, by a gentle descent, thro' many beautiful enclosures and embowering thickets p. 27	after conducting me through several verdant meadows and shady thickets. p. 2.	A path, shaded by tall hedge-rows, through a succession of meadows pp. 80-81.
	I go to visit my nuns' p. 27.	This saunter of mine, when I take it, I call <i>paying a visit to my nuns.</i> p. 3.	This I call visiting my nuns p 81.
	These remains are situated on the banks of a clear gliding stream; on the opposite sidewhereof rises a bold ridge of hills, thick with wood—and finely varied by jutting rocks and broken precipices;—and these are so very abrupt, that they . . . encrease the solemnity of the place p. 27.	It is an awful spot—a rivulet flows by it, and a lofty bank, covered with wood, that rises abruptly on the opposite side, gives a gloom to the whole, and forbids the thoughts . . . from wandering from the place. p. 3.	It is by the side of a river, whose opposite bank rises in somewhat of a mountainous form; and where the craggs blend romantically with the wood that hangs about them. p. 81.

1775 A	1779 B	1788 C	1803 D
	then, perhaps, I lean over a neighbouring gate, and watch the gliding brook before me. p. 28.	So I lean, lackadaysically, over a gate, and look at the passing stream. p. 4.	Or sometimes I lean against a gate, and contemplate the arches p. 81.
far removed from the noise and bustle of a malicious world p. 28.	Here is it that I catch those <i>sombre</i> tints of sentiment which I sometimes give to the world—to humanize and rob it of its spleen p. 28.	and forgive the spleen, the gout, and the envy of a malicious world p. 4.	and then I return home to resume my pen, with the hope of doing some good to a gouty and splenetic world p. 81.
amid the mouldering arches of ancient greatness I take my solitary walk p. 28.		after having taken a stroll beneath mouldering arches, I summon the sisterhood. p. 4.	I . . . contemplate the arches p. 81.
	sometimes I sit me down upon a stone. p. 28 A few bunches of alders grow fantastically among the broken columns. p. 27.	and take the fairest among them, and sit down with her . . . beneath a bunch of alders. p. 4.	There I sit down upon the fragment of a pillar, beside a knot of alder trees. p. 81.

Parallels from Sterne are not wanting:

C 1. 1: running at the ring of pleasure.	TS III, 73: running at the ring of pleasure.
C 1. 4: I lean, lackadaysically.	SJ 64: in my lack-a-day-sical manner; C 16. 86, 19; 37. 205, 7.
C 1. 4: Fie, for shame! Tristram.	TS I, 54: Fy! Mr. <i>Shandy</i> ; D 80, 23.
C 1. 5: philosophers . . . in opposition to all their saws and see-saws.	Serm I, 222: see-saws of philosophy; C 2. 10, 19; 7. 37, 8–9; 20. 110, 13–14; 29. 160, 5.
C 1. 5. when he is pursuing some <i>Dulcinea</i> .	Med Ox 256: I myself must ever have some <i>dulcinea</i> in my head; <i>Let Bk Ox</i> 294, 10; B 23, 13; C 14. 74, 8; 29. 163, 3; 33. 183, 8.
C 1. 5: at the end of the chapter.	TS I, 22: to the very end of the chapter; D 26, 10.

- C 2. 7, 5. *SJ* 149, 1-2.  
 C 2. 7, 17-20. *TS* I, Dedication, 7-8.  
 C 2. 8, 5. *TS* II, 117, 1; *ibid.* III, 69, 15.  
 C 2. 9, 6-7. *C* 26. 144, 16.  
 C 2. 9, 16-17. *SJ* 109, 17; *C* 32. 175, 1-2.  
 C 2. 10, 19. *Serm* I, 222, 7-8; *C* 1. 5, 5-6; *C* 7. 37, 8-9; 20. 110, 13-14; 29. 160, 5.  
 C 2. 11, 1-3. *TS* II, 195, 9-14; *C* 20. 111, 11-13; 21. 116, 1-6; *D* 25, 25 to 26, 2.  
 C 2. 11, 8. *TS* III, 50, 1.

Note the similarity of opinion between *C* 2. 8, 7-12 and example *l* on p. 1089. Compare *C* 2. 9, 13 with *Rep.*, 3rd Ser., II, 89: Combe "was remarkably abstemious, drinking nothing but water."

- C* 3. 14, 2. *Med Ox* 353, 14-15b; 90, 24; *A* 5. 23, 2-4; *D* 27, 1-4.  
*C* 3. 14, 9. *Med Ox* 353, 12-13b; *C* 18. 100, 15-16.  
*C* 3. 14, 16-17. *TS* II, 89, 22.  
*C* 3. 15, 3-10. *SJ* 51, 25-28; 144, 23-26; *A* 4. 16, 2-6. *B* 10, 8-10; 23, 9; 150, 9-11; *C* 19. 107, 9-12; 36. 203, 16 to 204, 1; *D* 34, 15-17.  
*C* 3. 15, 13-14. *TS* III, 17, 8; *B* 134, 11; *C* 6. 31, 15-16; 19-107, 14-15.  
*C* 4. 17, 1-7. *Let Bk Ox* 293, 3-7; *A* 6. 26, 1-8;  
*C* 4. 18, 8. *B* 21, 26; 25, 5.  
*C* 4. 18, 17. *TS* I, 31, 21-22; *B* 150, 7; *C* 18. 99, 10-11; 33. 184, 1.  
*C* 4. 18, 19 to 19, 7. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 5-8; *C* 20. 109, 10 to 110, 11; 33. 184, 2-6.  
*C* 4. 19, 8-9. *JE Ox* 336, 10; *A* 5. 21, 4-5; *C* 28. 159, 7-8.  
*C* 4. 19, 12-13; 20, 7-11. *Let Bk Ox* 245, 3-4; *C* 18. 101, 14-15.  
*C* 5. 22, 10-11. *TS* III, 2, 24-25; *A* 7. 31, 2-3; *C* 27. 150, 13-14; 37. 206, 17-19.  
*C* 5. 23, 4. *A* 4. 15, 7; *B* 133, 22; *C* 18. 101, 3-5; 34. 191, 3-5; *D* 81, 24-25.  
*C* 5. 23, 7. *TS* II, 111, 3-4; III, 1, 2; *A* 5. 23, 15.  
*C* 5. 23, 8. *C* 18. 99, 4; 21. 119, 4; 27. 151, 4; 30. 167, 15-16; 39. 213, 6.  
*C* 5. 23, 15. *C* 30. 166, 6.  
*C* 5. 24, 4-6. *TS* III, 1, 1; 2, 21-23.  
*C* 5. 24, 13-14. *TS* III, 2, 22-23.  
*C* 5. 25, 9-10; 26, 2. *Let Bk Ox* 122, 8; *C* 22. 123, 10.  
*C* 5. 26, 8-9. *YE Ox* 318, 17-18; *Let Bk Ox* 259, 12-13; *Rep* 205, 2b.

C 5. 27, 2-3.

Let Bk Ox 138, 17, A 47, 4; Let Bk Ox 245, 7.

The narrative on pp. 25-27 of C 5. has a parallel in B 148. Combe has evidently confused the *Concio ad clerum* which Sterne wrote for Dean Fountayne with one he never wrote for Archbishop Drummond. His source, if not recalled from Sterne himself, may have been *Mem Ox* 147, 11-17. Compare B 50, 13-19 with *Mem Ox* 146, 12-14b.

C 6. 31, 1-3.

*Med Ox* 237, 11.

C 6. 31, 5-9.

*Med Ox* 237, 1-3.

C 6. 31, 15-16.

TS III, 17, 8, B 134, 11, C 3. 15, 13-14, 19. 107, 14-15.

C 7. 35, 18-19.

C 20. 111, 14-16, 32. 179, 7-8.

C 7. 36, 11.

*Med Ox* 140, 23

C 7. 37, 8-9.

*Serm* I, 222, 7-8, C 1. 5, 5-6; C 2. 10, 19; 20. 110, 13-14; 29, 160, 5.

C 7. 37, 18-19.

*Med Ox* 140, 15-16; 277, 10; C 10. 51, 8; 19. 103, 10-11; 37. 205, 8.

This letter is supposedly written from Skelton Castle in September. Yet apart from this record there is none that shows Sterne at Skelton in September between 1760 and 1767. Combe was almost certainly acquainted with Hall-Stevenson; cf. *Phil Brist*, II, 60 and *Ox* 233, n. 3.

C 8.—See *Ox* 250-251. The concluding paragraph shows the following parallels:

C 8. 43, 7-14.

A 4. 14, 1-12, 5. 23, 10-12, C 21. 118, 16-18; *Med Ox* 251, 6-14a.

C 8. 43, 16.

TS I, 2, 4; C 27. 150, 16.

C 8. 43, 16-17.

TS III, 2-3; A 5. 24, 13; C 21. 118, 13-18; 24. 134, 14 to 135, 7; 39. 213, 4-10; D 179, 15 to 180, 3.

C 8. 44, 2-3.

Cross 263, 4-5, A 4. 15, 8-11; C 33. 183, 1-4; *Phil Brist* I, 37; *OL* II, 2, 18-19; D 26, 25-26.

C 9. 45, 1-4.

A 5. 19, 1-7.

C 9. 45, 9-10.

A 5. 20, 13-14.

C 9. 46, 8.

*Med Ox* 90, 24.

C 9. 46, 9-11.

*Med Ox* 256, 30-31; A 5. 20, 11-13.

C 9. 46, 18 to 47, 1.

A 5. 20, 15 to 21, 3; D 80, 4.

C 9. 48, 4.

*Med Ox* 2, 5.

C 9. 48, 14.

A 5. 21, 13.

C 9. 48, 16-19.

A 5. 21, 13 to 22, 2.

C 9. 49, 11-13.

SJ 13, 6-8; A 5. 22, 3.

C 9. 49, 18-19.

*Med Ox* 4, 37.

C 9. 50, 8-9.

C 17. 94, 18 to 95, 1.

C 10. 53, 6-11.

TS II, 128-132; *Frag* 23-24.

C 10. 54, 8.

*Med Ox* 140, 15-16; C 7. 37, 18-19;  
19. 103, 10-11, 37. 205, 8.

C 10. 54, 13-15.

*Med Ox* 340, 17-18.C 10. 52, 4-8 is contradicted by *Ox* 437, n. 2.

Letter C 11. has no definite parallels. But for C 11. 59, 6 see C 12. 64-65 and its source in *Med Ox* 308. For probable errors in account of Sterne's relations with Garrick and Beard in 1760 see *Ox* 106, n. 1; 96. The last paragraph of the letter is certainly based upon genuine information. It relates how Sterne heard his parish clerk deliver a psalm of his own making anent the cattle plague.

Here's Jemmy How has lost a cow,  
And so has Johnny Bland;  
Therefore we'll put our trust in God,  
And not in any other man.

In one of the Commonplace Books of the York antiquary, Thomas Beckwith, now preserved in York Minster Library, is a contemporary copy of this extraordinary psalm. The manuscript reads:

*A Psalm composed by the Clark of Stillington & Sung by him at Divine Service on Sunday May 28th 1749.*

*Let us Sing to the Praise & Glory of God a Psalm of my Own Making.*

O Lord we are fearfully Distrest  
But Thou canst help us still,  
Thou canst if thou wilt do thy best  
Let Men say what they will.

For this Distemper are full sad  
And Rages in our Town  
It is enough to make one Mad.  
The like was never Known.

There's old John Crow<sup>47</sup> & Richard  
Pen<sup>47</sup>

And likewise William Bland  
With many more Substantial Men  
Now Ruined out of Hand.

And we shall be quite undone  
It is no Bout to Strive  
And broke up every Mothers Son  
As sure as we're Alive

No Christian Bull or Cow they say  
But take it soon or Sine

And it is Tou to one I lay  
Good God take care of mine.

For Lord thou know'st we are full poor  
So help us for thou can  
And we will put our Trust no more  
In any Other Man.

The Doctors tho' they all have Spoke  
Like Learned Gentlemen  
And told us how the Intrails look  
Of Cattle Dead & gone

Yeat they can nothing do at all  
With all their Learning store  
Then Come away thy self O Lord  
And Vex us so no More.

But Come with help all in thy Hand  
O Come without Delay  
And Drive it forth out of the Land  
For ever & for Aye.

*Finis*

<sup>47</sup> A William Bland and a George Crow were holding land at Sutton in 1755 (*Fauconberg Rental*). A Robert Bland of Stillington appears in the Parish Register in 1749 and subsequently. The implications of this psalm would have delighted A. W. N. Pugin.

- C 12. 64, 1-3. *Med Ox* 308, 7-8; C 11. 59, 6.  
 C 12. 64, 8-9. *TS* II, 85, 27.  
 C 12. 65, 3-10. *Med Ox* 308, 11-18.  
 C 12. 67, 8. C 18. 96, 4.  
 C 12. 67, 10-12. C 8. 43, 10-16.  
 C 13. 71, 1-3. B 15, 19-25; *TS*, II, 85, 27.  
 C 13. 72, 4-8. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 1-7.  
 C 14. 74, 8. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 10; *Med Ox* 256, 8; A 4.  
 16, 12, B 23, 13; C 1. 5, 9; 29. 163, 2-5;  
 33. 183, 8.

C 14. 78, 7-8 is possibly an echo of Spenser, *Prothalamion* 11, 37-38. Sterne is supposedly writing from Scarborough, 29 August, 1765. In all likelihood he was at Coxwold. Blurred references to B—, A—, and Mr. F— may be imitation of Lydia's savage taste for discretion.

C 15. which treats of Sterne's efforts to supply his wife with money, in September, 1765, may have been concocted from *Med Ox* 228, 230-231, 238-239, 254, 260. Statements in the letter are not wrong unless we observe a discrepancy between C 15. 81, 1-9, wherein Sterne's credit with Becket is said to be low at the time of writing, and *Med Ox* 238-239, 254, 260.

- C 16. 86, 1-6. *TS* I, 85, 12-15.  
 C 16. 86, 6-7. *TS* II, 48, 6-11.  
 C 16. 86, 12. *TS* I, 234, 14.  
 C 16. 86, 13-15. *TS* I, 82-83.  
 C 16. 86, 19. *SJ* 64, 2-3; C 1. 4, 3; 37. 205, 7.  
 C 16. 87, 14. *TS* I, 17, 12; C 25. 139, 14.  
 C 16. 87, 19-20. B 150, 22; C 29. 163, 5-6; 31. 171, 18;  
 39. 214, 5.  
 C 16. 89, 6-9. *Serm* I, p. vii, 12-18.  
 C 16. 89, 15-19. *TS* I, 85, 12-15.  
 C 16. 89, 19 to 90, 1. *TS* II, 174, 4; III, 145, 1-2; A 5. 19,  
 1-3; C 28. 158, 1.

Letter contains two misstatements. The *Abuses of Conscience* was not printed at the request of Sir Thomas Burnet (1694-1753), who was not present at the Summer Assizes at York in 1750 (cf. *London Gazette*, 10-13 Feb. 1749/50; id., 30 June-2 July 1750) but upon the invitation of Sir William Pennymann, High Sheriff of Yorks., and the Grand Jury. Furthermore Lady Fauconberg (C 16. 90, 9) had died 29 May, 1760, a few weeks before Sterne was installed at Coxwold. C 16. 88, 67 is recalled from *Comus* 634-5. Combe, not Sterne, be it noted, makes occasional reference to Milton.

- C 17. 91, 5. *Med Ox* 237, 1.  
 C 17. 94, 18 to 95, 1. C 9. 50, 8-9.

Combe appears to have introduced (C 17. 94, 14-15) the names of Lady Mary

Fitzgerald and her sister Lady Caroline Hervey. He was intimate with their family; *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee, *Supplement*, II, 153.

- C 18. 96, 2. *D* 27, 9.  
 C 18. 96, 4. *C* 12. 67, 8.  
 C 18. 97, 10. *Med Ox* 394, 11; *B* 54, 16-22.  
 C 18. 99, 4. *C* 5. 23, 8; 21. 119, 4; 27. 151, 4; 30. 167, 15-16; 39. 213, 6.  
 C 18. 99, 6. *TS* III, 2, 24; *C* 27. 150, 13-14; 37. 206, 12-19.  
 C 18. 99, 10-11. *TS* I, 31, 21-22; *B* 150, 7; *C* 4. 18, 17; 33. 184, 1.  
 C 18. 99, 13-17. *TS* I, 32, 21-27.  
 C 18. 100, 6-7. *TS* II, 245, 26; *A* 6. 28, 14-15; *C* 20, 113, 18-19; *Phil Brist* I, 69; *OL* II, 19. 21-22; *Let Mar* 18.  
 C 18. 100, 9. *TS* III, 73, 2-3; *C* 1. 1, 5.  
 C 18. 100, 10-11. *D* 80, 12.  
 C 18. 100, 13-14. See chart, p. 1093.  
 C 18. 100, 14. *TS* III, 190, 11.  
 C 18. 100, 15-16. *Med Ox* 353, 12-13b; *C* 3. 14, 9.  
 C 18. 101, 3-5. *Med Ox* 254, 13a; *A* 4. 15, 4-7; *B* 133, 22; *C* 5. 23, 4; 34. 191, 3-5; *D* 81, 24-25.  
 C 18. 101, 15. *Let Bk Ox* 245, 3-4; *C* 4. 19, 12-13; 20, 7-11.  
 C 19. 103, 1-6. *Let Bk Ox* 137-138; *A* 9. 44-48; *C* 37. 205-207; 39. 213, 17.  
 C 19. 103, 10-11. *Med Ox* 140, 15-16; 277, 10; *C* 7. 37, 18-19; 10. 54, 8; 37. 205, 8.  
 C 19. 105, 8-9. *Med Ox* 16, 3-4; 18, 11.  
 C 19. 105, 14. *B* 76, 11.  
 C 19. 107, 2-4. *TS* III, 190-191; *SJ* 144, 23.  
 C 19. 107, 9-12. *SJ* 51, 25-28; 144, 23-26; *A* 4. 16, 2-6; *B* 10, 8-10; 23, 9; 150, 9-11; *C* 3. 15, 3-10; 36. 203, 16 to 204, 1; *D* 34, 15-17.  
 C 19. 107, 14-15. *TS* III, 17, 8; *B* 134, 11; *C* 3. 15, 13-14; 6. 31, 15-16.  
 C 19. 108, 8-9. *Med Ox* 256, 16-19; 279, 12-13a.  
 C 20. 109, 4-9. *Med Ox* 396, 1a.  
 C 20. 109, 10 to 110, 11. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 5-9; *C* 4. 18, 19 to 19, 7; 33. 184, 2-7.  
 C 20. 110, 13-14. *Serm* I, 222, 7-8; *C* 1. 5, 5-6; 2. 10, 19; 7. 37, 8-9; 29. 160, 5.  
 C 20. 111, 9. *SJ* 123, 8; *C* 32. 176, 10; 32. 178, 12.  
 C 20. 111, 11-13. *TS* II, 195, 9-14; *C* 2. 11, 1-3; 21. 116, 1-6; *D* 25, 25 to 26, 2.

- C 20. 111, 14-16. C 7. 35, 18-19; 32. 179, 7-8.  
 C 20. 112, 2. SJ 122, 22.  
 C 20. 112, 9. Sern 1, 63, 20. (*Merchant of Venice*,  
 V, 1, 85.)  
 C 20. 113, 18-19. TS II, 245, 26; A 6, 28, 14-15; C 18.  
 100, 6-7; *Phil Brist* I, 69, OL II, 19, 21-  
 22; *Let Mar* 18.

Karl Friedrich Abel (1725-1787) admired Sterne. Sometimes in the company of friends he would catch up his viol da gamba and tell thereon the story of LeFever until he brought tears to the eyes of his listeners; cf. W. T. Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough* (London, 1915), p. 366.

Letter C 21. written from Bond Street on Thursday, twenty-four hours after Sterne has reached town sometime after York Races. If genuine, C 21. belongs to Wednesday, 7 January, 1767. Internal evidence cannot support this conjecture. Parallels assist us in assigning the letter to Combe.

- C 21. 116, 1-6. TS II, 195, 9-14; C 2. 11, 1-3; 20.  
 111, 11-13; D 25, 25 to 26, 2.  
 C 21. 116, 10-15. TS I, 182, 11-24.  
 C 21. 116, 15-18. TS II, 267, 4-6; D 26, 8.  
 C 21. 117, 10-11. *Let Bk Ox* 293, 1.  
 C 21. 117, 15. A 10. 50, 11.  
 C 21. 118, 13-18. TS III, 2-3; A 5. 24, 10-13; C 8. 43,  
 12-17; 24. 134, 14 to 135, 7; 39. 213,  
 4-6; D 179, 15 to 180, 3.  
 C 21. 118, 16-18. A 5. 24, 10 to 25, 1; C 8. 43, 16-17;  
 24. 134, 14-18.  
 C 21. 119, 4. C 5. 23, 8; 18. 99, 4; 27. 151, 4; 30.  
 167, 15-16; 39. 213, 6.  
 C 21. 119, 6-9. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 12-16; SJ 58, 25-27;  
 A 4. 16, 12-16; B 23, 10-12; C 25. 139,  
 12-15; 29. 163, 2-5; 33. 182, 7-9; 34,  
 189, 18-20.  
 C 21. 119, 9-12. TS III, 1, 9-10; A 4. 17, 4-9; 5. 24, 6-7.  
 C 22. 121, 2. C 30. 167, 2-3.  
 C 22. 123, 1. *JE Ox* 356, 24.  
 C 22. 123, 5-18. B 16, 4-12; 148, 3 to 150, 4.  
 C 22. 123, 10. *Let Bk Ox* 122, 8; C 5. 25, 9-10.

Contains information about portraits of Sterne by Reynolds and Gainsborough which I cannot reconcile with accepted details in his biography. Combe, as elsewhere, assumes that Nollekens is a celebrated sculptor. His fame in England did not begin until 1770. C 22. 124, 4-5: "Lord — is of a low, base, pimping nature." In a note to his portrait of Lord Beauchamp in the *Diaboliad* Combe



remarks: "But a mean spirit . . . is a low, sneaking, base, fixed propensity to what is bad."

C 23.—See *Ox* 218–219.

C 24. 132, 1–8.

?*Ox* 164, 15–16.

C 24. 134, 9–13.

*TS* I, 78, 14–15; II, 178, 1–7.

C 24. 134, 14 to 135, 7.

*TS* III, 2–3; *A* 5. 24, 10 to 25, 1; *C* 8. 43, 16–17; 21. 118, 16–18; 39. 213, 4–10; *D* 179, 15 to 180, 3.

C 24. 134, 17.

*TS* III, 69, 10–11.

C 24. 135, 3.

*TS* I, Dedication, 5.

C 24. 135, 1–7.

*D* 179, 26–30.

C 24. 133, 4–10 is actually Molière's opinion of a doctor (cf. Le Gallois de Grimarest, *La Vie de Molière*, in *Oeuvres de Monsieur de Molière*, Paris 1710, I, 23). This work may have been known to Sterne. Scraps of a genuine letter seem to have been used in the forging.

C 25. 139, 12–15.

*Let Bk Ox* 294, 12–16; *SJ* 58, 25–27; *A* 4. 16, 12–16; *B* 23, 10–12; *C* 21. 119, 6–9; 29. 163, 2–5; 33. 182, 7–9; 34. 189, 18–20.

C 25. 139, 14.

*TS* I, 17, 12; *C* 16. 87, 14.

C 25. 139, 16–18.

*B* 23, 14–15; *C* 33. 183, 7.

C 25. 140, 6–8.

*JE Ox* 371, 26–27.

C 25. 140, 17.

*TS* I, 113, 13–14.

C 25. 141, 15–16.

*YE Ox* 317, 7; *C* 31. 174, 11–12; 36. 204, 15; 38. 211, 8.

C 26. 143, 4–6.

*TS* II, 110, 21.

C 26. 144, 11–13.

*Med Ox* 93, 13; 126, 8–9; *A* 1. 3, 11.

C 26. 144, 16.

*C* 2. 9, 6–7.

C 26. 145, 11–12.

*TS* I, 17–18.

Dated "Thursday Nov. 1." This conjunction fell in 1764 and, oddly enough, in 1787 when *C* 26 was published in the November issue of the *European Magazine*. Did Combe set down the date of the day on which he was composing this letter?

C 27. 150, 13–14.

*TS* III, 2, 24–25; *A* 7. 31, 2–3; *C* 5. 22, 10–11; 37. 206, 17–19.

C 27. 150, 16.

*TS* I, 2, 4; *C* 8. 43, 16.

C 27. 150, 17.

*SJ* 142, 19–21.

C 27. 151, 2–3.

*TS* III, 2–3.

C 27. 151, 4.

*C* 5. 23, 8; 18. 99, 4; 21. 119, 4; 30. 167, 15–16; 39. 213, 6.

C 27. 151, 6–7.

*TS* III, 191, 25–26; *SJ* 144, 7.

C 27. 151, 9–14.

*SJ* 128, 1–4.

C 27. 152, 3.

*TS* II, 212, 26; *B* 152, 14; *C* 28. 157, 8.

C 27. 152, 4–5.

*TS* III, 74, 23–24.

- C* 27. 152, 6-9. *Serm* I, 14, 13-14.  
*C* 27. 152, 13-14. *Serm* I, 14, 4; *B* 26, 27.  
*C* 27. 152, 17-18. *TS* I, 58, 4; III, 74, 12-13; *SJ* 57, 5  
 and 13.

Sterne is made to write from Dijon, 9 November, 1765. But he had reached Pont de Beauvoisin two days before! Cf. *Ox* 262.

- C* 28. 154, 3. *SJ* 8.  
*C* 28. 155, 2-8. *SJ* 151, 5-10.  
*C* 28. 156, 11-12. *TS* III, 73, 12-13.  
*C* 28. 157, 8. *TS* II, 212, 26; *B* 152, 14; *C* 27. 152, 3.  
*C* 28. 157, 12-13. *SJ* 145, 25-26.  
*C* 28. 158, 1. *TS* II, 174, 4; III, 145, 1-2; *A* 5. 19,  
 1-3; *C* 16. 89, 19 to 90, 1.  
*C* 28. 159, 7-8. *JE Ox* 336, 10; *A* 5. 21, 4-5; *C* 4. 19,  
 8-9.

Dated from Lyons, 15 November [1765.] Sterne happened to be at Turin that day; cf. *Ox* 263.

- C* 29. 160, 5. *Serm* I, 222, 7-8; *C* 1. 5, 5-6; 2. 10, 19;  
 7. 37, 8-9; 20. 110, 13-14.  
*C* 29. 161, 1-3. *Med Ox* 414, 5-6a.  
*C* 29. 163, 2-5. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 12-16; *Med Ox* 256, 8;  
*A* 4. 16, 12; *B* 23, 13; *C* 21. 119, 6-9; 25.  
 139, 12-15; 33. 182, 7-9; 33. 183, 8; 34.  
 189, 18-20.  
*C* 29. 163, 5-6. *B* 150, 22; *C* 16. 87, 19-20; 31. 171, 18;  
 39. 214, 5.  
*C* 29. 164, 14-15. *A* 4. 15, 2-3; *B* 14, 15-16.  
*C* 30. 166, 6. *C* 5. 23, 15.  
*C* 30. 166, 7-8. *Med Ox* 180, 18-20b; *B* 151, 8.  
*C* 30. 167, 2-3. *C* 22. 121, 2.  
*C* 30. 167, 4-6. *JE Ox* 329, 16-17; *A* 7. 36, 16 to 37,  
 1; *B* 151, 24-26; *Rep* 207, 10-13b.  
*C* 30. 167, 15-16. *C* 5. 23, 8; 18. 99, 4; 21. 119, 4; 27.  
 151, 4; 39. 213, 6.  
*C* 30. 167, 17-18. *Med Ox* 419, 5.  
*C* 31. 169, 1. *TS* III, 191, 15-16.  
*C* 31. 171, 18. *B* 150, 22; *C* 16. 87, 19-20; 29. 163,  
 5-6.  
*C* 31. 171, 19. *Serm* I, 21, 30 to 22, 2 (*Luke* 16.3).  
*C* 31. 173, 15 to 174, 9. *Let Bk Ox* 258-259.  
*C* 31. 174, 11-12. *YE Ox* 317, 7; *C* 25. 141, 15-16; 36.  
 204, 15; 38. 211, 8.

Letter written from Bond Street, 8 May [1767], a time when Sterne could hardly have composed in the manner of this letter (cf. *Ox* 338).

- C 32. 175, 1-2. *SJ* 109, 17; C 2. 9, 16-17.  
 C 32. 176, 10. *SJ* 123, 8; C 20. 111, 9; 32. 178, 12.  
 C 32. 177, 1-6. *YE Ox* 304-305.  
 C 32. 178, 4-6. *Med Ox* 3, 37-38.  
 C 32. 178, 12. *SJ* 123, 8; C 20. 111, 9; 32. 176, 10.  
 C 32. 179, 7-8. C 7. 35, 18-19; 20. 111, 14-16.

C 32. 180, 16 is presumably a reference to the town house of Elizabeth Gunning (1734-90), wife of John Campbell, Marquis of Lorne and heir to the dukedom of Argyll, to which he succeeded in 1770.

- C 33. 182, 5. *TS* III, 188, 13.  
 C 33. 182, 6. A 4. 15, 15-16.  
 C 33. 182, 7-9. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 12-16; *SJ* 58, 25-27;  
 A 4. 16, 12-16; B 23, 10-12; C 21. 119,  
 6-9, 25. 139, 12-15; 29. 163, 2-5; 34.  
 189, 18-20.  
 C 33. 183, 1-4. *Cross* 263, 4-5; A 4. 15, 8-11; C 8.  
 44, 2-3; *Phil Brist* I, 37; *OL* II, 2, 18-19;  
*D* 26, 25-26.  
 C 33. 183, 7. B 23, 14-15; C 25. 139, 16-18.  
 C 33. 183, 8. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 10; *Med Ox* 256, 8; A 4.  
 16, 12; B 23, 13; C 1. 5, 9; 14. 74, 8; 29.  
 163, 3.  
 C 33. 184, 1. *TS* I, 31, 21-22; B 150, 7; C 4. 18, 17;  
 18. 99, 10-11.  
 C 33. 184, 2-6. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 8; C 4. 18, 19 to 19, 7;  
 20. 109, 10 to 110, 11.  
 C 33. 185, 10-15. *Med Ox* 301, 3-11; 289, 7b; C 34,  
 190, 4-5.

Dated from Coxwold, 19 August, 1766, the day following the opening of York Races. It is unlikely that Sterne was at Coxwold with no thought of the festivities at York in which he took a leading part. This date Combe used in *D* 178. Be it observed that Sterne at this moment was certainly ignorant of the fact that his wife and daughter were at Vacluse (cf. *Ox* 289b). C 33. 184, 18 to 185, 1 may be an allusion to Combe's term in "a French monastery"; cf. Thomas Campbell *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, London, 1834, I, 42n.

- C 34. 188, 9 to 189, 6. *Serm* I, 146, 15-23.  
 C 34. 189, 18-20. *Let Bk Ox* 294, 12-16; *SJ* 58, 25-27;  
 A 4. 16, 12-16; B 23, 10-12; C 21. 119,  
 6-9; 25. 139, 12-15; 29. 163, 2-5; 33.  
 182, 7-9.  
 C 34. 190, 4-5. *Med Ox* 301, 3-11; 289, 7b; C 33. 185,  
 10-15.  
 C 34. 191, 3-5. *Med Ox* 254, 13a; A 4. 15, 6-7; B 133,  
 22; C 5. 23, 4; 18. 101, 3-5; *D* 81, 24-25.

The themes of Vaucluse and the familiar invitation to Coxwold indicate forgery.

C 35. See *Ox* 254–255.

C 36. 203, 16 to 204, 1.

*SJ* 51, 25–28; 144, 23–26; *A* 4. 61, 2–6; *B* 10, 8–10; 23, 9; 150, 9–11; *C* 3. 15, 3–10; 19. 107, 9–12; *D* 34, 15–17.

C 36. 204, 15.

*YE Ox* 317, 7; *C* 25. 141, 15–16; 31. 174, 11–12, 38. 211, 8.

C 37. 205–207.

*Let Bk Ox* 137–138; *A* 9. 44–48, *C* 19. 103, 1–6; 39. 213, 17.

C 37. 205, 7.

*SJ* 64, 2–3; *C* 1. 3–4; 16. 86, 19.

C 37. 205, 1–8.

*C* 19. 103, 1–11; *Med Ox* 140, 16; 277, 10; *C* 7. 37, 18–19; 10. 54, 8.

C 37. 206, 9–12.

*Med Ox* 409, 18–21b.

C 37. 206, 12–19.

*TS* III, 2, 24–25; *A* 7. 31, 2–3; *C* 5. 22, 10–11; 18. 99, 6; 27. 150, 13–14.

On this letter see *Critical Review*, June, 1788, 442.

C 38. 209, 17–19.

*TS* II, 86, 4–6.

C 38. 211, 8.

*YE Ox* 317, 7; *C* 25. 141, 15–16; 31. 174, 11–12; 36. 204, 15.

*C* 38. 211, 10; Combe confessed to the writing of “Seventy-three sermons”; *Gent. Mag.* (May, 1852), 468.

C 39. 212, 4–6.

*C* 21. 118, 13–16.

C 39. 212, 7–8.

*Med Ox* 398, 20–21.

C 39. 212, 8 to 213, 1.

*Med Ox* 395, 5–13b.

C 39. 213, 6.

*C* 5. 23, 8; 18. 99, 4; 21. 119, 4; 27. 151, 4; 30. 167, 15–16.

C 39. 213, 4–10.

*TS* III, 2–3; *A* 5. 24, 10–13; *C* 8. 43, 12–17; 21. 118, 13–18; 24. 134, 14 to 135, 7; *D* 179, 15 to 180, 3.

C 39. 213, 17–18.

*Let Bk Ox* 138, 7, 21–24; *C* 19. 103, 1.

C 39. 214, 5.

*B* 150, 22; *C* 29. 163, 5–6; 31. 171, 18.

C 39. 216, 10–12.

*A* 6. 27, 14–15.

It is worth noting that both *B* and *C* close with the impending death of the supposed author.

#### D. *The Pic Nic*, 2nd Ed., London, 1806, II.

If Combe had concluded his disingenuous imitations of Sterne upon the publication of *C*, he would have made our investigation more treacherous than it is. But fortunately for us as for him there remained a public which, since it chose to cozen itself with pseudo-Shandean, Combe was willing to exploit. In 1797 he published anonymously his

*Fragments in the Manner of Sterne.* A copy in my collection of the first edition, addressed in Combe's hand to the actor Richard Wroughton "with the author's respects," should settle any question of authorship. The volume has not infrequently served me in identifying Combe's trickery in C.

But the last forgeries of Sterne of which Combe was guilty are the criminal's betrayal. There is no doubt about the author of the "original" letters of Laurence Sterne which appeared in the *Pic Nic*. A phrase once noticed there can with ease be traced backwards into C, back into B, into A, and sometimes into Sterne's own works. Such recurrent phrases are in the nature of peaching footsteps.

The Pic Nic Society, which under the leadership of Col. H. F. Greville had been founded in 1801, maintained an interest in drama similar to that of the Little Theatre movement to-day. To defend it against the jealous onslaught of the professional stage, Colonel Greville launched a periodical called the *Pic Nic*<sup>48</sup> and secured Combe as editor.<sup>49</sup> The first number appeared January 8, 1803. In after years Horace Smith, in an account of his brother James, who like him was a member of the editorial staff, took occasion to describe the editor's characteristic method of dispatching the paper.

If a column or two of the newspaper remained unsupplied at the last moment, an occurrence by no means unusual, Mr. Combe would sit down in the publisher's back room, and extemporize a letter from Sterne at Coxwold, a forgery so well executed that it never excited suspicion.<sup>50</sup>

The three fabrications to which Smith alludes appeared 19 February, 5 March, and 26 March, 1803.

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|--------------------|---|
| D 25, 25 to 26, 2. | TS II, 195-196; C 2. 11, 1-3; 20. 111, 11-13; 21. 116, 1-6.   |
| D 26, 8.           | TS II, 267, 4-6; C 21. 116, 15-18.  |
| D 26, 10.          | TS I, 22, 2; C 1. 5, 18-19.   |
| D 26, 25-26.       | Cross 263, 4-5; A 4. 15, 8-11; C 8. 44, 2-3; 33. 183, 1-4; <i>Phil Brist</i> I, 37; <i>OL</i> II, 2, 18-19. |
| D 27, 1-4.         | <i>Med Ox</i> 353, 14-15b; 90, 24; C 3. 14, 2.  |
| D 27, 6-9.         | ? <i>JE Ox</i> 379, 1-10; 364, 38.  |
| D 27, 9.           | <i>Ox</i> 248, 11; C 2. 9, 5; 2. 11, 5; 3. 12, 1.   |
| D 27, 9.           | C 18. 96, 2.  |
| D 79, 11-12.       | ? <i>JE Ox</i> 346, 4-5c.   |
| D 80, 4.           | A 5. 21, 1; C 9. 47, 1.   |

<sup>48</sup> *The Pic Nic*, I, i-xvii, 1-6.

<sup>49</sup> *The Farington Diary*, II, 83.

<sup>50</sup> Horace Smith, *Memoirs, Letters, and Comic Miscellanies in Prose and Verse of the late James Smith* (London, 1840), I, 20 n.

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|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>D</i> 80, 12.            | <i>C</i> 18. 100, 10-11.                                      |
| <i>D</i> 80, 20-21.         | <i>C</i> 16. 90, 9-10.  |
| <i>D</i> 80, 23.            | <i>TS</i> 1, 54, 16; <i>C</i> 1. 4, 16.                       |
| <i>D</i> 80, 28 to 81, 22.  | See Chart, pp. 1093.  |
| <i>D</i> 81, 24-25.         | <i>A</i> 4. 15, 6-7; <i>B</i> 133, 22; <i>C</i> 5. 23, 4; 18. |
|                             | 101, 3-5; 34. 191, 3-5.                                       |
| <i>D</i> 178, 2 to 179, 3.  | <i>A</i> 5. 19, 1-7; <i>Med Ox</i> 353, 1-2b.                 |
| <i>D</i> 179, 15 to 180, 3. | <i>TS</i> III, 2-3; <i>A</i> 5. 24, 10-12; <i>C</i> 8. 43,    |
|                             | 10-17; 21. 118, 13-18; 24. 134, 14 to                         |
|                             | 135, 7; 39. 213, 4-10.  |

*D* 180, 10-13 is quoted freely from the Prologue to Hall-Stevenson's *Crazy Tales*.

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## LXVIII

### VOLTAIRE'S REACTION TO DIDEROT

IF we render to the word *philosophy* its true meaning of "love of wisdom," and inject into the word *wisdom* a few of the qualities suggested by the French word "sagesse," we shall find Voltaire and Diderot at the very heart of eighteenth-century philosophy. Since they were by no means wholly in agreement, a study of their personal and intellectual reactions should clarify many of the main issues and bring us a step nearer to an understanding of deism and materialism, of decadent classicism and renascent romanticism, and of the nobler eighteenth-century conceptions of reason and nature. This study will be centered around certain comments in Voltaire's hand in the margins of Diderot's works now in the Public Library of Leningrad.<sup>1</sup> Voltaire's reactions, however, are so often essentially personal that it will be necessary to consider the general relations between the two men. Certain letters of Diderot recently published have thrown new light on this rather unusual friendship, in which Voltaire appears the more tolerant and forbearing. An attempt will be made also to relate the essential ideas of the two philosophers to trends in modern thought.

In a letter to Palissot Voltaire said:

The philosophers are a small flock who must be kept from the slaughter. They have their failings like other men; they do not always write excellent works; but if they could all write against the common enemy, it would be a fine thing for the human race. The monsters called Jansenists and Molinists, after biting each other, are now joined in barking at the poor partisans of reason and humanity. These should at least protect one another from their fangs. . . . It is true that there are in Paris many charlatans in physics and in literature, but the political and theological charlatans are more dangerous and more hateful. The man in question [Diderot] is at least a philosopher; he is very learned and he has been persecuted.<sup>2</sup>

The very essence of Voltaire's attitude toward Diderot is expressed in these lines.

For Voltaire was above all a party man and in a very real sense the

<sup>1</sup> It gives me great pleasure here to express my appreciation of the courtesies rendered me during my stay in Russia in 1932 by both the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and members of the staff of the Public Library at Leningrad, as also my thanks to the Guggenheim Foundation for making my visit possible.

<sup>2</sup> XXXIX, 192.—References to the Moland edition of Voltaire's works will be thus indicated, by volume and page number alone. References to the Assézat-Tourneux edition of Diderot's works will be preceded by the word *Œuvres*. It will be noted that many of Diderot's letters to Voltaire have been included in the Moland volumes.

fighting leader of his party. Nowhere is this characteristic more manifest than in the contrast between his affection for Diderot and his hatred of Rousseau. His epithets against Rousseau have often been collected and repeated<sup>3</sup> but it has not so often been pointed out that they were inspired much less by diversity in thought than by questions of party loyalty.<sup>4</sup> Rousseau was first of all an apostate, a "Judas," a false brother—and many similarly unflattering titles were added unto him. Voltaire found it very difficult to forgive him for writing so many excellent pages in his *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard*, which he himself re-edited and republished time and again. On the other hand, the picture of his undying loyalty to Diderot, in the face, be it said, of many a trial, has much more rarely been drawn. The history of this friendship can be given here only in its broad outlines.

As far as can be learned, personal relations between the two men began in 1749 with an exchange of productions and of letters—the *Lettres sur les aveugles* for the *Eléments de la philosophie de Newton*, and an epistolary discussion of the religion of the blind. Voltaire considered Diderot's work ingenious and profound, and accepted the author into the company of philosophers by inviting him to a philosophic dinner.<sup>5</sup> Diderot in his reply kept the relations on a philosophical plane and failed even to acknowledge the dinner invitation. Twelve days later Voltaire was at Cirey with Mme du Châtelet. After that estimable lady's death, he was in Paris again from the middle of October, 1749, until the middle of June, 1750. But the two philosophers failed to meet until Voltaire's return to Paris in 1778 after an absence of nearly thirty years. Diderot seems to have been too busy, too careless, perhaps too proud to make the connection.

As Voltaire grew to know Diderot better, directly from a few of his books and from very rare letters, and indirectly through Diderot's many friends, d'Alembert, d'Argental, Mme d'Épinay, Damilaville, and Catherine the Great, a real affection was added to an already sincere admiration for his intellectual attainments. In 1774 Catherine wrote to Voltaire of Diderot: "C'est une tête extraordinaire que la sienne; la trempe de son cœur devrait être celle de tous les hommes";<sup>6</sup> and Voltaire

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vallette, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau genevois*, p. 396, n. 2; E. H. Wright, *The Meaning of Rousseau*, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> This opinion has been reached after an intensive study of Voltaire's correspondence. The evidence is cumulative, but references to a few of the more striking passages may be given: XLII, 150, 192 ("O comme nous aurions chéri ce fou, s'il n'avait pas été faux frère"), 236–238, 364; XLIII, 256, 263 ("Il n'a même été persécuté que pour des sentiments qui sont les miens"), 268, 286, 418, 425, 430, 438, 457, 530; XLIV, 83 ("L'infâme Jean-Jacques est le Judas de la confrérie"); XLV, 125, etc.

<sup>5</sup> XXXVII, 22–23.

<sup>6</sup> XLVIII, 551.



replied: "Je n'ai jamais eu la consolation de voir cet homme unique; il est la seconde personne de ce monde avec qui j'aurais voulu m'entretenir."<sup>7</sup>

In the course of this long friendship at a distance, Voltaire appears ever the more loyal, the more forgiving, the more just of the two. Once he has chosen Diderot as a "brother" and friend there is very little question of the sincerity of his esteem and affection. Diderot seems to have been unwilling to give himself wholly to the tie. In 1749, the year of their first exchange of letters, Voltaire—Diderot usually refers to him as "de Voltaire"—had a great reputation as a poet, but his character was being impugned, not to say maligned. Paris was full of the truths, anecdotes, and calumnies of the *Voltariana*. "Il serait à souhaiter," Diderot writes in his *Neveu de Rameau*, "que Voltaire eût encore la douceur de Duclos, l'ingénuité de l'Abbé Trublet, la droiture de l'abbé d'Olivet."<sup>8</sup> Many of Diderot's friends had belonged to salons as unfriendly to Voltaire as that of Mme de Tencin. Among his most intimate friends, Grimm and Naigeon were often unjustly hostile, while d'Holbach was temperamentally unable to comprehend Voltaire. D'Alembert, who might have cemented the friendship, was much more highly esteemed by Voltaire than by Diderot, and long served rather to keep the two men apart. More important still, Diderot was very jealous of his independence. He felt no desire to serve as acolyte to his celebrated fellow philosopher. On occasions even, in his effort to keep his judgment free, he was severely critical of Voltaire's works. Again, it seems evident that both men felt Diderot's superiority in metaphysics, Voltaire in all humility, yet maintaining his own position to the end, Diderot with that justifiable self-conceit of the man who knows more and knows he knows more. These attitudes are clearly shown in Voltaire's comments on Diderot's philosophical works, and in the latter's replies.

Desnoiresterres, in the long years of preparation for his excellent biography of Voltaire, noted and was himself affected by the great change in his subject's character after the unpleasantness at Frankfort, and especially after the establishment of the patriarch at Ferney. It is a striking coincidence that Voltaire increased mightily in dignity and humanity at the very time that he most bitterly opposed the orthodox religion of his day. (G. Desnoiresterres: *Voltaire et la société au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, iv, 507-508.) Diderot was gradually won over by the love of justice and the humanitarianism of his contemporary. Although "*Ma-homet* is a sublime work," he wrote, "I would rather have rehabilitated the memory of Calas."<sup>9</sup> He is amazed at Voltaire's first efforts to give

<sup>7</sup> XLVIII, 558.

<sup>8</sup> *Œuvres*, v, 397.

<sup>9</sup> *Œuvres*, v, 426.

a public airing to the Calas affair, amazed that this genius, represented to him by Grimm and others as a petulant, jealous, self-centered old man, had a soul and human feelings that were revolted by injustice and that aspired to virtue. His exclamations end with that often-quoted phrase: "Quand il y auroit un Christ, je vous assure que Voltaire seroit sauvé."<sup>10</sup> But three days later he finds the petty jealousy displayed in Voltaire's *Eloge de Crébillon* unforgivable, and decides that the author is no better than second-rate in every *genre*.<sup>11</sup> A true friend would have understood and forgiven, or at least would not have allowed his momentary displeasure to result in such general depreciation. Diderot was capable, however, of rising to the heights of eulogy when the occasion required, when he had learned to know Voltaire better, and when he was bothered by the lack of sympathy and appreciation often shown to Voltaire by his friends Grimm and Naigeon. To the latter, who was outraged by one of the patriarch's habitual outbursts against his critics, he admits that Voltaire may often have been jealous, ungrateful, fawning, but to his own hurt alone. The other side must not be forgotten: for this octogenarian has held the whip over tyrants and fanatics, he has been the constant friend of humanity, he has avenged innocence in distress; he has introduced Locke and Newton to France, has attacked prejudice, preached freedom of thought, inspired a spirit of tolerance, sustained good taste against odds; he has done several praiseworthy things and written a multitude of excellent works. His name is honored in every country and will endure throughout the centuries. And Diderot, rather than jump on a man in the mire, would now magnanimously lend the helping hand and pull him out.<sup>12</sup> The eulogy is perhaps a little too reserved, admits a little too much, is a little too eloquent to indicate sympathetic affection. To Diderot, caught in the welter and confusion of Parisian small-talk, Voltaire was too great and too distant—a rarefied presence, a sort of great god Brioché with invisible strings, for whom he had no desire to serve as marionette.

It was Voltaire, then, who, as leader of the party, was ever taking the initiative. If Diderot was interested in stressing the divergences in their thought, Voltaire was more concerned in emphasizing the fact that they were both partisans of the same true philosophy, of tolerance, enlightenment, and humanity. In his first letter, he says he has long esteemed Diderot and rejoices to see that he is against "stupid barbarians who condemn what they don't understand, and people of ill-will who join with imbeciles in proscribing enlightenment."<sup>13</sup> A few months later when

<sup>10</sup> *Lettres à Sophie Volland* (Paris, 1930), II, 117–118.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 121.

<sup>12</sup> This letter is dated 1777; it should be 1772. Voltaire was 78 years old at the time.

*Œuvres*, XX, 73.

<sup>13</sup> XXXVII, 22.

Diderot is imprisoned at Vincennes he writes against the persecutors of "poor Diderot" and induces Mme du Châtelet to intercede with her relative, the governor of the prison, for the purpose of making the imprisonment of "Socrates-Diderot" more bearable.

The Berlin sojourn and the subsequent period of wandering form an interruption of eight years in the relationship. His next intercession was with Palissot, in the letter quoted above. For every renewed attack of Palissot against Diderot, Voltaire rose to the latter's defense, and had his letters to Palissot published. Diderot calls Voltaire's epistolary commerce with Palissot shameful. It seems, however, that Voltaire maintained the balance of friendship in all loyalty, as he was able to do so well in his invaluable letters to those mortal enemies, d'Alembert and Mme du Deffand.

During the battles over the *Encyclopédie* Voltaire worked tirelessly to keep the little flock together. The period from 1757 to 1768 marks the height of personal relations between the two men. Diderot wrote letters only under the stress of necessity. Voltaire was dependent at first on d'Alembert, a regular and assiduous correspondent. His views were necessarily colored by those of this highly esteemed and loved friend. Mme d'Épinay, on her trip to Geneva, was astonished to find that Voltaire considered d'Alembert the real force of the enterprise and was happy to disillusion him in favor of Diderot.<sup>14</sup>

Acting throughout the critical years as the party whip, Voltaire first asked Diderot the names of his persecutors (Chaumeix, Berthier, Omer Joli de Fleury) that he might treat them according to their merits.<sup>15</sup> His efforts were especially directed toward keeping the party united. He believed it might be wise if all the workers abandoned the enterprise together until satisfaction should be obtained, but warns d'Alembert not to quit alone.<sup>16</sup> Then when it became impossible to keep d'Alembert in line, he is angry with Diderot for not joining him, and, to set the example, demands the return of his own articles. Diderot was very slow as usual in replying; he was much too preoccupied and independent to understand the niceties of social correspondence. Voltaire had also asked Diderot to return a note that he had too hastily written on the Cacouac affair, and the failure to receive it worked him up to one of his too habitual frenzies. He wrote repeatedly to d'Alembert and finally to d'Argental demanding that Diderot burn the letter in the latter's presence. Diderot resented this petulant display of mistrust, but finally wrote a very conciliatory and touching letter, in which he asked Vol-

<sup>14</sup> xxxix, 333. From Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.*, v, 287, one would infer that this undated letter was written in March, 1758.

<sup>15</sup> xxxix, 364.

<sup>16</sup> xxxix, 386.

taire's aid in persuading d'Alembert to continue the work.<sup>17</sup> Never again does Voltaire appear to have suspected Diderot's essential honesty, goodness of heart, moral courage, and loyalty to the cause. In the letter, Diderot shows how chimerical is the idea of breaking with the French publishing houses and states his program: "Que faire donc? ce qui convient à des gens de courage: mépriser nos ennemis, les poursuivre et profiter, comme nous avons fait, de l'imbécillité de nos censeurs." The letter ends on a more personal note with a request for love and confidence: "Adieu, mon cher maître; portez-vous bien, aimez-moi toujours. Ne soyez plus fâché, et surtout ne me redemandez plus vos lettres: car je vous les renverrais, et n'oublierais jamais cette injure."<sup>18</sup>

Voltaire was completely won over by this letter. Henceforth he appreciates especially Diderot's goodness of heart,<sup>19</sup> his human and emotional qualities. True, he writes time and again how sorry he is that "poor Diderot" is the slave of the book-dealers and at the mercy of bigots, that the *Encyclopédie* should degenerate, owing to stringent censorship, into a collection of puerile declamations, that the authors have not been able to form a society of brothers. Several months later, by midsummer of 1758, the letters between the two men are much more frequent. Voltaire pledges his continued support, is afraid that Diderot may not be able to use such uncompromising articles as "Histoire" and "Idolâtrie," is delighted when Diderot asks for all possible articles from his "cher maître," and on the eve of his departure for the Palatinate, sends best wishes for Diderot's glory and happiness, with vows of esteem and attachment. By November he virtually admits, in a letter to Diderot, that he had been wrong in following d'Alembert's advice and regrets that Diderot had not received better support.<sup>20</sup>

Palissot's *Philosophes* was an especially treacherous effort to combat the philosophical movement. It was not only an attack at a cruel moment on the authors of the *Encyclopédie*; it was an attempt to separate the leader from the flock. Voltaire was praised as highly as Diderot and his intimates were condemned. D'Alembert felt sure that Mme du Deffand was one of Palissot's protectors and instigators. There is some plausibility in the supposition, in spite of that lady's protesting reply to Voltaire's polite remonstrance. She, as well as Palissot, was interested in Voltaire's literary merits and in the now fading glories of the preceding age. She hated the encyclopedists and philosophers and would gladly have saved Voltaire for history and pure literature. The affair created an extremely embarrassing situation for the patriarch. He was obliged

<sup>17</sup> XXXIX, 401.

<sup>19</sup> XXXIX, 422.

<sup>18</sup> XXXIX, 402.

<sup>20</sup> XXXIX, 532, Cf. xli, 110

to state his position publicly, to reiterate his high esteem and affection for d'Alembert and Diderot, and to protest against Palissot's judgments. He wrote to the author:

Vous m'accablez de politesses, d'éloges, d'amitiés; mais vous me faites rougir, quand vous imprimez que je suis supérieur à ceux que vous attaquez. Je crois bien que je fais des vers mieux qu'eux, et même que j'en sais autant qu'eux en fait d'histoire; mais sur mon Dieu, sur mon âme, je suis à peine leur écolier dans tout le reste, tout vieux que je suis.<sup>21</sup>

This is interesting evidence that Voltaire was not always jealous of superior talent—not if his rivals were of his party and were named d'Alembert, Diderot, Buffon, Condorcet, Middleton, or Hume; nor is it possible to mistake the sincerity of his loyalty to his friends. The same loyal tone prevails in the letters to Mme du Deffand which were not written for immediate publication. The distance from Paris to Ferney, unkind rumors, and garbled accounts must be held responsible for Diderot's remark on the shameful nature of Voltaire's letters to Palissot.<sup>22</sup>

Voltaire's task of protecting the Encyclopedists was extremely delicate. It would not do to enrage the opposition to such a point that Diderot, "under its claw" at Paris, would be endangered. The latter felt quite often that that was the case and is seen alternately asking Voltaire for help and deploring the violence of his attacks against the common enemy. He failed to understand sometimes that Voltaire's outbursts of jealousy and irritability were often more party than personal matters. For Voltaire could forgive personal attack and applaud the works of other geniuses if the authors were or might be useful to his party in the struggle for tolerance. Diderot realized this in his better moments. Both in the heat and at the end of the long struggle, he thanked Voltaire for ever holding the whip over his enemies, and assured him that there was no man in the world whose life was more precious than his.<sup>23</sup>

For many years it was Voltaire's great ambition to have Diderot elected to the French Academy, first because it would be a mortal blow to the infamous persecutors of true philosophy, and secondly, because, as he wrote to Mme d'Épinay, no candidate was more worthy unless it be Spinoza.<sup>24</sup> So great was his enthusiasm that he even promised to come to Paris to register his vote for "Socrates," and thus defy "Anitus," in the person of Omer Joli de Fleury.<sup>25</sup> D'Alembert, recognizing the strength of the opposition, tried to discourage Voltaire, while Grimm and Mme

<sup>21</sup> XL, 433.

<sup>22</sup> *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, I, 268.

<sup>23</sup> XLI, 79-80; *Œuvres*, XX, 73.

<sup>24</sup> XL, 478.

<sup>25</sup> XL, 453. See Voltaire's *Socrate*.

d'Épinay knew that Diderot would never take the necessary steps and follow Voltaire's cynical suggestion of procedure: Diderot could deny that he wrote a certain metaphysical treatise, profess once again his catholicity, seduce and go to mass with some pious lady, and success would be certain.<sup>26</sup> Diderot's atheism was not common knowledge and Voltaire was anxious to show the world that the philosophers were good, patriotic, law-abiding citizens, who respected the deity.<sup>27</sup> Diderot's essential goodness was publicly esteemed. His election to the Academy would have been a tremendous victory for philosophy. Regardless of motives and methods of procedure, it is regrettable that this long-enduring dream of Voltaire's was never fulfilled.

A period of closer intimacy now ensued through the agency of Damilaville who, from 1760 until his death in 1768, served to bind the two men more closely together. The advantages obtained through his official position greatly decreased the dangers of sending letters and packages through the post. Diderot was willing to let this enthusiastic servant of philosophy send the news of Paris to Ferney, and Voltaire's letters to Damilaville were always to be shared with their mutual friend. During these years Voltaire's affection for the man Diderot is rapidly developing. A letter from the heart is announced, but is unfortunately missing from the record.<sup>28</sup> The letters to Damilaville reveal his esteem and affection: "Vous vous êtes lié avec M. Diderot, pour qui j'ai une estime égale à son mérite: la lumière qui éclaire son esprit échauffe son cœur."<sup>29</sup> In this most friendly and revealing correspondence, Diderot is at first "Pantophile-Diderot," but this is soon changed to the steadily recurring "Platon-Diderot" or, in time of danger, M. Tonpla. In spite of his often-repeated objections to Platonic philosophy, Voltaire recognized Plato's genius, and undoubtedly meant this title as a compliment—at least there was nothing equivocal about it as in the "Sémiramis" attached to Catherine II—yet it would seem that Lucrèce or Lucien would have been a much more fitting appellation.

Through Damilaville too, Diderot met Thieriot and rejoiced with him over the success of *Tancrède*, which Diderot praised for its pathos, secured through the use of pause and pantomime. He was prevailed upon to send his criticisms to Voltaire. Leaving aside for the present the more important critical ideas involved, it is noteworthy that Diderot desired still more pathos, more emotional feeling, and that Voltaire modified his play in accordance with Diderot's wishes.<sup>30</sup> While consenting, however, to make the father in *Tancrède* more pathetic and more touching,

<sup>26</sup> XI, 503-504.

<sup>27</sup> Letter to Stanislas; XI, 512.

<sup>28</sup> XI, 526.

<sup>29</sup> XII, 68.

<sup>30</sup> "Tâchez donc qu'Argire soit plus père," XII, 77; cf. XII, 99, 101, 109.

he could not possibly be expected to approve unreservedly of Diderot's *Père de famille*. His tremendous interest in the success of that play must be attributed then to his friendship for Diderot and to his desire to see him elected to the number of the Immortals: "Joue-t-on *Tancrède*?" he wrote to Thieriot early in 1761; "joue-t-on *le Père de famille*? O mon cher frère Diderot! je vous cède la place de tout mon cœur, et je voudrais vous couronner de lauriers."<sup>31</sup> On the same subject, to Damilaville he wrote: "Puissent toutes les bénédictions être répandues sur nos frères! Puisse la lumière éclairer tous les yeux, et l'humanité pénétrer tous les cœurs!"<sup>32</sup> and to the same: "Je prie Dieu pour le succès du *Père de famille*." This prayer to God eloquently shows to what extremes Voltaire would go in the interests of friendship. This time again his hopes were dashed; the Abbé Trublet, an enemy of the *Encyclopédie*, "who compiled and compiled and compiled,"<sup>33</sup> was elected. Voltaire wrote to Mme d'Epinay:

Si vous voyez M. Diderot, priez-le de faire nos compliments au cher abbé Trublet. J'aime à mettre ces deux noms ensemble. Les contrastes font toujours un plaisant effet, quoi que le monde en dise.<sup>34</sup>

Voltaire's part in the Calas affair served to warm Diderot's heart toward the enlightened despot of Ferney. An eloquent, impassioned paragraph in a letter to Voltaire reveals the ardor of his enthusiasm:

Ah grand frère, vous ne savez pas combien ces gueux qui, faisant sans cesse le mal, se sont imaginé qu'il était réservé à eux seuls de faire le bien, souffrent de vous voir l'ami des hommes, le père des orphelins, et le défenseur des opprimés. Continuez de faire de grands ouvrages et de bonnes œuvres, et qu'ils en crèvent de dépit. Adieu, sublime, honnête et cher antechrist.<sup>35</sup>

Diderot revealed himself here as a true brother. He carried out small commissions for Voltaire at Paris, and placed in safe and useful hands many copies of the *Traité sur la tolérance*: "Ils sont tous pour les bienveillants de l'homme et de la chose," he wrote to Damilaville; "Leur devise est aussi: Proscrivez l'infâme."<sup>36</sup>

In their choice and approval of methods the two philosophers were never in agreement. Diderot had little taste for what he called "de plates et fastidieuses rabâcheries sur Jésus-Christ et ses apôtres."<sup>37</sup> Voltaire based his appeal on history and the past, while Diderot, especially interested in the promising future of the natural sciences, was more sweeping and radical in his attack. Voltaire considered that metaphysical

<sup>31</sup> XLI, 163, 172.

<sup>32</sup> XLI, 215, 211.

<sup>33</sup> Thus satirized by Voltaire in *Le pauvre diable*, x, 107-108.

<sup>34</sup> XLI, 255.

<sup>35</sup> XLII, 253.

<sup>36</sup> *Correspondance inédite*, I, 276.

<sup>37</sup> *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, III, 176.

works were too little read and understood for propaganda purposes. He would have liked to win over d'Alembert and Diderot, and asks Diderot to persuade Helvétius to join him in his battle of tracts.<sup>38</sup> He formed the sublime project, in 1766, of retiring with these men and a printing press to Clèves under Frederick II's protection, far away from the barbarians who had persecuted and assassinated the Chevalier de la Barre. There, with freedom and unity of purpose, humanity might at last be enlightened and the face of things could be changed. Diderot should at least come to see the spot that he had selected for the untrammelled manufacture of enlightenment, for Voltaire often expressed his regrets that he might die without seeing his beloved *confrère*.<sup>39</sup>

The dreams of this philosophic castle at Clèves were not destined to fulfillment. Voltaire alone was enthusiastic, and perhaps he, too, had misjudged the immediate dangers of persecution as well as the ties that bound him to Ferney. After disappointments and in moments of pessimism, it was his habit to repeat the final word of *Candide* and to set about cultivating his garden.<sup>40</sup> Diderot wrote him another charming letter. Voltaire reread it time and again and his heart was alternately wrung and warmed. Diderot pleaded his family obligations, the deceptive tranquillity of everyday life in the streets of Paris, the innocence and obscurity of his own life. The letter ends most eloquently:

Illustre et tendre ami de l'humanité, je vous salue et vous embrasse. Il n'y a point d'homme un peu généreux qui ne pardonnât au fanatisme d'abrégér ses années, si elles pouvaient ajouter aux vôtres. Si nous ne concouons pas avec vous à écraser la bête, c'est que nous sommes sous sa griffe, et si, connaissant toute sa férocité, nous balançons à nous éloigner, c'est par des considérations dont le prestige est d'autant plus fort qu'on a l'âme plus honnête et plus sensible. Nos entours sont si doux, et c'est une perte si difficile à réparer!<sup>41</sup>

Diderot's naive honesty and simplicity completely won Voltaire's heart. In a more general way, it is very likely that Diderot was instrumental in the growth of "sensibilité," of that sympathetic love for men, which became more and more characteristic of Voltaire during the Ferney period. M. Thomas writes:

C'est Diderot qui a communiqué à tout son siècle l'amour spontané de l'humanité, le besoin de substituer à la notion abstraite de l'homme général, tel que l'ont peint La Rochefoucauld ou Racine, la réalité vivante de l'être de chair, émouvant dans sa faiblesse, admirable dans son universelle curiosité.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> XLIII, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. XLIII, 183.

<sup>39</sup> XLIV, 357, 358, 361, 366, 407, 429, 432.

<sup>41</sup> XLIV, 371.

<sup>42</sup> *L'humanisme de Diderot*, p. 76. Cf. P. Trahard: *Les maîtres de la sensibilité française au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. II.



In the face of criticism too often prejudiced, it would be interesting to draw up the list of those persons upon whom Voltaire lavished his affections. Diderot would find his place there in the philosophic section along with Thieriot, d'Alembert, Marmontel, and Damilaville.

The friendship continued its even tenor during the final decade of Voltaire's life. He was delighted with the progress of the *Encyclopédie*, in spite of its faults, delighted with the honor paid Diderot by Catherine of Russia, and ever ready to pay tribute to "the immortal vanquisher of fanaticism."<sup>43</sup> True, he could not agree with the growing movement of atheistic materialism, and openly objected to Diderot's position in his *Lettres de Memmius à Cicéron*; but he forgives the atheists their dangerous metaphysics on account of their humanity, their love of tolerance, and hatred of fanaticism.<sup>44</sup> At the age of eighty-two, he addressed an affectionate letter to Diderot, in which, not foreseeing his final triumphant visit to Paris, he regretted that he must die without meeting him. After mentioning their former friend Damilaville, he continues:

Cet ami savait que nous n'étions pas si éloignés de compte, et qu'il n'eût fallu qu'une conversation pour nous entendre, mais on ne trouve pas partout des hommes avec qui on puisse parler. . . . Le peu que j'ai lu de vous me rend presque tous les autres livres insipides. En un mot, vos ouvrages et votre personne causent mes regrets<sup>45</sup>

In a fit of sickness, some years before, he wrote to Diderot that he was soon to see, presumably in the Elysian Fields, friend Damilaville, who likewise had denied intelligence in the universe, and that he would then know who was right. Disagreement, however, even on a question so important as this was no bar to friendship: "Il me niait l'intelligence, et nous étions bons amis."<sup>46</sup> And to Grimm he wrote: "Embrassez pour moi, je vous prie, frère Platon, quand même qu'il n'admettrait pas l'intelligence."<sup>47</sup>

This tolerant attitude contrasts rather strangely with Diderot's frequent rigidity. In 1749, as a deist, Diderot had said he was a believer in God but lived very comfortably with atheists.<sup>48</sup> Later, as an atheist, he found it very difficult to forgive Voltaire for remaining a deist. He is reported to have called Voltaire a "cagot," and certainly showed little tact, little respect for the sacred rites of friendship in pressing his point at inopportune moments. First he filled a whole letter with atheistic arguments for Damilaville while the latter was Voltaire's guest at Ferney. And it seems difficult to believe that he did not stress this same point, as we know he did the divergence in their appreciation of Shake-

<sup>43</sup> XLVI, 543.

<sup>44</sup> XLVI, 300.

<sup>45</sup> L, 150.

<sup>46</sup> XLVIII, 96.

<sup>47</sup> XLVII, 220.

<sup>48</sup> XXXVII, 25.

speare, when the two old warriors met at last in Paris.<sup>49</sup> There was no question here of sacrificing convictions to friendship—Voltaire did not do that even for his beloved Mme du Châtelet;<sup>50</sup> it was rather a case for friendly forbearance in discussing points at issue, for stressing the many points of sympathetic agreement. Diderot would hardly have been himself, however, if he had not taken this occasion, too, for the exercise of his exuberant eloquence, thereby offering Voltaire, who had been forced to adopt the rôle of listener, the occasion for one of his more famous *bons mots*: “Cet homme a de l’esprit assurément; mais la nature lui a refusé un talent et un talent essentiel: celui du dialogue.”<sup>51</sup>

It is reported<sup>52</sup> that after seeing Voltaire, Diderot likened him to an old fairy castle fallen in ruins but still inhabited by some old sorcerer. It would be unjust, however, to conclude a chapter on this friendship with such anecdotes alone, especially when we have an account written by Diderot which, in itself, forms an admirable summary of the preceding sketch of their personal relations:

J’ai pris la liberté de contredire de vive voix et par écrit M. de Voltaire, avec les égards que je devais aux années et à la supériorité de ce grand homme, mais aussi avec le ton de franchise qui me convenait, et cela sans l’offenser, sans en avoir entendu de réponses désobligeantes. Je me souviens qu’il se plaignait un jour avec amertume de la flétrissure que les magistrats imprimaient aux livres et aux personnes: “Mais, ajoutai-je, cette flétrissure qui vous afflige, est-ce que vous ne savez pas que le temps l’enlève, et la reverse sur le magistrat injuste? La cigue valut un temple au philosophe d’Athènes. . . .” Alors le vieillard m’enlaçant de ses bras, et me pressant contre sa poitrine, ajouta: “Vous avez raison, et voilà ce que j’attendais de vous. . . .” D’autres en ont éprouvé la même indulgence.<sup>53</sup>

The picture is almost too perfect to warrant comment. Diderot is proud to the end of his intellectual independence, his full-toned frankness in the very face of the great literary dictator. Voltaire, affectionate, too great to be affectionately loved in return, again takes the initiative, indulgently awaits the word he can heartily approve and presses to his breast the man who had bravely fought so many battles with him in the cause of humanity.

This rapid sketch of the personal relations between Diderot and Voltaire is a necessary introduction to the study of Voltaire’s appreciation of Diderot’s thought and comments on his works. It has already been apparent that in a general way he was of the number of Diderot’s con-

<sup>49</sup> Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.*, VIII, 128.

<sup>50</sup> XXXVII, 515.

<sup>51</sup> Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.*, VIII, 129.

<sup>52</sup> *Correspondance secrète*, v, 292.

<sup>53</sup> *Œuvres*, III, 394.

temporaries who knew, understood, and highly esteemed those works which the intrepid philosopher consented to reveal to his century. Many among them, Grimm, d'Alembert, d'Holbach, Mme d'Épinay, Naigeon, and others, knew, too, the works reserved for posterity. Voltaire was not one of this more intimate group. True, he offered to exchange manuscripts with Diderot, but these were articles for the *Encyclopédie*. There is no evidence that he had any knowledge whatsoever of such important works as the *Neveu de Rameau*, *Jacques le Fataliste*, or the *Rêve de d'Alembert*. Nor did he suspect the existence of a Sophie Volland. It was his acquaintance with a relatively small number of works, then, that led Voltaire to judge himself a mere pupil in matters concerning metaphysics and the natural sciences, to place Diderot in a position second only to Spinoza, to remark that he alone was capable of writing the history of philosophy, and, late in life, to write that his works made most other books seem insipid.<sup>54</sup> Voltaire had considerable difficulty in procuring Diderot's works, especially after the death of Damilaville. He admits in a letter to Diderot in 1776 that he hasn't succeeded in getting them all and that he has therefore read relatively little. The number now in his library, at Leningrad, is nevertheless considerable:

*Pensées philosophiques*. La Haye, 1746. In-12. [5-128].<sup>55</sup>

*Mémoires sur différens sujets de mathématiques*. Paris, 1748. In-8. [8-78.]

*Lettres sur les aveugles*. Londres, 1749. In-8. [5-152.]

*Lettre de M. Diderot au R. P. Berthier* (Contains "Ordre encyclopédique" and article "Art.") S.l., 1751. Petit in-8. [5-81.]

*Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*. S.l., 1754. In-12, 206 pp. [5-129.]

*Le Fils naturel*. Amsterdam, 1757. [6-45.]

*Ibid.* Amsterdam, 1760. [11-151.]

[and d'Alembert] *Encyclopédie*. Paris, 1751-57. Vols. I-VII. In-folio. [5-258.]

*Ibid.* Neuchatel, 1765. Vols. IX-XVII. In-folio. [5-258.]

*Recueil de planches*. Paris, 1762-68. 6 vols. in-folio. [5-259.]

*Supplément à l'Encyclopédie*. Amsterdam, 1776-77. 4 vols. in-folio. [6-321.]

*Suite du recueil de planches*. Paris, 1777. In-folio. [5-260.]

*Le Père de famille*. Paris, 1770. [11-151.]

*Œuvres philosophiques*. Amsterdam, 1772. 6 vols. in-8. [11-219.]

*Collection complète des œuvres phil., litt. et dramatiques*. Londres, 1773. (Tome III only.) In-8. [11-220.]

*Pensées philosophiques. Entretien d'un philosophe avec M<sup>de</sup> la Duchesse de x x x*. Londres, 1777. In-8. [2-136.]

<sup>54</sup> XL, 433, 478; XLIV, 190; L, 150.

<sup>55</sup> The numbers in brackets are the case and volume numbers of Voltaire's books in the Public Library of Leningrad.

*Essai sur les règnes de Claude et de Néron et sur les mœurs et les écrits de Sénèque.*  
Londres, 1782.<sup>56</sup> 2 vols in-12. [11-220 ]

It is an interesting fact that Voltaire's marginal comments in books written by his enemies are much more numerous than those on the pages of books of which he approved. The notes on the margins of Rousseau's works, recently collected and published in full by Professor George R. Havens,<sup>57</sup> are relatively numerous. The comments on philosophical and religious questions are likewise predominant. Volumes containing novels and plays are much more rarely annotated. Voltaire commented in the margins of two different copies of Diderot's *Pensées philosophiques*, once at some indeterminate date, and again, in a volume including the famous *Entretien d'un philosophe avec Mde. la Duchesse de x x x*, during the last year of his life. There are also page markers in the *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature* revealing his interest in, but not his reactions to certain arguments of that important work. For Voltaire's other comments it has been necessary to search his correspondence as completely as possible, and various other works such as the Preface to *les Scythes* and the *Lettres de Memmius à Cicéron*. The light shed from this angle on the contrasts, compromises, and blendings of their opinions will clarify, it is hoped, the ideas of two men who were, and still are, potent factors in the making of the history of thought.

Diderot's *Lettre sur les aveugles* was the occasion of the first recorded contact. The epistolary discussion of this work served to bring out the principal disagreement in their metaphysics which was to endure to the end. Voltaire was nevertheless sincere in his admiration for the ingenuity and profundity of the treatise. He had already himself written of Saunderson in his *Éléments de la philosophie de Newton* and sent Diderot a new edition, in which the incident was described in more detail. He was especially pleased to note the scientific, experimental method employed, and to recognize Diderot as a worthy brother in philosophy. Voltaire's objections were centered on the least scientific part of the work, on Diderot's supposition that Saunderson denied a God because he was blind:

Mais je vous avoue que je ne suis point du tout de l'avis de Saunderson, qui nie un Dieu parce qu'il est né aveugle. Je me trompe peut-être, mais j'aurais, à sa place, reconnu un être très intelligent qui m'aurait donné tant de suppléments de la vue; et en apercevant par la pensée des rapports infinis dans toutes les choses, j'aurais soupçonné un ouvrier infiniment habile. Il est fort impertinent

<sup>56</sup> It is possible that Voltaire left a standing order for Diderot's works as they appeared, and that this volume, published after his death and the transfer of his library to St. Petersburg, was sent along and added to the collection.

<sup>57</sup> *Voltaire's Marginalia on the Pages of Rousseau*, (Columbus, Ohio, 1933).

de prétendre deviner ce qu'il est, et pourquoi il a fait tout ce qui existe; mais il me paraît bien hardi de nier qu'il est.<sup>58</sup>

Clogenson remarks that it was because of his constant and profound conviction of the existence of a God that Voltaire was called a "cagot" by Diderot.<sup>59</sup>

Diderot replied by saying that Saunderson's idea of God is not his own, perhaps because he himself sees: "Ces rapports qui nous frappent si vivement n'ont pas le même éclat pour un aveugle: il vit dans une obscurité perpétuelle, et cette obscurité doit ajouter beaucoup de force pour lui à ses raisons métaphysiques." He confesses that the darkness of night brings him doubts of the existence of God which are dissipated with the rising sun. To this subjective reason "à la Jean-Jacques," he adds others which he did not dare to attribute to Saunderson, on account of the persecuting barbarians and imbeciles mentioned in Voltaire's letter. As the result of these arguments on the inconceivability of interaction between matter and spirit, Saunderson would say that corporeal being is no less independent of spiritual being than spiritual being is of corporeal being; that they together compose the universe and that the universe is God; and Diderot cleverly turns Voltaire's argument against him: "Quelle force n'ajouterait point à ce raisonnement l'opinion qui vous est commune avec Locke: que la pensée pourrait bien être une modification de la matière!" He then comes directly to the heart of the question. To Voltaire's observation of the infinite relationship between things and the marvelous ordering of the universe, Saunderson would reply that these are merely subjective feelings that exist only in the mind, that man, like the ant and the worm, can find livable quarters in a world formed entirely by chance. Diderot then shows that the question is of no practical significance anyway. Although he believes in God he gets along very comfortably with atheists, who are enthusiastic about the good and the beautiful like other honorable people, and who are not deficient in moral conduct in spite of their belief in the theory of determinism. It is important not to mistake hemlock for parsley, but of no importance at all to believe or not to believe in God—an idea for philosophers to play with.

Voltaire's own use of the case of Saunderson had been to prove that it is impossible to be unhappy through the privation of a good of which one is totally ignorant,<sup>60</sup> and to show that sight angles in the eye do not give us judgments on distance and size except in conjunction with the other senses. His immediate reaction to Diderot's letter is not recorded. The contested point was, however, by no means dropped. Later discus-

<sup>58</sup> XXXVII, 23.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, n. 3.

<sup>60</sup> XXII, 469.

sions of those same ideas show that he recognized the force and approved of the method of Diderot's argument. He undoubtedly suspected that Diderot's own opinions were dangerously near those that the latter attributed to Saunderson. Damilaville told Voltaire that an hour's conversation together would have brought an essential agreement. Diderot could hardly have foreseen that Voltaire's long absence from Paris would put off that hour for nearly thirty years. During the intervening years both philosophers stuck to their guns, nor is there any record of submission on either side.

Eight years later, Voltaire had occasion to write to Diderot to thank him for his *Fils naturel*. It is an extremely skillful letter, in which Voltaire succeeds in praising the author without praising the play, and exhorts him, not to write another play, but to spread abroad as much as possible, in the *Encyclopédie*, the noble liberty of his soul: "L'ouvrage que vous m'avez envoyé, monsieur, ressemble à son auteur: il me paraît plein de vertus, de sensibilité et de philosophie. Je pense, comme vous, qu'il y aurait beaucoup à réformer au théâtre de Paris."<sup>61</sup>

This new bourgeois drama must have fallen upon Voltaire like a bolt from the blue, a portent of the approaching collapse of good taste, of the classical drama, and consequently of French superiority in one of the few fields that seemed to Voltaire to remain indisputably hers. The English were definitely superior in the halls of philosophy, in the seats of government and on the high seas, but good taste and the classical drama were France's notable heritage from the age of Louis XIV, and of these glories Voltaire was the recognized champion. In this struggle Diderot could be no comrade in arms. Let him stick, then, to his *Encyclopédie*.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Voltaire was entirely conservative in his views on the drama.<sup>62</sup> He, too, as he insists, agrees with Diderot on the necessity of reforms. He does not say, however, that he agrees on the reforms suggested in the *Entretiens sur le fils naturel*. Some of his ideas were without doubt in conformity with Diderot's. In his letter of thanks he condemns the seating of frivolous noblemen on the wings of the stage, a reform which was accomplished two years later; and agrees that there should be no infamy attached to the presentation of virtuous sentiments. But Voltaire had had too much experience with audiences to hope for any sudden change in their attitude toward long-accepted technicalities and proprieties, nor would he probably have suggested any breaking down of the classical genres. These changes must

<sup>61</sup> xxxix, 181.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Chapter "Voltaire and Shakespeare" in E. Sonet, *Voltaire et l'influence anglaise*.

be made gradually and the public must first be educated. Neither man was astute enough to see that no marked change was possible without a previous revolution in society.

Voltaire returns to Diderot's dramatic theories in the prefaces to two plays, *l'Écossaise* and *les Scythes*. In the total absence of marginal comment in his two copies of *le Fils naturel*, we must depend on these for definite observations. *L'Écossaise* was hardly a serious play; here, then, was a chance to pay Diderot a few compliments without compromising drama in general. The play was written to avenge Diderot and his fellow-workers for the ill-treatment accorded them in Palissot's *Philosophes*; yet the man directly attacked was Fréron. It was an eminently personal play, for the justification of which Voltaire happily thought of Diderot's *Entretiens*. That illustrious scholar and genius remarks very judiciously, he writes, that it is time to consider the representation on the stage not of characters but of the conditions and professions of men.<sup>68</sup> Libelous criticism is a trade, and thus, with Diderot's help, the rôle of "Fréron" is brought within the pale of serious dramatic theory. The compliments paid to Diderot are sincere, but the rest is a bit of high fooling.

Many other parts of Diderot's suggestions were entirely unacceptable to Voltaire, such as the domestic tragedy in prose and the emphasis on pantomime and tableaux. That we have no record of Voltaire's reaction to many of these innovations indicates remarkable restraint and loyalty. Voltaire had himself sought in his plays to increase action and to stress the element of pathos. But Diderot had gone too far and inevitably aligned himself with the admirers of Shakespeare. That Voltaire was well aware of the connection is evident from the Preface to *les Scythes*. He is ready to admit the greatness of Garrick in his Shakespearian rôles, and the power of his appeal to the eyes, but this magical perfection in the actor tends to cover up the faults in the author:

Cette magie a été fortement recommandée il y a quelques années par un philosophe qui, à l'exemple d'Aristote, a su joindre aux sciences abstraites, la connaissance du cœur humain, et l'intelligence du théâtre. Il a été en tout de l'avis de l'auteur de *Sémiramis*, qui a toujours voulu qu'on animât la scène par un plus grand appareil, par plus de pittoresque, par des mouvements plus passionnés qu'elle ne semblait en comporter auparavant. Ce philosophe sensible a même proposé des choses que l'auteur de *Sémiramis*, d'*Oreste*, et de *Tancrède* n'oserait jamais hasarder. . . . Ce n'est que par degrés qu'on peut accoutumer notre théâtre à ce grand pathétique. . . . Souvenons-nous toujours qu'il ne faut pas pousser le terrible jusqu'à l'horrible. . . . Gardons-nous surtout de chercher dans un grand appareil, et dans un vain jeu de théâtre, un supplément à l'intérêt et à l'éloquence. Il vaut cent fois mieux, sans doute, savoir faire parler ses acteurs

<sup>68</sup> v, 410. Cf. Diderot, *Œuvres*, VII, 150.

que de se borner à les faire agir. Nous ne pouvons trop répéter que quatre beaux vers de sentiment valent mieux que quarante belles attitudes. Malheur à qui croirait plaire par des pantomimes avec des solécismes ou avec des vers froids et durs, pires que toutes les fautes contre la langue! Il n'est rien de beau en aucun genre que ce qui soutient l'examen de l'homme de goût.

L'appareil, l'action, le pittoresque, font un grand effet sans doute, mais ne mettons jamais le bizarre et le gigantesque à la place de la nature, et le forcé à la place du simple; que le décorateur ne l'emporte point sur l'auteur, car alors, au lieu de tragédies, on aurait la rareté, la curiosité.<sup>64</sup>

If this passage is a eulogy of Diderot as Voltaire claimed, it is also just as much a warning against Diderot's alarming tendencies, against what Diderot did not quite dare to advise, but would have advised if he had dared. Voltaire was plainly worried about Diderot's reception of the "eulogy," especially when he received no word about it. Many times in his correspondence he asks for information and says that he expected mention of the homage he paid Diderot in the Preface to *les Scythes*.<sup>65</sup>

Diderot had nevertheless expressed some novelties with which Voltaire was in hearty agreement. His boldness may well have inspired in Voltaire the increased action and the spectacles of *Olympie*. Voltaire sent his account of the representation at Tournay to the "brothers" at Paris, with a special word for Diderot. *Olympie* is thus seen to have been a genuine effort at compromise; Voltaire would expand a bit if Diderot would show more restraint:

Je prie mon cher frère de dire au frère Platon que ce qu'il appelle pantomime je l'ai toujours appelé action. Je n'aime point le terme de *pantomime* pour la tragédie. J'ai toujours songé, autant que je l'ai pu, à rendre les scènes tragiques pittoresques. Elles le sont dans *Mahomet*, dans *Mérope*, dans *l'Orphelin de la Chine*, surtout dans *Tancrède*. Mais ici toute la pièce est un tableau continu. Aussi a-t-elle fait le plus prodigieux effet. *Mérope* n'en approche pas quant à l'appareil et à l'action; et cette action est toujours nécessaire, elle est toujours annoncée par les acteurs mêmes. Je voudrais qu'on perfectionnât ce genre, qui est le seul tragique: car les conversations sont à la glace, et les conversations amoureuses sont à l'eau rose.<sup>66</sup>

In the account above mentioned, Voltaire had stressed the great emotional effect of his play:

Les larmes ont coulé pendant toute la pièce. Les larmes viennent du cœur. Trois cent personnes, de tout rang et de tout âge, ne s'attendrissent pas, à moins que la nature ne s'en mêle; mais pour produire cet effet, il fallait des acteurs et de l'action: tout a été tableau, tout a été animé.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> VI, 269-270.

<sup>66</sup> XLII, 85.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. XLV, 139.

<sup>67</sup> XLII, 73-74.



A heightening of the appeal to the emotions increased by a heightening of the appeal to the eyes, these are no new ideas to Voltaire. Diderot's rôle was to encourage him to greater activity and daring on these lines.

While it is apparent that Diderot's dramatic theories induced Voltaire to attempt a compromise with a view to holding the younger and bolder man in line with good taste, his actual productions could not hope to win over the dean of letters, *le Père de famille* no more than *le Fils naturel*. Voltaire received the *Père de famille* from Diderot in 1758. This edition is not now in his library, and the edition of 1770 is unannotated. The correspondence must again give us our information. Voltaire wrote a very polite and warm, but very carefully worded letter thanking him:

Je vous remercie du fond de mon cœur, monsieur, de votre attention et de votre nouvel ouvrage. Il y a des choses tendres, vertueuses, et d'un goût nouveau, comme dans tout ce que vous faites, mais permettez-moi de vous dire que je suis affligé de vous voir faire des pièces de théâtre qu'on ne met point au théâtre. . . .<sup>68</sup>

Nothing could be more noncommittal than these sentences. The last remark is not a dig, however. We have seen how ardently Voltaire desired the representation and acceptance by the public of this play. A franker criticism appears in a letter a month later to Mme du Deffand. A certain amount of caution must be used in accepting this testimony, for this blind old lady was very influential in keeping Voltaire to the good old traditions and appreciated and praised above all his literary conservatism. She hated the philosophers and Voltaire undoubtedly shaded his ideas to please her, in passages such as the following:

Vous êtes-vous fait lire *le Père de famille*? Cela n'est-il pas bien comique? Par ma foi, notre siècle est un pauvre siècle auprès de celui de Louis XIV; mille raisonneurs, et pas un seul homme de génie; plus de grâce, plus de gaieté; la disette d'hommes de tout genre fait pitié. La France subsistera; mais sa gloire, mais son bonheur, son ancienne supériorité . . . qu'est-ce que tout cela deviendra?<sup>69</sup>

Voltaire sensed in Diderot's play a certain heaviness and lack of grace which has been the experience of many a reader since. His friendship and esteem for Diderot prevented, however, a frank expression of his literary judgment. This attitude is evident in a passage from a letter to Palissot: "Sans jamais avoir vu M. Diderot, sans trouver *le Père de famille* plaisant, j'ai toujours respecté ses profondes connaissances; et, à la tête de ce *Père de famille*, il y a une épître à Mme la princesse de Nassau qui m'a paru le chef-d'œuvre de l'éloquence et le triomphe de l'*humanité*."<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> xxxix, 532.

<sup>69</sup> xxxix, 563-564.

<sup>70</sup> xl, 410-411.

Another expression in Voltaire's letter to Diderot is noteworthy: the element of novelty apparent in all of the latter's works. Voltaire's enthusiasm for Diderot and the enthusiasm of the philosophic clan in general can be explained by the new vistas that Diderot opened up in what appeared to be more and more a closed philosophical system.<sup>71</sup> The essential differences between the two men in regard to the theater resolve themselves into relative degrees of courage and common sense. Diderot displayed the greater courage and his ideas were destined for the future. Voltaire realized in a more practical way the difficulties involved in breaking with the past; and his plays were the more successful.

Voltaire's judgments on the *Encyclopédie* were as varying as was the value of the articles and the talents of the authors of that stupendous undertaking. He had, of course, nothing but the highest praise for the utility of the work as a whole,<sup>72</sup> and for the tremendous energy and courage displayed by Diderot in his labors as editor. Even so, it was difficult for him to visualize the difficulties that beset the worthy editor and he chides him time and again for the inclusion of weak, compromising articles and puerile declamations. In a letter to Mme d'Épinay, in 1760, he speaks of "pauvre Diderot, qui a trouvé le secret de renverser le plus bel édifice du monde pour y avoir mis une douzaine de pierres mal taillées, qui ne s'accordent pas avec le reste du bâtiment."<sup>73</sup>

In a more particular way, Voltaire was indignant over Diderot's praise of Rousseau in the article "Encyclopédie," beginning with the words: "Oh Rousseau, mon cher et digne ami . . .,"<sup>74</sup> and regretted that Diderot had been so busily occupied with the editing that the Chevalier de Jaucourt had had to write three-quarters of the articles; not that he failed to appreciate the latter's work, but he preferred more from Diderot. To Panckoucke, who wanted to republish and modify the work, he writes, in 1769: "L'enthousiasme y nuit encore plus, et les exclamations à la Jean-Jacques sont d'un prodigieux ridicule."<sup>75</sup> He recommended on occasions Diderot's articles "Hobbisme" and "Instinct," but on the whole, judging from a few remarks like the above and also from his relative silence, he did not himself approve the enthusiastic style which Diderot shared, beyond a doubt, with his contemporary, Rousseau.<sup>76</sup>

To d'Alembert, he wrote: "Il n'y a que vous qui écrivez toujours bien, et Diderot parfois."<sup>77</sup> It was d'Alembert who, in the eighteenth century, most nearly approached Voltaire's ideal of prose style, the *Lettres provinciales* of Pascal. Once more Voltaire looks to the past for his model,

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Jean Thomas, *L'Humanisme de Diderot*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>72</sup> XL, 410.

<sup>73</sup> XL, 417.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. XLIV, 51, 492.

<sup>75</sup> XLVI, 258; cf. XLVI, 479.

<sup>76</sup> XLIII, 484.

<sup>77</sup> XL, 437.

while Diderot points ahead to both the romantic and realistic schools of the following century.<sup>78</sup>

The theater and the novel were merely diversions in the lives of these men. True philosophy, the philosophy of enlightenment, the scientific method applied to all human interests, was their major concern, inevitably affecting their diversions. Here they saw more nearly eye to eye. "Si Dieu avait permis," Voltaire wrote to Damilaville, "que frère Platon, vous et moi eussions vécu ensemble, nous n'aurions pas été inutiles au monde." But the brothers in philosophy were dispersed and did not act together, and Voltaire loses heart: "Il faudra donc finir, comme Candide, par cultiver son jardin."<sup>79</sup> Slight differences of opinion concerning methods of attack, slight differences in conclusions, become magnified partly because of the physical distance that separated them and partly because these were the major concerns of their lives. It is entirely natural that Diderot's philosophical thoughts should command especially Voltaire's attention and that the philosophical works should alone inspire marginal comment.

It is impossible to determine how much time elapsed between the first skirmish over the *Lettres sur les aveugles* and Voltaire's first comments on the *Pensées philosophiques*. The correspondence helps here but little. The most probable supposition is that Voltaire turned to this book in 1760 when he was trying to prove, against the Preface of Palissot's *Philosophes*, that the latter had misrepresented Diderot in attributing to him ideas of La Mettrie. It was at this time that he sent for, and received, Diderot's *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*.<sup>80</sup> The earlier work must have given Voltaire some degree of comfort, for Diderot, after many arguments in favor of materialism, professed himself a deist, and even a Christian deist with a Catholic profession of faith.

Like Voltaire in his *Traité de métaphysique* (1734), Diderot presents, in the *Pensées philosophiques*, the arguments both for and against atheism. Voltaire's early comments, in the 1746 edition, are confined to sections XXI and XXIII, dealing with this subject. In the sections immediately preceding, Diderot has exposed the following arguments: the supposition of an inconceivable God does not help us conceive how movement could engender the universe; even if the marvels that shine in the physical order reveal some intelligence, the disorders which reign in the moral order annihilate all Providence; the existence of evil shows in God either powerlessness or ill-will, etc.; and such arguments cannot be met by mere invective. Voltaire has no comment on these passages.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Francis Birrell, "Things Diderot could do," *Criterion*, XII (July, 1933), 632 ff.

<sup>79</sup> XLIII, 183.

<sup>80</sup> XI, 413, 424, 435, 438; XII, 227, 240.

He had similarly given the atheist his due in his then as yet unpublished *Traité de métaphysique*. Many of these problems he believed incapable of solution. Considering the narrow limits of human reason, was it not, however, more "reasonable" to believe in Intelligence? He would likewise heartily agree with Diderot that Descartes and Malebranche, metaphysicians, had not been able to answer atheism or materialism. It was left for the experimental scientists, Newton, Muschenbrock, Hartzoeker, Nieuwentyt, to give satisfactory proofs of the existence of a sovereign Intelligence and to show that the world was not a God but a machine. It was those same scientists, and not Descartes, who had given to Voltaire satisfactory proofs of the existence of an Intelligence and of the immutable laws of the universe. Diderot uses the argument to show that whereas the subtleties of ontology make skeptics, those who reveal the secrets of nature form true deists.

"Pensée XXI" discusses the essential problem of whether the ordering of the universe shows purposeful creation, or whether it is merely the result of blind chance, of fortuitous throws of the dice. Diderot is here answering a common argument against atheism:

J'ouvre les cahiers d'un professeur célèbre, et je lis: "Athées, je vous accorde que le mouvement est essentiel à la matière; qu'en concluez-vous? . . . que le monde résulte du jet fortuit des atomes? J'aimerais autant que vous me disiez que *l'Iliade* d'Homère, ou la *Hémiade* de Voltaire est un résultat de jets fortuits de caractères." Je me garderai bien de faire ce raisonnement à un athée. cette comparaison lui donnerait beau jeu. Selon les lois de l'analyse des sorts, me dirait-il, je ne dois point être surpris qu'une chose arrive lorsqu'elle est possible, et que la difficulté de l'événement est compensée par la quantité de jets. Il y a tel nombre de coups dans lesquels je gagerais, avec avantage, d'amener cent mille six à la fois avec cent mille dés . . . la possibilité d'engendrier fortuitement l'univers est très petite, mais . . . la quantité des jets est infinie, c'est-à-dire que la difficulté de l'événement est plus que suffisamment compensée par la multitude des jets.<sup>81</sup>

It is clear that Voltaire is presented here with the ever troublesome argument that the marvelous order and infinite interrelations which he attributed to intelligent and purposeful creation, might be merely the result of the workings of the laws of chance, that life might be regarded as "a negligible accident in a by-product of the cosmic process."<sup>82</sup> His long note on this passage is headed "Paralogisme," a charge that Diderot is begging the question.

Vous supposez l'existence de ces dés—il est clair que rafle de six doit arriver; mais la question est, s'il y aura des dés: point de dés, point d'arrangement, point

<sup>81</sup> Diderot, *Œuvres*, I, 135-136, *Pensées philosophiques* (1746), pp. 40-44.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Dampier-Whetham, *A History of Science*, p. 483.

d'ordre, sans intelligence . <sup>83</sup> du sable pendant une éternité, il n'y aura jamais que du sable. Certainement ce sable ne produira pas des perroquets des hommes des singes. Tout ouvrage prouve un ouvrier.

It is apparent that Voltaire's conception of nature is essentially static, for he has in no way comprehended the significance of the argument that motion is essential to matter, with him, motion is still something—a shaking here perhaps—which is added to matter, visualized as sand. Even less did he conceive of countless centuries of slow biological evolution, a conception which, in Diderot's mind, was gradually breaking down the barriers between inanimate, animate, and intelligent beings; or as Voltaire put it, between sand, parrots, and men. Allowing for a free interpretation of the word "day," he was not far from the belief that God created the laws that govern the universe in six days, gave it a tap to set them in motion, and has been resting ever since.<sup>84</sup>

Voltaire's denial here of the existence of the dice would agree with his repeated refusal to apply the laws of chance to the universe. A very frequent note in the margins of the books he read is: "Laisse-là ton hasard; c'est un mot vide de sens."<sup>85</sup> Chance was merely a name for an unknown or undiscovered cause. In a universe where he saw so many evidences of intelligent design, he was assured of the existence of a supreme Intelligence. "I shall always be convinced," he wrote, "that a watch proves a watchmaker, and the universe proves a God."<sup>86</sup> Even Spinoza admitted an Intelligence, he pointed out, and Plato, too, in spite of the fact that the rest of his thought was sublime dreaming.

A more probable interpretation is, however, that he was indicating here the fact that the existence of the dice, or atoms, was merely supposed, and was supposed only as the result of intelligible logical relations. He opposed the over-simplified theory of Descartes no less than that of Lucretius, who was so "completely ignorant of physics." He felt that Descartes had been very rash in saying, "Give me matter and movement and I will make a world"; for if it were proved that movement was essential to matter, this statement played directly into the hands of the materialists.<sup>87</sup> It was Newton's laws of gravitation that gave him a reasonable belief in the existence of an intelligent God, and led him to stress the mathematical rather than the physical basis of the universe. In *Les Adorateurs*, he writes:

Dieu n'a pas abandonné la matière à des atomes qui ont eu sans cesse un mouvement de déclinaison, ainsi que l'a chanté Lucrèce. . . . Cet Etre suprême n'a

<sup>83</sup> Torn page.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Kingsley Martin, *French Liberal Thought in the 18th Century*, p. 126.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. xxxi, 140. A comment on Nieuwentyt's *Existence de Dieu*.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. xxxi, 194

<sup>87</sup> x, 169, n. 3.

pas pris des cubes, des petits *dés* pour en former la terre, les planètes, la lumière, la matière magnétique, comme l'a imaginé le chimérique Descartes dans son roman appelé *Philosophie*. Mais il a voulu que les parties de la matière s'attirassent réciproquement en raison directe de leurs masses, et en raison inverse du carré de leurs distances, il a ordonné que le centre de notre petit monde fût dans le soleil, et que toutes nos planètes tournassent autour de lui, de façon que les cubes de leurs distances seraient toujours comme les carrés de leurs révolutions.<sup>88</sup>

In other words, it is not matter, represented as cubes, dice, or atoms, but mathematical and logical relations that give man an intelligible view of the universe. And in the continuation of the passage, Voltaire is seen rapt in mystic adoration of the laws of gravitation and of their Creator, the mover of the heavenly bodies.

His inability to comprehend or refusal to consider the proposition that movement is essential to matter is shown in a second marginal note on the part of Diderot's argument quoted above dealing with that subject: "Le mouvement essentiel à la matière n'est qu'une supposition. Et il n'est pas permis de fonder un système sur une hypothèse dont on ne peut avoir aucune preuve."<sup>89</sup>

Voltaire is here perfectly recognizable in his rôle of destroyer of systems. He was usually successful in the fields of theology and metaphysics, but not so successful in matters of physics, geology, or biology. To many, the theory that motion was essential to matter had been satisfactorily substantiated by experimental evidence. Among other discussions of the question, Voltaire, in 1768, read Toland's *Lettres à Sérène*<sup>90</sup> in which Toland seems to have made his point against Spinoza. Whether Voltaire chose not to understand the argument, or simply did not understand it, his comment was extremely evasive and trivial. Diderot's materialistic atheism was again not a system, as Voltaire charged; he admitted its hypothetical character, but stuck to the hypothesis on account of its scientific fecundity and because the hypothesis of the existence of God was not only scientifically, metaphysically, and ethically sterile, but served rather to becloud all issues to which it was applied.

A third comment is found on the following continuation of Diderot's argument:

Donc, si quelque chose doit répugner à la raison, c'est la supposition que, la matière s'étant mue de toute éternité, et qu'y ayant peut-être dans la somme infinie des combinaisons possibles un nombre infini d'arrangements admirables, il ne soit rencontré aucun de ces arrangements admirables dans la multitude infinie de ceux qu'elle a pris successivement. Donc l'esprit doit être plus étonné de la durée hypothétique du chaos que de la naissance réelle de l'univers.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> xxviii, 310-311.

<sup>89</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 136; 1746 ed., p. 42.

<sup>90</sup> N. L. Torrey, *Voltaire and the English Deists*, p. 16. <sup>91</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 136; 1746 ed., p. 44.

The comment refers especially to the words, which Voltaire has starred, "un nombre infini d'arrangements admirables." On the margin, he wrote: "Il n'y a aucun, parce qu'il faut un dessein et que la matière brute ne peut avoir de dessein. Spinoza admet la pensée avec la matière, il admet des desseins."

"Ah! but M. de Voltaire!," we can imagine Diderot saying, "Who is it that has told us time and again that matter is a great mystery, that we can never be sure of its properties, that for all we know God may have granted it design? And is it not strange to be seen here clinging desperately to a weakness in Spinoza's physics to make your point against atheism, when you yourself so often have accused Spinoza of that very heresy?"

The argument of the existence of a deity from intelligent design has seemed much less satisfactory since the theory of evolution was introduced into biological science. Although Diderot never directly expressed this theory, his comprehension of it was entirely sufficient to meet his metaphysical needs. And while Voltaire was struck by the universal uniformity and constancy of physical law, Diderot was amazed by the evidence of trial and error and by the monsters and misfits that were so prevalent in the biological world: the fundamental clash between the classical and the romantic points of view was evident in science and philosophy long before the new literary theories were developed.

Modern philosophers would not accept Voltaire's anthropomorphic argument as valid proof of the existence of God or of intelligent purpose. Yet Voltaire, the rationalist, found a basic flaw in the suppositions of the more empirical Diderot. "Mechanism as a formulation of the laws of masses in motion," writes Professor Morris Cohen, "is a basic branch of physics, but not an adequate account of the whole of it." He agrees with Voltaire in maintaining that not formless matter, nor blind sensation, but mathematical and logical relations form the intelligible substance of things.<sup>92</sup> To Diderot, the real mystery was not the manner of creation, which, given matter and its properties, might some day be explained by science, but the basic problem of existence. Within the limits of the laws which govern the universe, he saw that chance might well have produced Voltaire's much-admired patterns and designs. As Paul Valéry has remarked, "la vie a quelque chose d'un accident . . . qui s'est fait des lois." Here again Diderot was blazing a trail for nineteenth-century science, while Voltaire was stressing certain fundamentals in reason and nature which it would have done well to keep in view.

Voltaire reread and annotated the *Pensées philosophiques* in the edi-

<sup>92</sup> *Reason and Nature*, p. 230.

tion of 1777, the year before his death. Here his comment on Diderot's fortuitous throws of the dice<sup>93</sup> is more brief: "Dans quelque moment que vous vous y preniez il y a toujours l'infini contre un, que l'univers ne se formera pas tout seul." Voltaire is suggesting here, half facetiously, as may be judged by other expressions of the same idea,<sup>94</sup> that there is only one chance in a "million" that chance formed the universe. The expert d'Alembert did not relish his friend's display of mathematics, and the editors of the Kehl edition have pointed out that the force of the argument is lost if it is granted that motion is essential to matter.<sup>95</sup>

Voltaire was now well aware that Diderot had long since passed from the deistic stand of the *Pensées philosophiques* to a working hypothesis of atheistic materialism. In a letter only recently published by M. Babelon, Diderot wrote to Damilaville while the latter was with Voltaire at Ferney, reiterating his arguments in favor of abandoning the deistic position. He asks Damilaville to remind Voltaire of his fable of the misanthropist who, brooding in a cave and seeking vengeance, came forth shouting "God! God!," thus bestowing on men an idea for which they would sacrifice their lives and yet about which they could never agree. As a result, men have since hated and killed each other for religious beliefs. Diderot would remind Voltaire also that there is a distinction between suppositions. A supposition that explains all phenomena would be considered true, whereas a supposition that can be applied to no metaphysical, physical, political, or moral question without obscuring it should therefore be considered false. The idea of a supreme being is all very well for such noble beings as Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, or Cato, but Voltaire's knowledge of history should prove to him that for the rest of mankind such an idea has been, is, and ever will be nefarious.<sup>96</sup>

The most direct and complete answer to these ideas appears in Voltaire's *Lettres de Memmius à Cicéron* (1772), in which Diderot's arguments are voiced by Strato. Voltaire begins by pardoning the atheistic group their rashness, but asks pardon in turn for his weakness in believing in the existence of God. He again denies the very conception of chance, which he says is merely the effect of an unknown cause. He then attacks Strato's principal argument:

Il disait que la nature seule, par ses combinaisons, produit des animaux pensants. Je l'arrête là, et je lui demande quelle preuve il en a Il me répond que c'est son système, son hypothèse, que cette idée en vaut bien une autre. Mais moi, je lui dis: Je ne veux point d'hypothèse, je veux des preuves. . . . Je ne sais pas si, dans la suite des temps, il se trouvera quelqu'un d'assez fou pour assurer que la matière, sans penser, produit d'elle-même des milliards d'êtres qui pensent.

<sup>93</sup> *Oeuvres*, I, 136; 1777 ed., p. 39.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. XL, 105.

<sup>95</sup> XXXVIII, 445, n. 1.

<sup>96</sup> *Correspondance inédite*, I, 278-279.



Je lui soutiendrai que, suivant ce beau système, la matière pourrait produire un Dieu sage, puissant et bon.<sup>97</sup>

Voltaire is here, as in his early comments on Diderot, forgetting, or regretting, some of the wisdom he had acquired from the wise Locke, that matter might after all possess the faculty of thought, and that the limits of the human mind often preclude the proofs of some of the most vexing metaphysical problems. Diderot was presenting his hypothesis as the more fruitful in scientific and moral investigation; it was also for practical reasons that Voltaire was clinging to his. He felt the philosophers would be much more at liberty to enlighten mankind if they were not suspected of atheism, a theory which was commonly, if not philosophically, held to destroy all moral sanctions. His search for the truth was more definitely limited by utilitarianism than Diderot's; he could conceive of no service rendered to mankind through the spread of atheism.<sup>98</sup> He was much more loath, too, to admit that his own position was not certitude, but an hypothesis. It was for this reason that Diderot called him "cagot" and "esprit faible."

In the end, Voltaire laughs indulgently with Cicero at the follies of the atheistic reasoning. After all, a single year of civil war does more harm to the world than all the atheists together could do throughout eternity. The *Letters from Memmius* conclude with Voltaire's doubts of the existence of the soul, his acceptance of determinism, and a reiteration of his life-long profession that moral precepts are universal and are engraved in the hearts of all men.

It has been observed that a deist is a man who has not lived long enough to become an atheist. Length of life was patently not Voltaire's difficulty. Two factors stand out in his opposition to the rising tide of atheism: first, he was intellectually incapable of understanding the scientific advances of his century and hence unable to perceive the weakness of his proofs—his mind had early embraced Locke and Newton, to his great glory, but his development in the sciences stopped at that point; secondly, his utilitarian pragmatism, his humanism, led him to suspect that the spreading of atheism would aid in no way the happiness of mankind. Diderot thought it would in the long run, if true. For the aging Voltaire the course seems too long and the outcome too uncertain to merit consideration in contrast with the approaching victory over religious fanaticism and persecution. Diderot, with his eye fixed on posterity, was sure that the future would justify his gropings toward the principles of evolution, and the consequent objections to a belief in an intelligent purpose and a benevolent universe.

<sup>97</sup> XXVIII, 444.

<sup>98</sup> XLVI, 106.

Professor Cohen has neatly contrasted the two points of view. The application of the following remarks to Voltaire and Diderot can readily be made:

Perhaps it is the social admiration for the prudent and law-abiding citizen which makes us cling to the old naively rationalistic and anthropomorphic doctrine that nature does nothing in vain. But it is also possible to see in animate nature a wild profusion of aimless growth surging like the storms and volcanic eruptions of the inorganic realm. In any case the almost inconceivable over-production and terrifically lavish destruction of life make it impossible to identify the processes of animate nature exclusively with purposive adaptations to prolong the life of the individual organism.<sup>99</sup>

Nor is the problem simplified, he concludes, if we consider the race rather than the individual.

Voltaire's belief in God was largely a mystical adoration of the maker and mover of the heavens. His error was in attempting to demonstrate his intuitive perception by logical reason. His controversy with Diderot reveals him as much more a disciple of Descartes than he would have liked to admit. In physics, he saw that Newton had made many necessary corrections in Descartes' theories; but he continued to maintain the latter's naive theory that motion was something added to matter in the process of creation, in spite of the arguments of Leibnitz and Toland to the contrary. He seemed often to have regretted his acceptance of Locke's contributions to the anti-Descartes movement. His moral law engraved by God in the hearts of all men was not so far removed from what Descartes meant by innate ideas.<sup>100</sup> And it has been noted how Diderot used against him his repetition of Locke's idea that God might have bestowed upon matter the faculty of thought. This idea, in fact, fits in much more logically with Diderot's hypothesis of continuous creation and slow evolution over millions of years, and with his suspicions that "l'animalité avait de toute éternité ses éléments particuliers épars et confondus dans la masse de la matière."<sup>101</sup>

J. B. Needham, in his recent book entitled *Man a Machine*, agrees with la Mettrie and Diderot that the materialistic hypothesis is alone scientifically fruitful, but that it invalidates in no way religious belief or speculative philosophy. Voltaire, who was a determinist, confessed to Mme du Deffand his feeling of the mechanical nature of man.<sup>102</sup> The human mind might be a machine and the *Aeneid* might have been me-

<sup>99</sup> Morris R. Cohen, *Reason and Nature*, p. 267.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Morris Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 138: "It is curious that the empiricist philosophy which began with Locke's rather near-sighted arguments against innate ideas ends with instincts that serve all the purposes of innate ideas. . . ."

<sup>101</sup> *Oeuvres*, II, 58.

<sup>102</sup> XLIII, 167.

chanically produced, but he was so impressed with the complications of the machine<sup>103</sup> that he could see little advantage in considering it as such. Even today philosophy is holding its own against the much-heralded advances of laboratory psychology and behaviorism; and men are hardly satisfied with an interpretation of the *Aeneid* as the result of mere fortuitous throws of the dice.

Diderot's "Pensée xxiii" is a continuation of the argument between the deist and the atheist. Voltaire's comments are revealing, with their indication that if Voltaire attempted to persuade the public of his belief in immortality he would in no way defend it between friends or in the intimacy of his library. Diderot wrote: "Le Déiste assure l'existence d'un Dieu, l'immortalité de l'âme et ses suites. . . ."<sup>104</sup> In the 1754 edition, Voltaire scratched on the margin of the page: "Beaucoup de déistes n'admettent point l'immortalité de l'âme." And in the 1777 edition, he corrected Diderot's idea as follows: "Non, le déiste croit en dieu et ne croit pas pour cela l'âme immortelle. Voiez les saduceens." During this last year of his life the patriarch has weakened not at all in his disbelief in immortality and its concomitants, reward and punishment. Stripped of the belief in the divine sanction of morality, there is little left, in fact, of Voltaire's deistic faith except the attitude of mystical adoration in his relation to God.<sup>105</sup>

Voltaire's objections to Diderot's hypothesis that nature by her own combinations, produces thinking animals, have already introduced us in some measure to the *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*. Aroused by Palissot's falsification of the theories of the Encyclopedists in the Preface to *Les Philosophes* in attributing to them ideas gleaned from La Mettrie, Voltaire asked Thieriot to send him that work along with La Mettrie's *La Vie heureuse*.<sup>106</sup> Thieriot was lazy as usual and it was only after a long wait and through the agency of Damilaville that Voltaire finally received a copy.<sup>107</sup> "Je vais le lire," he writes in reply (19 mars, 1761), "et je suis sûr que je trouverai cent traits de lumière dans cet abîme." That is, unfortunately, the final mention of the work in Voltaire's correspondence. In the copy in his library at Leningrad there are, moreover, no marginal notes, but only four markers or "sinets" which reveal merely Voltaire's interest, and in no way his reactions.

The first sign of interest is shown at a passage defining experimental philosophy as distinguished from rational philosophy. In a sense, the distinction might well serve to illustrate the contrast in the fundamental principles of the two men. In religion and in ethics at least, Voltaire

<sup>103</sup> XL, 104-105.

<sup>104</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 137; 1746 ed., p. 46; 1777 ed., p. 41.

<sup>105</sup> The evidence of Voltaire's mysticism will be the basis of a critical study, now in preparation.

<sup>106</sup> XL, 413, 424, 435, 438.

<sup>107</sup> XLII, 227, 240.

stopped at the rational principle of natural law, while Diderot attempted to found his ethics on the biological grounds of identity of organization and saw in religion only an obfuscation of scientific experimentation.

La philosophie expérimentale ne sçait ni ce qui lui viendra ni ce qui ne lui viendra pas de son travail; mais elle travaille sans relâche Au contraire la philosophie rationnelle pèse les possibilités, prononce et s'arrête tout court. Elle dit hardiment, on ne peut décomposer la lumière; la philosophie expérimentale l'écoute, et se tait devant elle pendant des siècles entiers, puis tout à coup elle montre le prisme, et dit, la lumière se décompose.<sup>108</sup>

Voltaire again shows interest in Diderot's scientifically bold hypothesis concerning the mysteries of human generation and embryonic development.<sup>109</sup> Voltaire, who himself often wrote on the same subject, either concludes that it is an insolvable mystery concerning which many conflicting theories have been presented by such philosophers as Harvey, Maupertuis, and Bonnet—Diderot is never mentioned in this regard—or has his little joke at the expense of Needham's eels spontaneously produced in barley water, or of Father Sanchez's naïve "conception" of conception. Here again, as in the case of fossils, Voltaire was a little too ready to ridicule scientific discoveries. His reasons for doing so were not scientific but utilitarian; the theory of fossils was being used to prove the story of the universal deluge, thus supporting the Scriptures, which in turn supported the persecuting Christians of his day; and the eels appeared to verify the chance and spontaneous appearance of life in the universe, without recourse to a purposeful, intelligent creator.<sup>110</sup>

Another marker indicates a forceful paragraph on the relative obscurity of the great masters. After giving due consideration to affectation, of which even the great Newton was guilty, Diderot explains how the speculative philosopher, in his ascent from perception through abstraction to generalization, may mount so high that he finds himself alone on his mountain with only the spectacle of his intellectual ideas in view, covering like clouds the sensuous world beneath.<sup>111</sup> The contrasting metaphors are instructive: Diderot drags his metaphysics up a mountain, while Voltaire is ever searching for his in a dark abyss.

A fourth and final marker shows Voltaire's interest in Diderot's quotation from Linnaeus to the effect that, by following the principles of natural history in the process of classification, man is a quadruped in no way distinguishable from the monkey.<sup>112</sup> Diderot is interested in the case

<sup>108</sup> *Œuvres*, II, 20–21; 1754 ed., pp. 54–55.

<sup>109</sup> *Œuvres*, II, 25; 1754 ed., pp. 73v–74.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. xxv, 153–158; xxi, 335–360; xxx, 508 ff.

<sup>111</sup> *Œuvres*, II, 38–39; 1754 ed., pp. 106–107.

<sup>112</sup> *Œuvres*, II, 44; 1754 ed., pp. 132–133.

as a problem of methodology. Voltaire has left us only the bare indication of curiosity; he was far from sharing Diderot's speculative interest in the future discoveries in natural history through experimental science; in spite of his rhetorical comparisons of men to insects crawling on an atom of mud, he was essentially a humanist and took for granted the classical conception of man's position in the universe.

Voltaire's annotations in the 1746 edition of the *Pensées philosophiques* had been inspired solely by the conflict between deism and atheism. His more numerous comments in the 1777 edition reveal a very different interest, a return to the fifty-year old controversy over the *Pensées* of Pascal. It was the publication of Condorcet's *Éloge et Pensées de Pascal*, in 1776, that renewed Voltaire's interest and led to his *Dernières remarques*, which Condorcet published in 1778.<sup>113</sup> This time we know that the marginal comments must have been written in 1777, or very early in 1778, during the final and eighty-third to eighty-fourth year of his life. To this edition was also added the *Entretien d'un philosophe avec Mde. la Duchesse de x r x*, one of Diderot's most famous dialogues, published at this date under the name of Thomas Crudeli. This, too, has its quota of marginal comment.

The didactic, personal tone of the introductory remark of the *Pensées philosophiques* had displeased Palissot. Voltaire also had his suggestion. Diderot had written:

J'écris de Dieu, je compte sur peu de lecteurs, et n'aspire qu'à quelques suffrages. Si ces *Pensées* ne plaisent à personne, elles pourront n'être que mauvaises; mais je les tiens pour détestables, si elles plaisent à tout le monde.<sup>114</sup>

Voltaire commented as follows: "Pourquoi? il fallait dire si elles ne revoltent personne." In this "déclamation à la Jean-Jacques," Voltaire suggests here merely a more symmetrical, perhaps more logical conclusion to Diderot's hypothesis.

The subject of Diderot's "Pensée 1" is the passions, the source of man's pleasures as well as his pains: "On croirait faire injure à la raison, si l'on disait un mot en faveur de ses rivales; cependant il n'y a que les passions, et les grandes passions, qui puissent élever l'âme aux grandes choses."<sup>115</sup> Voltaire, in his comment, remembers an old figure of speech found in Fontenelle's *Dialogues des morts*<sup>116</sup> which he had often used himself:<sup>117</sup> "Les passions sont les vents qui font aller le vaisseau et qui le submergent." The two men are in essential agreement. This idea of the passions was common and general in eighteenth-century thought.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Avertissement de Beuchot; xxxi, 1-2.

<sup>114</sup> *Oeuvres*, I, 127; 1777 éd., p. 3.

<sup>115</sup> *Oeuvres*, I, 127; 1777 éd., p. 5

<sup>116</sup> Ed. de Paris (1757), I, 109. The metaphor later found its way into Pope's *Essay on Man*.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. *Zadig*: xxi. 88.

Diderot sings the praises of strong passions in "Pensée III":

Les passions amorties dégradent les hommes extraordinaires. La contrainte anéantit la grandeur et l'énergie de la nature. Voyez cet arbre; c'est au luxe de ses branches que vous devez la fraîcheur et l'étendue de ses ombres. vous en jouirez jusqu'à ce que l'hiver vienne le dépouiller de sa chevelure. Plus d'excellence en poésie, en peinture, en musique, lorsque la superstition aura fait sur le tempérament l'ouvrage de la vieillesse.<sup>118</sup>

Voltaire's comment shows that he would check in some measure the flight of this typically romantic paragraph: "Il faut de l'enthousiasme dans les grandes occasions; sagesse partout ailleurs." Many of his own best works resulted from highly emotional states: hatred of domineering injustice, as in the case of the *Diatribes du docteur Akakia*; hatred of religious persecution in the *Essai sur la tolérance*; pity for the lot of mankind, and indignation for easy optimism in the *Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne* and *Candide*.<sup>119</sup> Though he often had cause to regret his own frequent excitability, he is, nevertheless, known rather as the common sense philosopher. In his comment on Diderot's paragraph, he passed over the arresting idea of the effect of superstition on the artistic temperament, an idea which would provoke much more attention today.

Diderot's defense of strong passions is continued in "Pensée IV":

Ce serait donc un bonheur, me dira-t-on, d'avoir des passions fortes. Oui, sans doute, si toutes sont à l'unisson. Établissez entre elles une juste harmonie, et n'en appréhendez point de désordres. Si l'espérance est balancée par la crainte, le point d'honneur par l'amour de la vie, le penchant au plaisir par l'intérêt de la santé, vous ne verrez ni libertins, ni téméraires, ni lâches.<sup>120</sup>

Voltaire's comment shows his fear of the tendency of this argument: "Alors ce balancement est sagesse; il exclut l'enthousiasme." He is quite worried to note that Diderot is an enthusiast. His own control of the passions was "reason," not an entirely scientific entity, but alloyed with much "wisdom" and intuitive "common sense." He suggests, too, that Diderot's attempt to rehabilitate the passions is mere word-play, a question ultimately of terminology.

When it comes to the utility of the passions, however, Voltaire is in agreement with Diderot's "Pensée V":

C'est le comble de la folie, que de se proposer la ruine des passions. Le beau projet que celui d'un dévot qui se tourmente comme un forcené, pour ne rien désirer, ne rien aimer, ne rien sentir, et qui finirait par devenir un vrai monstre s'il réussissait!<sup>121</sup>

<sup>118</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 128; 1777 ed., p. 7.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire et la société au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, v, 128-129.

<sup>120</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 128; 1777 ed., p. 7.

<sup>121</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 128; 1777 ed., p. 9.

Voltaire's comment is purely corroborative and illustrative: "C'est à quoy les jansénistes firent aspirer Pascal. Il en devint fou, et il en mourut." Diderot is leading up more slowly to his attack on the Jansenists, which will be fully expressed in "Pensée xiv." The next step in the argument, in "Pensée vi," is that acts of perfection must be capable of generalization. Diderot uses the argument against the manner of living of ascetics and hermits. Everyone should have the right to imitate Pacôme: Cependant, il ferait beau voir une province entière, effrayée des dangers de la société, se disperser dans les forêts; ses habitants vivre en bêtes farouches pour se sanctifier; mille colonnes élevés sur les ruines de toutes affections sociales, un nouveau peuple de stylites se dépouiller, par religion, des sentiments de la nature, cesser d'être hommes, et faire les statues pour être vrais chrétiens.<sup>122</sup>

Voltaire's comment is again corroborative: "C'est l'aventure de certains bracman pitagoriciens terapeutes, premiers moines." He was of course in hearty agreement with this indirect attack on monastic life.

In "Pensée ix," Diderot finds it impossible to desire the existence of a God who is often pictured in anger, wreaking vengeance, and choosing only a limited number to be saved:

L'on serait assez tranquille en ce monde, si l'on était assez bien assuré que l'on n'a rien à craindre dans l'autre: la pensée qu'il n'y a point de Dieu n'a jamais effrayé personne, mais bien celle qu'il y en a un tel que celui qu'on me peint.<sup>123</sup>

Voltaire adds in the margin: "Et qu'on a toujours peint *eternas quoniam penas in morte timendum*. Lucrèce." He had expressed the same idea repeatedly in his works, beginning with the early *Épître à Uranie*. But now, late in life, he pretends to believe that the argument would be more effective if it were shown that the idea of an avenging God is a very ancient and universal error and that Christianity merely took it over from the pagans and the Brahmins.

Diderot observes, in "Pensée xi," many temperamental differences among the devout:

La piété suivrait-elle aussi la loi de ce maudit tempérament? Hélas! comment en disconvenir? Son influence ne se remarque que trop sensiblement dans le même dévot: il voit, selon qu'il est affecté, un Dieu vengeur ou miséricordieux, les enfers ou les cieux ouverts; il tremble de frayeur ou il brûle d'amour; c'est une fièvre qui a ses accès froids et chauds.<sup>124</sup>

Voltaire is again afraid to follow Diderot's stressing of the temperament and the emotions. "Cet homme est un malade," is his comment.

<sup>122</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 128-129; 1777 ed., p. 11. This thought so typically a part of Diderot's moral philosophy was first published in 1746. Rousseau, a decade later, as he set out for his hermitage, was indeed egotistic to take as a personal insult a mild and brief repetition of the same idea.

<sup>123</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 130; 1777 ed., p. 13.

<sup>124</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 130, 1777 ed., p. 15.

In "Pensée xiv," Diderot's argument has reached its climax. His *Pensées philosophiques* is an "anti-Pascal" no less direct than Voltaire's addition to his *Lettres philosophiques*. The Jansenist opposition to the *Encyclopédie* is readily understood when we read such passages as—

Pascal avait de la droiture; mais il était peureux et crédule. Éléphant écrivain, et raisonneur profond, il eût sans doute éclairé l'univers, si la Providence ne l'eût abandonné à des gens qui sacrifiaient ses talents à leurs haines.<sup>125</sup>

Voltaire had already agreed with Diderot on Pascal in advance, in his comment on "Pensée v." Here he makes a very understandable and characteristic correction. In the phrase "Éléphant écrivain," he has crossed out "éléphant" and substituted "vigoureux." It has been noted that Voltaire had very high regard for Pascal's vigorous style. "Éléphant" might do for Fontenelle, but never for the Pascal who penned that great model of French prose, *Les Lettres provinciales*.<sup>126</sup>

With the main principles of Diderot's *Entretien d'un philosophe avec M<sup>de</sup> la Duchesse de x x x*, Voltaire could not fail to be in accord. Diderot believes that intolerance is inseparable from religion, that the destruction of religion would be one terrible prejudice the less, that it is indifferent whether we be Christians or pagans—except that as pagans we might be a bit more gay. The philosopher Crudeli-Diderot teases his noble and devout interlocutrice by showing her the discrepancy between her conduct and the Christian principles which she professes. He asks a noble lady the following questions:

N'est-il pas écrit dans l'Évangile que celui qui a convoité la femme de son prochain, a commis l'adultère dans son cœur? . . . Et l'adultère commis dans le cœur ne damne-t-il pas aussi sûrement que l'adultère le mieux conditionné?

La Duchesse: Elle vous répondit qu'oui?<sup>127</sup>

Voltaire will not allow Diderot his argument *ad hominem* nor the quotation from the New Testament which is contrary to the accepted code of Christian ethics: "Elle avait tort," he wrote. "La vraie vertu est de vaincre ses désirs."

Diderot is attempting to convict devout women of inconsistency in tempting and thus damning their friends by following the prevailing mode of low-cut gowns:

Elle me répondit que c'était une chose d'usage: comme si rien n'était plus d'usage que de s'appeler Chrétien, et de ne l'être pas; qu'il ne fallait pas se vêtir ridiculement, comme s'il y avait quelque comparaison à faire entre un misérable petit ridicule, sa damnation éternelle et celle de son prochain.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>125</sup> *Œuvres*, I, 131; 1777 ed., p. 17.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. XL, 171.

<sup>127</sup> *Œuvres*, II, 515; 1777 ed., p. 143.

<sup>128</sup> *Œuvres*, II, 515-516; 1777 ed., p. 145.



Diderot is perfectly justified in using Bayle's argument of the discrepancy between moral conduct and religious principle, and in singling out, in his gracious dialogue, an example that would especially impress his feminine listener. It is indeed surprising to discover Voltaire so literal-minded and carping in his comment: "Il est trop ridicule de supposer une damnation éternelle pour avoir montré un peu de tétou. J'aimerais autant damner une biche dans le temps de rut."

At a later point in the dialogue, Crudeli asks:

Et qu'est-ce que Dieu?

La Duchesse: Un esprit.

Crudeli. Si un esprit fait de la matière, pourquoi de la matière ne ferait-elle pas un esprit?<sup>129</sup>

Voltaire has starred the first "esprit" and written in the margin: "Un être quelqu'il soit, très intelligent et très puissant, mais je ne sçais positivement, ce qu'est esprit et matière." He maintains his skepticism rather too seriously against the Duchess, who admitted at the beginning that she had no head for philosophy. Likewise when the lady admits that animals have souls,<sup>130</sup> Voltaire replies in the margin: "Vous ne devez point assurer que les bêtes aient une âme; nous et elles, nous avons des idées, des facultés; c'est la seule chose dont nous soions surs." He is afraid that the Duchess will make the debate too simple for Diderot and will fall too easy a prey to his dialectic snares.

The latter proceeds to tell the story reported by Bouguer, one of La Condamine's companions, of the resurrection of the dried and smoked serpent of Peru; and then another of the Lithuanian Jesuit Bohola who left at his death the money to cover the expenses of his beatification and also authentic memoirs for the confirmation of his virtues.<sup>131</sup> Opposite the "mémoires authentiques," Voltaire has written: "Il faut mettre le conte de ce boho-là avec celui du serpent de Pérou." Really, the good Duchess must not be too gullible!

Voltaire's final note is on Diderot's famous apologue of the young Mexican who skeptically refused to believe in the existence of a country across the seas governed by some fabulous old man. He fell asleep on a raft and was carried across the Atlantic where he was immediately confronted with the sovereign. The old man forgave him readily for his skepticism on the grounds that it was all in good faith, but began immediately to question him on the wayward conduct of his past life, for which, instead of being sentenced to eternal punishment, he is also granted pardon. Crudeli asks if the Duke would not have done as much

<sup>129</sup> *Œuvres*, II, 520; 1777 ed., p. 159.

<sup>130</sup> *Œuvres*, *loc. cit.*; 1777 ed., *loc. cit.*

<sup>131</sup> *Œuvres*, II, 520, 522; 1777 ed., p. 165.

for any of his wayward children. His interlocutrice admits that he would, but says her husband and the old man are two different persons. Crudeli immediately presses his advantage and asks if she means that her husband is better, more forgiving, than the old man. The Duchess replies: "Dieu m'en garde! Je veux dire que, si ma justice n'est pas celle de M. le Duc, la justice de M. le Duc pourrait bien n'être pas celle du vieillard."<sup>132</sup> Voltaire has often voiced this same idea of the guiltlessness of disinterested skepticism. But here he opens up an old question of method of attack: "Tout cela serait bon, si les cretiens avaient inventé l'enfer. Mais comme c'est une folie imaginée il y a des milliers de siècles par les bracmanes il fallait faire voir à la Duchesse que les cretiens ne sont que des plagiaires. C'est la meilleure méthode." Voltaire regretted to the end that he had not been able to associate d'Alembert, Diderot, and Helvétius with him in the writing and publishing of tracts such as the *Testament de Jean Meslier* and the *Sermon des cinquante*. Diderot was interested in no specific attack against Christianity; long held in restraint by family considerations and preoccupied with metaphysics, he went more profoundly to the basis of religious sanctions in general. His *Pensées philosophiques* not only represent his abandonment of Christianity for deism, but also clearly presage his speedy conversion to atheism. Voltaire's program, in contrast to Diderot's, is indicated in a letter to Helvétius, in 1763:

Il paraît convenable de n'écrire que des choses simples, courtes, intelligibles aux esprits les plus grossiers; que le vrai seul, et non l'envie de briller, caractérise ces ouvrages; qu'ils confondent le mensonge et la superstition, et qu'ils apprennent aux hommes à être justes et tolérants. Il est à souhaiter qu'on ne se jette point dans la métaphysique, que peu de personnes entendent, et qui fournit toujours des armes aux ennemis. Il est à la fois plus sûr et plus agréable de jeter du ridicule et de l'horreur sur les disputes théologiques, de faire sentir aux hommes combien la morale est belle et les dogmes impertinents, et de pouvoir éclairer à la fois le chancelier et le cordonnier. On n'est parvenu, en Angleterre, à déraciner la superstition que par cette voie.<sup>133</sup>

Voltaire's method was indeed much more effective in the enlightenment of the shoemaker as well as the chancellor. As a result, his body was refused Christian burial in Paris and was smuggled out of the city, while Diderot, a few years later, was quietly laid to rest in the chapel of the Virgin under the flagstones of the Church of St. Roch.

<sup>132</sup> *Œuvres*, II, 526, 527; 1777 ed., p. 179.

<sup>133</sup> XLII, 514. The heading given this letter in Grimm's *Correspondance* (1<sup>er</sup> août, 1763) is much more descriptive. *Épître aux fidèles, par le grand apôtre des Délices*. The letter has been variously assigned. In Caussy, *Inventaire des Manuscrits*, (1913), p. 88, it is erroneously given as a fragment of a letter from Diderot to Voltaire.

When Voltaire arrived in Paris in 1778, it was not only his clothes and his wig that were out of date. He was fighting a losing battle to save the old classicism, he was defending the polished plays of Corneille and Racine against the vogue of the barbarous Shakespeare, he was upholding the principles and methods of the English deism of the first half of the century, and he was still cherishing the principles of physics and metaphysics that he had incorporated into his *Éléments de la philosophie de Newton* in 1738. Diderot's printed works were comparatively little known, his true opinions even less. Voltaire could hardly have suspected that the future lay, for better or for worse, with his voluble, argumentative, enthusiastic, metaphysical friend whom he then was meeting for the first time. If we grant, however, the righteousness of Voltaire's struggle for tolerance, we cannot help but admire his single-mindedness and dogged persistency, and we can join the crowds in the streets of Paris yelling "l'homme à Calas" as the patriarch is carried by on the shoulders of the people, leaving Diderot for the moment free to prepare his manuscripts for posterity.

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## ZUM BEGRIFF DES JUNGEN GOETHE

ALLENTHALBEN begnügt man sich noch mit dem Begriff vom Jungen Goethe, wie ihn Ludwig Tieck<sup>1</sup> faszte, der diesen nur bis auf den Vorweimarer Goethe angewandt wissen wollte. Ihm folgte Max Morris,<sup>2</sup> dessen kritische Stoffsammlung mit dem Reisetagebuch Goethes vom 30. Oktober 1775 abschlieszt. So halt auch Karl Alt<sup>3</sup> an der Auffassung Tiecks fest. Das glanzend geschriebene synthetische Werkchen von Karl Viëtor<sup>4</sup> greift ebenfalls über Goethes letzte Frankfurter Tage nicht hinaus. Korff<sup>5</sup> schlieszt den Jungen Goethe, ohne sichere Daten zu geben, mit dem *Urfaust* ab. Selbst Gundolf<sup>6</sup> macht kaum eine Ausnahme, doch unterscheidet er scharfer zwischen einem Frühweimarer und dem mit der Rückkehr aus Italien wirklich gereiften Goethe. Das trefflichste Beispiel bietet jedoch Eugen Wolffs Untersuchung über die geschichtliche Entwicklung junggoethescher Gedichte, die mit Anfang November 1775 abschlieszt, allerdings schon 1907 erschien. Aber noch Hermann Baumgart in seinem Werk *Goethes lyrische Dichtung in ihrer Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, Band I, S. 186 f. (Heidelberg, 1931) halt die nachfrankfurter Jahre "zur entscheidenden Epoche" von Goethes Leben, in denen sich "die bleibende Richtung seines Lebens" gebildet habe. Und so könnte man die Liste bewährter Forscher weiter verfolgen, ohne dasz sich das herkömmliche Bild nennenswert ändern wurde.<sup>6a</sup>

Gewiss muss man sich vor der Auffassung hüten, als ob diese Zeitsetzungen wörtlich zu nehmen seien. Die genannten Forscher folgten sicherlich einer mehr praktischen als inneren Notwendigkeit. Gleichwohl dürfte es sich verlohnen, an gewissen Beispielen zu zeigen, wie allmählich der Uebergang tatsächlich war. Die organische Entfaltung all dessen, was von vornherein in Goethe lag, wird dabei um so kräftiger in Er-

<sup>1</sup> Vergl. Hans Rohl, "Die ältere Romantik und die Kunst des jungen Goethe". *Forschungen zur neueren Literatur-Geschichte*, xxxvi (1919), 161.

<sup>2</sup> *Der junge Goethe* (Leipzig, 1909).

<sup>3</sup> *Goethes Werke*, Goldene Klassiker Bibliothek, I, S. 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Der Junge Goethe* (Leipzig, 1930).

<sup>5</sup> *Geist der Goethezeit*, Band I (Leipzig, 1923).

<sup>6</sup> *Goethe* (Berlin, 1916) S. 235 f.; 243.

<sup>6a</sup> Erst nach Abschluss meiner Arbeit erschien das ausgezeichnete Buch von Hans Keipert, *Die Wandlungen Goethescher Gedichte zum klassischen Stil: Die Umarbeitungen zur Gesamtausgabe 1789* (Jena, 1933). Keipert bemerkt, dasz schon "im Anfang der Weimarer Jahre . . . sich im Dichter die Kraftgeniestimmungen zu klären" begonnen hatten (S.3), betont aber dann ausdrücklich, "dasz dieser Umschwung nicht plötzlich vollzogen ist, dasz er sich vielmehr aus einer langsamen inneren Entwicklung des Dichters ergab, deren Spuren mindestens bis in die letzte Frankfurter Zeit zurückzuverfolgen sind."

scheinung treten. So drängt sich die Frage auf, welcherlei Ereignisse und welcherart Lebens- oder Denkinhalte die Zeit des Jungen Goethe begrenzen? Welche Inhalte sind überhaupt als junggoethisch zu betrachten? Dabei ist wohl zu beachten, dasz es sich in einer solchen Untersuchung immer nur um die Stellungnahme, das Verhältnis zu den Dingen handeln kann.

Vier Hauptstoffgebiete sollen im folgenden aus dem Gesichtskreis der Goetheschen Erfahrungswelt herangezogen werden: die Landschaft, Volk und Volksdichtung, die Liebe zum anderen Geschlecht und endlich die Kunst. Dasz diese vier Gebiete im Leben des jüngeren Goethe eine ganz besondere Rolle gespielt haben, ist zu bekannt, um langer bei einer Begründung dieser Auswahl zu verweilen; sie schlieszen jedoch weder andere Gebiete aus noch sind die hier bevorzugten an sich junggoethisch zu nennen. Nur Goethes spezifische Einstellung zu diesen Inhalten kann dazu dienen, ihn selber von unserem, auch nur zeitlich bedingten Standpunkte "jung," "gereift" oder "alt" zu bezeichnen. Laszt sich anderseits eine durchgreifende Veränderung in der Goetheschen Anschauungsweise und einem dementsprechenden Verhalten des Dichters im Laufe der Jahre eindeutig verfolgen, so mag man mit Recht die abgelösten Ideen und aufgegebenen Gewohnheiten als junggoethisch ansehen. In unserem Falle werden wir uns darum an jene wichtigen Tatsachen halten müssen, die einen einwandfreien Gesinnungswechsel in Goethe entweder anbahnen oder endgültig vollziehen. Ob solcher dabei vor oder nach der Ankunft des Dichters in Weimar eintritt, wird von entscheidender Bedeutung sein.

Betreffs des Landschaftsgefühls stellen wir folgendes fest. Goethes neues Naturgefühl ist bereits im Juni 1770 völlig erwacht;<sup>7</sup> also ehe Herder in Straszburg auftaucht. Von Mitte 1770 an bis Ende 1776 bezeichnet er eine Gegend romantisch,<sup>8</sup> wenn sie ihn besonders stimmungsvoll anmutet oder er in anderen das Gefühl einer solchen wachrufen will.

<sup>7</sup> Siehe Goethes Briefentwurf: Saarbruck, 27. Juni 1770. — Die Einwirkung des Bildungserlebnisses Rousseau, die hier und im folgenden vorausgesetzt ist, gehört im engern Sinne nicht zu unserm Thema.

<sup>8</sup> In dem Bruchstück des Romans *Arianne an Wetty*, Spätherbst 1770, in welchem Goethe Leipziger Liebeswirren "mit Gedanken zu durchdringen" sucht, "die ihm durch Herder aufgegangen waren" (Morris, *Der junge Goethe*, VI, 152 ff.), handelt es sich zwar nicht um eine (romantische) Landschaft, wohl aber nennt der Dichter das kleine "Stubgen, das so oft der Zeuge unsrer seeligen Trunckenheit war," eine "liebe romantische Hole"—eine Metapher, der Natur entnommen. Doch siehe *Erwin und Elmire*, worin Bernardo u.a. sagt: "... alles, was wir von romantischen Gegenden geträumt haben, halt dieses Plätzchen in einem" (Morris, V, 51). Vergl. auch: *Werther*, Brief vom 10. Sept. 1771; Goethes *Reisebericht an den Herzog v. 23.-26. Dez. 1775*; *Lila*, Bühnenanweisung zum zweiten Aufzug.

Während die Landschaft in "Willkommen und Abschied" wundervoll poetisch gesehen—aber doch mehr gesehen als hingebend empfunden wird, ist das Verhältnis zu ihr im "Mailed" rein individuell-lyrischer Art. Im "Ganymed" wird dem Dichter die Frühlingsflur zur Gottheit, der er sich anbetend entgegenwirft. Und im *Werther* steigert und übersteigert sich Goethes Naturbegeisterung zu unerhörten Spannungen und Entspannungen. Werthers Gemut ist so im Banne der landschaftlichen Umgebung, dasz die jeweilige Gegend und Jahreszeit über sein seelisches Befinden verfügt. Landschaft wirkt hier schicksalbestimmend.<sup>8a</sup> Hinwendung zur Natur und rückwirkender Einflusz dieser ausseren Gegebenheit auf die innere Verfassung des Menschen erreicht somit im *Werther* die denkbar höchste Stufe einer Entwicklung, die bereits mit Kleist, Haller und Brockes begonnen hatte—wenn deren Verse auch weniger Stimmungsgedichte als poetisierende Beschreibungen waren. Neues ereignet sich erst auf der ersten Schweizerreise. Eine auffallige Freude am Wirklichen, Allgemeinen und Wissenschaftlichen macht sich in Goethe bemerkbar: er beobachtet die Welt zum ersten Male ohne Gefühlsbeimischung.

In Weimar setzt er seine romantischen Streifereien, die er seit Strassburg gewohnt war, fort. Burschen- und Wanderlust will sich in der Landschaft tummeln und austoben. Weder Stadt noch fürstlicher Hof sind solch ungebundener Betätigung günstig. Aber Ende Juni 1776 zieht den jungen Besucher die Landschaft mehr ihrer Stille und Reinheit<sup>9</sup> wegen an. Eine gedämpfte<sup>10</sup> Lebensstimmung kehrt von nun an immer wieder, bis sie ihm auf der zweiten Schweizerreise zur groszen ruhigen Empfindung wird. Stimmungsbezeichnungen wie schöne Ruhe, reines Gefühl, Stille (Seele, Beschränkung, ewiges Gesetz) treten in den Vordergrund. Um 1779 kennzeichnen erhabenes Gefühl, Ehrfurcht und verhaltene Bewunderung über die Grösze der Schöpfung des Dichters Verhältnis zu ihr. Man darf darum hier von dem Abschlusz einer Entwicklung sprechen, wobei keineswegs vergessen ist, dasz über diesen Zeitpunkt hinaus noch gewisse Rückfälle zu verzeichnen sind. Selbst auf der italienischen Reise drückt Goethe noch einmal unverhohlenes Gefallen an einem englischen Garten aus.<sup>11</sup> Von solchen Ausnahmefällen

<sup>8a</sup> Vergl. Beitzl, *Goethes Bild der Landschaft* (Berlin, 1929) S.34. Beitzl beschränkt sich auf die Prosawerke Goethes. Sein Hauptverdienst ist, gezeigt zu haben, dass Goethes Auge nicht plastisch sondern zeichnerisch gesehen.

<sup>9</sup> An Frau v. Stein, 29. Juni 1776.

<sup>10</sup> Tagebuch v. 8. Okt. 1777; 30. Nov. 1777.

<sup>11</sup> Man lese Goethes Reisebericht v. 22. Febr. 1787, worin er sich sichtlich freut über die wahre Wildnis der verdorrten, umgestürzten, verfaulten Bäume, Straucher, Kräuter und wuchernden Ranken im Parke des Prinzen di Chigi.

abgesehen, oder richtiger gesagt: trotz solcher Einzelercheinungen lässt sich vom Sommer 1776 ab die neue Richtung in aufsteigender Linie verfolgen. Goethes Verhältnis zur Natur bleibt gefühlvoll, verliert aber das Ueberschwengliche des Sturms und Drangs. Ein fast religiöses, weihevoll gefühltes reift in ihm heran.

Goethes Liebe zum Volk und zur Volksdichtung fällt ganz mit Herders Auftreten in Straszburg zusammen. Das eifrige Sammeln von Volksliedern und -balladen, die eigenen Versuche der Nachdichtung volksmässiger Dichtung, ferner der grösste Teil des *Götz* sind Früchte des Umgangs mit dem groszen Anreger in Straszburg. Das gilt eigentlich von allen anderen in diesem Zusammenhang zu erwähnenden Einzeldichtern wie Homer, Ossian und selbst Shakespeare, deren Werke ihm so gut Naturdichtung sind wie die schlichten Vergeschichten der elsassischen Landbevölkerung. Homer und Ossian bilden den Lesestoff Werthers. Dabei besteht stets ein innerer Zusammenhang zwischen dem seelischen Zustande Werthers und seiner jeweiligen Wahl eines Buches. So liest er Homer,<sup>12</sup> wenn er selbst heiter und ruhig ist, und gegen Ende des Romans Ossian,<sup>13</sup> weil dessen traurig klagende Stimmung seinem eigenen inneren Chaos mehr entspricht. Am wohlsten fühlt er sich beim einfachen Volke<sup>14</sup> und besonders Kindern.<sup>15</sup> Von Hofleuten hat er wie schon Götz seine eigene Meinung. Götz<sup>16</sup> tritt für den Bauer ein, wenn er anderseits auch den Aufständigen die bittersten Wahrheiten sagt. Werther<sup>17</sup> schätzt die Arbeit des Kartoffel- und Getreidebauers höher als die eigene und die der Adeligen. Hochnäsigkeit der Bürgerlichen<sup>18</sup> haszt er noch mehr als den Dünkel des Adels. Goethe selbst gesteht nach der Abfassung des *Werther*, dasz "das gemeine Volk . . . die besten Menschen sind."<sup>19</sup> In der *Claudine von Villa Bella* wird programmatisch erklärt, dasz der Bauer<sup>20</sup> der Mensch und volksmässige<sup>21</sup> Dichtung die Dichtung schlechthin ist. In der ästhetischen Schrift *Nach Falconet und über Falconet* lobt er an Rembrandt besonders, dasz dieser seine Mutter Gottes mit dem Kinde als niederländische Bäuerin<sup>22</sup> dargestellt hat. In *Erwin und Elmire*<sup>23</sup> und selbst in der aristokratisch angehauchten *Stella*<sup>24</sup> wird die Gelegenheit nicht versäumt, Lobenswertes über Kinder geringen Standes zu sagen. Und was die Volksszenen im *Egmont* angeht, so sind auch sie wahrscheinlich noch in Frankfurt entstanden.

<sup>12</sup> 13. u. 26. Mai 1771; 21. June 1771; 28. Aug. 1771; 15. März 1772.

<sup>13</sup> 12. Okt. 1772.

<sup>15</sup> 15. Mai 1771; 29. Juni 1771.

<sup>17</sup> 24. Dez. 1771.

<sup>19</sup> Tagebuchartiger Brief an Schonborn, 1. Juni- 4. Juli 1775.

<sup>20</sup> Morris, v, 165.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 348.

<sup>14</sup> 20. Okt. 1771; 15. u. 17. Mai 1771.

<sup>16</sup> Morris, II, 218, 247 ff., 253; III, 245.

<sup>18</sup> 24. Dez. 1771.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 160.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 41.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 90; 73 f., 79, 89.

Die Einfachheit und Natürlichkeit der Landbevölkerung<sup>25</sup> fällt Goethe noch im Herbst und Winter 1775 auf. In den *Briefen aus der Schweiz* stehen dann allerdings schon recht abfällige Bemerkungen über die Behausungen der Bergbewohner.<sup>26</sup> Anerkennendes findet er fast gar nicht — eine Erscheinung, die sich hier bei Goethe zum ersten Male zeigt. Leider ist die Zeit der Abfassung der Briefe nicht ganz sicher gestellt.

Erst vom Frühjahr 1776 ab liegen ähnliche, doch zeitlich gesicherte Zeugnisse vor, die sich schnell einander folgend vermehren. Gelegentlich wird zwar noch ein anerkennendes Wort<sup>27</sup> geauszeit, meist aber spricht Goethe nur kühl beamtenmässig,<sup>28</sup> wenn nicht sogar verachtlich,<sup>29</sup> von armen Leuten, Bergleuten, Leinewebern und Tagelöhnern. Seit Februar 1777 scheint der Dichter der Auszenwelt müde geworden zu sein. Er schlieszt sich nach Möglichkeit von ihr ab. Ende März ist ihm der *Werther*<sup>30</sup> fremd geworden. Im September desselben Jahres verschmaht der nunmehrige Hofmann zwar den nächtlichen Umgang mit Bauernmädels nicht, aber die derbe Sinnlichkeit des wusten Treibens entbehrt jeder Schätzung<sup>31</sup> seinerseits. Im folgenden Winter macht er sich allein auf den Weg zum Harz. Februar und März 1778 bringen erneut Zeugnisse einer zunehmenden Abschlieszung<sup>32</sup> gegen alle äuszere Ablenkung. Diesmal flieht der Dichter nicht nur die auszerhische Bevölkerung, sondern zieht sich vom herzoglichen Hofleben selbst zurück. Weder naturgewachsene Schönheit inmitten des gewöhnlichen Volkes noch dessen derbsinnliche Volksdichtung kann ihn mehr begeistern. Die modern europäische Hofluft<sup>33</sup> schlägt nicht mehr bei ihm an. Sie und alles ihn bisher Aufregende hat seinen alten Reiz eingebüszet. Des Dichters Geist ist entrückt an den Hof eines mythischen Königs Altgriechenlands Dorthin, wo der Herrscher des Landes Hoherpriester des Volkes und Anwalt der unsterblichen Götter ist. Und so heiszt es denn endlich in

<sup>25</sup> An Lavater, 21. Dez. 1775. Vergl. Brief an Karl August, 23. Dez. 1775.

<sup>26</sup> Erste Abtlg. dritter Abschnitt; Zweite Abtlg., Schlusssatz in Eintragung unter "Sion, den 8. November, Leuk, gegen 10 Uhr." <sup>27</sup> An Karl August, Kochberg 1776.

<sup>28</sup> An Karl August, 4. Mai 1776; an Gustgen, 20. Mai 1776; vergl. Brief v. 24. Mai 1776, worin Goethe über einen grossen Brand Mitteilung macht, ohne die armen Geschädigten auch nur mit einem Worte zu erwähnen. <sup>29</sup> An Herder, 5. Juni 1776.

<sup>30</sup> An Frau von Stein, 28. März 1777, vergl. die formliche Verdammung des Romans im fünften Aufzug des *Triumphs der Empfindsamkeit*.

<sup>31</sup> Undatierter Brief an Frau von Stein, etwa vor 13. Sept. 1777; vergl. Brief v. 13. Sept. 1777. <sup>32</sup> Tgbch. v. 12. Febr. 1778; an Frau von Stein, 2. März 1778.

<sup>33</sup> An Kestner, 28. Sept. 1777, Tgbch. v. 31. Aug. 1778; an Frau von Stein, 4. März 1779; an Knebel, 5. März 1779, an den Herzog heiszt es in einem Briefe vom 14. März desselben Jahres aus dem Dornburger Schloszen, dasz er (Goethe) gern nach Weimar gekommen sei, doch sei ihm vor der Zerstreung bange gewesen.



der Tagebucheinzeichnung vom 28. März 1779 ganz kurz und doch so vielsagend: "Iphigenie geendet."

Merkwürdigerweise hält während dieser Entwicklung zur Antike hin Goethes hohe Achtung vor dem Handwerkerstande an. An Hans Sachs interessierte ihn noch nicht zum wenigsten, dasz dieser Volksdichter ein regelrechter Schuhmacher war. Die *Briefe aus der Schweiz* loben sogar den Handwerkerstand,<sup>34</sup> und zwar gerade wegen seiner fest begrenzten Aufgaben und Pflichten. 1782 ist es der Tod des Weimarer Bühnenschrainers, der dem Dichter den herrlichen Epilog "Auf Miedings Tod" eingibt.

Über Goethe und die Liebe ist folgendes zu sagen. Alle seine Liebeserfahrungen sind typisch romantisch, d.h. gefühlsselig und gefühlsbestimmt, schwankend, herzerreizend. Das sogenannte Sesenheimer Idyll ist idyllisch im Anfang, tragisch im Ausgang — auch ohne die volle Auswirkung, welche Ballade und Drama des Sturms und Drangs aufzeigen. Aber Goethe selbst ist von nun ab ein immerwährendes Opfer verfehlter Neigungen. Diese Herzenserlebnisse verfolgen ihn ohne Unterlass auch künstlerisch: sie drängen den Dichter zu literarischer Beichte. Die Weislingen, Werther, Clavigo, Erwin, Fernando, Wilhelm (*Die Geschwister*) leiden an dem einen Grundübel egotistischer Gefühlschwelgerei, verbunden mit einer unglaublich unmännlichen Willensschwäche. Sie sind alle miteinander schwache, schwankende, hangende, bangende Helden; Stimmungsmenschen, leicht erregbar, leicht (ver-)führbar. Weislingen, Clavigo, Werther gehen an ihrer eigenen Unseligkeit zugrunde. Letzterem vermag man allenfalls mildernde Umstände zuzubilligen, da seine bürgerliche Herkunft sowohl wie hohe Geistesbildung nur Anlaß zu Verdrieszlichkeiten gab. Auch Egmont ist hier zu erwähnen, unbeschadet aller "Dämonie." Seine wahnwitzige Vertrauensseligkeit wird nicht zuletzt — wenn auch unbewusst — durch Klärchens restlose Hingabe an ihn und sein Vergessensuchen in ihrem Besitz gestärkt. Erotische Genüsse sind nicht dazu angetan, die Sinne eines Feldherrn und politischen Führers zu schärfen. Sie machen ihn naturnotwendig schwach, nachlässig, stumpf, arglos, schläfrig. (Julius Cäsar mag eine Ausnahme gewesen sein.) Ein echter Stürmer in der Liebe, ein Mensch und Mann voll Lebensdurst und Lebenskraft ist nur der "tolle Kopf" mit "jungem Herzen" Crugantino. Dieser adelige Stromer lebt und liebt sorglos in den Tag hinein, liebt und lebt, wann, wo und wie sich die Gelegenheit dazu bietet. An ihm gemessen, ist selbst der ruhelose Faust kein rassereiner Stürmer. Zu viel Gedankenschwere hängt ihm an. Zur ungemischten Freude am Leben gelangt er nicht. Dazu ist er zu unselbständig, zu vielseitig, zu wechsellvoll, zu kompliziert.

<sup>34</sup> Erste Abteilung; vergl. Tgbch. v. 14. Juli 1779; an Kraft, 9. Sept. 1779.

Goethe selber, der Schöpfer dieser Gestalten, bedarf der "Mädgen"<sup>35</sup> nicht weniger als der daraus entstehenden Herzbubel. Weder kann er noch will er auf Liebe verzichten.<sup>36</sup> Zwar schlieszt der Wanderer im gleichnamigen dramatischen Gedichte mit dem Wunsche, einmal solch mütterliches Weib sein eigen zu heissen, wie es hier Gegenstand seiner Bewunderung gewesen, aber zur Beurteilung Goethes darf man nicht übersehen, dass dieser Zug in dem kleinen Werkchen auf unmittelbare literarische Anregung<sup>37</sup> zurückgeht. Immerhin mag man anerkennen, dass solch hehre Mütterlichkeit dem jungen Dichter wohlzutun schien. Erst in den letzten Frankfurter Monaten, inmitten ärgster Liebeswirren, äussert Goethe den leicht verständlichen Wunsch nach eigenem häuslichen Glück,<sup>38</sup> was jedoch den Umständen entsprechend nur ein Ausweg sein konnte, weil er Entspannung und Ruhe und Wohlbefindensein verhiesz.

In Weimar endlich fällt Goethe erneut und zutiefst seiner unerfüllten Liebessehnsucht zum Opfer. Dieses neue Verhältnis trägt jedoch von Anfang an den Stempel der Hoffnungslosigkeit und des schwer zu verwindenden Verzichtes an sich. Der Dichter bettelt<sup>39</sup> formlich um jedes Zeichen von Gunst. In seiner Hilflosigkeit denkt er wieder an sein erprobtes letztes Mittel der Flucht, in diesem Falle: der Abreise und Rückkehr nach Frankfurt,<sup>40</sup> doch bleibt er, sich ins Unvermeidliche<sup>41</sup> fügend. Anfang Februar 1776 äussert er erneut das Verlangen nach dem ruhigen Hafen der Ehe.<sup>42</sup> Er ist des "Herzteilens überdrüssig," schreibt er wenige Monate später an die geliebte Frau.<sup>43</sup> In dem Einakter *Die*

<sup>35</sup> Vergl. die Briefe aus dem Sommer 1774 nebst den Lili-Liedern.

<sup>36</sup> In einem Briefkonzept vom 27. Juni 1770 aus Saarbrücken (an Katharina Fabricius?) lesen wir unter anderem die bezeichnenden Worte: "Wir sind wie Kinder auf dem Schaukelpferde immer in Bewegung, immer in Arbeit, und nimmer vom Fleck. Das ist das wahre Bild eines Liebhabers. Wie traurig wird die Liebe, wenn man so scheniert ist, und doch können Verliebte nicht leben, ohne sich zu schenieren." An Kestner schreibt Goethe am 11. Dez. 1772: "Und ich binn frey, und liebebedürftig. . . Da binn ich wieder in Frfurt, gehe mit neuen Plans um und Grillen, das ich alles nicht tuhn wurde hätt ich ein Mädgen." Vergl. Briefe an Johanna Fahlmer, Strassburg, 24. u. 26. Mai 1775; an Frau von Stein vom August 1776 an, ferner das Gedicht "Rettung" (1773?) und im "Concerto Dramatico" die Verse "Sonne kann nicht ohne Schein/Mensch nicht ohne liebe seyn" (Morris, III, 79).

<sup>37</sup> Morris, VI, 188 ff.; vergl. Brief an Kestner vom 15. Sept. 1773.

<sup>38</sup> "Dem Hafen häuslicher Glückseligkeit, und festem Füsse in wahren Leid u. Freud wähnt ich vor kurzen naher zu kommen, bin aber auf leidige Weise wieder in's weite Meer geworfen." An Herder, 12. Mai 1775.

<sup>39</sup> Vergl. die Briefe an Frau von Stein vom Januar 1776 an.

<sup>40</sup> An Frau von Stein, 29. Januar 1776.

<sup>41</sup> An Frau von Stein, 2. Mai 1776.

<sup>42</sup> An Bürger, 2. Febr. 1776. Dagegen schreibt Goethe am 20. Mai 1776 an sein "Gutgen," dass "rechte Weiber" Männer überhaupt nicht lieben sollten, da sie es nicht verdienen.

<sup>43</sup> An Frau von Stein, 16. Juli 1776; vergl. Brief v. 25. März 1776.

*Geschwister* erahnen wir des Dichters eigene Nöte und Bedrängnisse. Er musz jedoch wie sein Thoas von der Erfüllung seines sehnlichsten Wunsches abstehen. Die Briefe vom November 1779 an Knebel und Frau von Stein gewähren uns den unmittelbarsten Einblick in das empfängliche, weiche Gemüt Goethes, des nun Dreissigjährigen: er ist ein im tiefsten Wesen einsamer, liebeleidender Mensch. Nur seine vielseitigen, anderweitigen Interessen gestatten ihm trotzdem Welt und Leben auch froh zu genießen. Wahr bleibt immerhin sein Geständnis an Frau von Stein: "Die Liebe giebt mir alles, und wo die nicht ist, dresch ich Stroh."<sup>44</sup>

Kommen wir zur letzten Frage: Was ist Goethes Stellung zur Kunst? Ganz allgemein gesprochen, steht Goethes Kunstschaffen im Zeichen des Gefühlserlebnisses.<sup>45</sup> Das Kunstwerk (das echte) entsteht organisch wie jedes andere Naturgebilde.<sup>46</sup> Die Ideen kommen angeflogen oder steigen aus den Urtiefen der Seele (dem modernen Unterbewusstsein!) gleich anfänglich dunklen Ahnungen allmählich an die Oberfläche des Bewusstseins.<sup>47</sup> Sie keimen und entfalten sich wie eine Pflanze. Oder ein erleuchtender Geist überrascht den Künstler ganz unvorbereitet, und unter solchem Druck ergieszt sich die bis dahin latente Kraft dammbruchartig und ungewollt zu einem Kunstwerke.<sup>48</sup> So plötzlich wie dieser Schaffensrausch losbricht, ebenso hemmungslos tobt er sich auch aus. Das so zustandegекommene Werk ist sich selbst Vorbild und Regel. Der so schaffende Künstler ist dem Halbgott<sup>49</sup> vergleichbar. "Ein volles ganz von Einer Empfindung volles Herz"<sup>50</sup> ist das Staubecken, aus dem der dichterische Strom voll Schaffensfreude und Rausch hervorstürzt. Aus der Richtung und Stärke dieses Gefühlsergusses ergibt sich dementsprechend die äuszere Form des Kunstwerkes ganz von selbst. Gehalt und Gestalt werden von innen heraus bestimmt. "Gedanck und Empfindung" bilden "den Ausdruck."<sup>51</sup> Sie bilden naturgemäsz ein Ganzes. Mehr als das, es ist "der Geist, der alles schön macht," die Idee, das Lebendige, das Organische. Gehalt geht über Gestalt.<sup>52</sup>

Diese Ästhetik des jungen Frankfurter Rechtsanwalts zeigt 1773 eine leichte Schwenkung. Es reizt ihn als Dramatiker, den Beweis zu liefern,

<sup>44</sup> An Frau von Stein, 22. Juli 1776.

<sup>45</sup> Briefkonzept an Hetzler den Jüngeren, 14. Juli 1770; vergl. Wagnerszene im *Urfaust*.

<sup>46</sup> Morris, v, 262 f.; vergl. Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Paragr. 46; Eucken, *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart* (1904), 127 ff.; Walzel, *Deutsche Romantik* (1923), I, 15; Gundolf, *Goethe* (1916), 461; Korff, *Geist der Goethezeit*, I (1923), 132 f.

<sup>47</sup> An Herder, Frankfurt, Ende 1771; u. etwa 10. Juli 1772.

<sup>48</sup> Morris, vi, 220 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 107 unten.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 174 oben.

<sup>51</sup> An Herder, etwa 10. Juli 1772.

<sup>52</sup> Morris, II, 32 f.; Briefkonzept an Hetzler den Jüngeren v. 14. Juli 1770; an Friederike Oeser, 8. April 1769; Morris, II, 51 f., 140, 305 ff.; III, 101 ff.; v, 262 f.

dasz er auch nach schulmässigen Vorschriften<sup>53</sup> zu schreiben vermag. Im Sommer 1774 lobt er jedoch überschwenglich die radikal eingestellte *Gelehrten-Republic* Klopstocks,<sup>54</sup> weil sie den ästhetischen Anschauungen der Stürmer und Dränger das Wort redet. Trotzdem hat er sich gleichzeitig nicht der Einsicht verschlieszen können, dasz "Zusammenwerfen der Regeln . . . keine Ungebundenheit"<sup>55</sup> gibt. Nichtsdestoweniger schmeichelt ihm der Gedanke der angeblichen Verworrenheit im Aufbau des neuen Dramas. Jenen kalten<sup>56</sup> Stücken, die sich in Metrum und Manier an die französische Hofbühne halten, zieht er es auf jeden Fall vor. Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit sollen in der Literatur vorherrschen und nicht Politesse. Durchempfindung — nicht Anempfindung — der Charaktere verleiht der dramatischen Dichtung den Wert des künstlerisch Bedeutsamen, nicht der äuszere Zierat. Die "innere Form" begreift "alle Formen" in sich.<sup>57</sup> Formale Ästhetiker sind ihm überhaupt (noch) zuwider.

Im Sommer 1775 reizt den Stürmer wieder der himmelanstrebende Turm des Straszburger Münsters zur höchsten Bewunderung<sup>58</sup> hin, und man möchte daraufhin wieder eine neue literarische Explosion von ihm erwarten. Aber zur grössten Überraschung schreibt er, und trotzdem es ihm "toll und wunderlich"<sup>59</sup> zumute ist, seine ersten Hexameter.<sup>60</sup> Damit nicht genug, bemüht er sich, eine Landschaft objektiv, das heiszt, mit wissenschaftlich nüchternen Worten zu zeichnen.<sup>61</sup> Tatsächlich verlegt hier Goethe zum ersten Male nicht mehr seine Gefühlen in die Dinge, sondern registriert nur, was die Linse seines Auges wirklich gewahrt. Im Spätherbst desselben Jahres—ob noch in Frankfurt oder bereits in Weimar, verbleibt ein Geheimnis, schwer zu enthüllen—überraschen ferner die letzten Sätze des Falconet-Aufsatzes, worin er auf die von der Natur dem Künstler gesetzte Stileinschränkung<sup>62</sup> aufmerksam macht. 1776 folgt "Hans Sachsens poetische Sendung," die neben alten Sturm-und-Drang-Elementen manche beachtenswerte Annäherung an den Geist des Klassizismus verrät. Schon die Beschreibung des jungen Weibes darin erinnert an die kommende romantisch-idealisierte Gestaltung der griechischen Frau als eine der vielen schönen Verirrungen, die von den Dichtern sowohl wie von den Philosophen des deutschen Klassizismus in gleich schuldiger Weise liebevoll gepflegt wurden. Um dieselbe Zeit beginnt Goethe die *Proserpina* zu dichten, die aber noch Bruchstück bleibt. Wichtig ist dabei, dasz die Gestalt der Proserpina nicht im Sinne der Lieblingshelden aus früheren Jahren wie etwa Cäsar und

<sup>53</sup> An Kestner, 15. Sept. 1773 (gegen Ende des langen Briefes).

<sup>54</sup> An Schonborn, 10. Juni 1774.

<sup>55-57</sup> Morris, v, 344.

<sup>58</sup> Morris, v, 261 ff.

<sup>59</sup> An Johanna Fahlmer, 24. u. 26. Mai 1775.

<sup>60</sup> Morris, v, 259.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 260.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 350.

Prometheus konzipiert ist. Auch hat sie nichts von der Dämonie einer Adelheid an sich. Im Gegenteil! Proserpina entstammt nicht nur dem Namen nach aus einer nie gewesenen glorreichen Vorwelt, sie ist tatsächlich die Vorbotin eines Lebensgefühls, das unseren groszen Lebenskünstlern einen würdigen Ersatz verlieh für den irdischen Pessimismus der Theisten sowohl wie für den selbstgenügsamen Optimismus der Deisten<sup>63</sup> im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Das Orakel erscheint sogar in der gebändigten Form des Distichons. Die Welt des Hades und antiken Fatalismus geben dem Ganzen den Unterton. Im Laufe der nächstfolgenden Jahre entwickelt sich aus diesem Geiste heraus das erste in sich geschlossene, im Stoff antike Drama Goethes: die *Iphigenie*, die Ende März 1779 vollendet (in der Prosafassung) vorliegt.

Fassen wir die vorigen an sich schon knappen Ausführungen noch kürzer zusammen, so lässt sich folgendes sagen: Goethes Landschaftsgefühl fängt an sich zu ändern während der ersten Schweizerreise vom Mai bis Juli 1775; ein Jahr später hat es sich durchgreifend geändert. Rückfälle unterlaufen zwar, aber bei der zweiten Schweizerreise 1779 zeigt sich kein Mischgefühl mehr. Entscheidend ist der Juni 1776.

Goethes Vorliebe für das gewöhnliche Volk und dessen dichterische Erzeugnisse erblaszt bereits im Frühjahr 1776—wenn nicht schon etwas früher, soweit die Abfassung des ersten Teiles der *Zweiten Schweizerreise* in Frage kommt. Wirklich volksmässige Dichtung beschäftigt den Frühweimarer Goethe überhaupt nicht mehr. Was im *Egmont* davon vorhanden ist, geht sehr wahrscheinlich noch auf die letzte Frankfurter Zeit zurück.

Des Dichters menschlichste Eigenschaft, sein immer junges, liebeleidendes Herz, verliert er nie. Ruhiges Besitzen und Genieszen bleibt ihm vor der Reise nach Italien versagt. Ungestillte Sehnsucht ist der Grundton seines Wesens. Doch bringt der Februar 1776 eine herbe Note des Entsagens und demütigen Verzichtens, das ihn auch in den folgenden Jahren nicht verlässt.

Die ästhetischen Anschauungen Goethes ändern sich eher als alles andere. Wie er offensichtlich bereits im Februar 1769 Herders Geist in sich aufgenommen, wie er bald der anerkannte Führer aller Stürmer und Dränger geworden, so ist er auch jetzt der erste, der sich wieder auf Mässigung besinnt. Goethes erster Besuch in der Schweiz ist entschieden als Markstein anzusetzen. "Hans Sachsens poetische Sendung" (1776) und das Proserpina-Fragment (1776–77) sind weitere Meilensteine. Das Frühjahr 1779 setzt den Schlussstein mit der *Iphigenie*.

<sup>63</sup> Eine religions-philosophische und -psychologische Betrachtung der Goetheschen Weltanschauung ist in dieser Arbeit nicht beabsichtigt, so sehr solche in den Rahmen des Gesamtbildes hineingehörte.

Will man nach dem Vorhergehenden den Begriff des jungen Goethe nach einer bestimmten Altersgrenze umreißen, so kann das nicht ohne Vergewaltigung von mehr oder weniger wichtigen Einzelheiten seines Lebens geschehen. Es musz auch betont werden, dasz die Veränderungen, die sich bald nach der Übersiedlung nach Weimar in ihm zeigen, unbedingt in seinem Wesen begründet lagen. Es lassen sich sogar gewichtige Gründe ins Feld führen, die dafür zeugen, dasz Weimar mit all seinem Drum und Dran nur mittelbar auf die Gestaltung des heranreifenden Mannes und Dichters von entscheidendem Einflusz gewesen ist. Auf Grund des beigebrachten Materials liegt die innere Berechtigung zur oberen Begrenzung der Goetheschen Jugend bereits in den seelischen Erfahrungen der Sommerreise<sup>64</sup> in die Schweiz (1775), taucht doch hier erstmalig leidenschaftslose Wiedergabe des Sinnlich-Wahrgenommenen und ein griechisches Metrum auf. Wirklich grundlegende Veränderungen im Menschen und Künstler Goethe ereignen sich zwischen Juni 1775 und Juni 1776. Der Februar des Jahres 1776 ist dabei besonders kennzeichnend. Will man die Grenze des ersten groszen Lebensabschnittes von Deutschlands weisestem Dichter höher hinausrücken, so kann man bis Ende Juli 1779 gehen. Denn erst kurz vor Vollendung des dreissigsten Lebensjahres gibt sich der Geheime Legationsrat Johann Wolfgang Goethe wahrhaft mannhafte Rechenschaft über sein vergangenes Leben und wird sich bewusst, welch fernerer Weg er zu gehen hat. Aber es dauert noch ein paar Jahre, bis ihm die Spannung zwischen Künstler- und Beamtentum unertraglich wird, er sich plötzlich losreiszt und seiner freien menschlichen und künstlerischen Selbstentfaltung zu leben vermag.

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<sup>64</sup> Unter dem 20. Sept. 1935 zeigt der Verlag Friedr. Vieweg und Sohn A. G., Braunschweig, ein neues Buch an, betitelt: *Jahr der Wandlung, Goethes Schicksalswende 1775* von Franz Servaes. In der Voranzeige heiszt es: "*Franz Servaes* erlebt das für Goethe so schicksalhafte Jahr 1775, die grosze Leidenschaft für Lili, den Abschied vom Sturm und Drang." Auf diese Beweisführung darf man gespannt sein. Unsere eigenen diesbezüglichen Beobachtungen, teilweise jetzt hier im Druck erschienen, gehen auf Untersuchungen im literarischen Seminar von Professor A. R. Hohlfeld (Wisconsin) im Jahre 1929 zurück.

## GOETHE IN AMERICAN PERIODICALS 1860-1900

THE study of the reception and the rejection of Goethe in America has attracted many investigators and has yielded a wealth of factual and significant material—the gist of which has recently been set forth in comprehensive perspective by Camillo von Klenze.<sup>1</sup> However, the well has not been exhausted.<sup>2</sup> So far the history of what may be called the integration of Goethean literature and thought in America has been told largely in terms of individual leadership. To be sure, in the first half of the nineteenth century, perhaps up to the appearance of Taylor's *Faust* (1870), the attitude of a few score outstanding personages tells the better part of the story of Goethe in America. But as time advances the leadership of individuals becomes more and more involved in a complexity of forces, an expansion of fields, and a ramification and crossing of lines of influence and tradition.<sup>3</sup> Toward the close of the century the material—in the American popular magazines, for instance—presents such endlessly involved cross-considerations and such masses of detail that it would seem as if nothing short of the much overstrained statistical method could lead to any desirable perspicuity.

Inasmuch as noteworthy evaluations may be expressed in very few words and by way of incidental comment, the entire body of pertinent references to the literature, personality, and philosophy of Goethe, including casual comment, in American journalism when "isolated" and considered as a unit should yield a block of authoritative information indispensable to a competent appreciation of the depth to which Goethean

<sup>1</sup> Klenze, Camillo von, "Das amerikanische Goethebild," *Mitteilungen, Deutsche Akademie* (München, 1933)

<sup>2</sup> There is for example in American journalism a vast body of scattered material touching Goethe still awaiting a methodical survey and categorization.

<sup>3</sup> In the first quarter of the century there are the Stael-influenced, Göttingen-trained scholars, Ticknor, Everett, and Bancroft, over against the hostile older Unitarians and Congregationalists such as William Ware and Andrews Norton; then there appear the progressively appreciative Transcendentalists, Emerson, Longfellow, and Margaret Fuller and the younger Unitarians and Concord "philosophers," Clarke, Parker, Hedge, Sanborn, and associates. In Haertel's list (Haertel, M. H., *German Literature in American Magazines 1846-1880*, Univ. Wisconsin, Bul. No. 263, 1908) of promulgators of German literature and of Goethean admirers and critics, the New England group is still conspicuously prominent. There are a number of Unitarian pastors and college presidents of the caliber of Peabody of Harvard and Carter of Williams College, but to the Peabodys, the Carters, the Lowells, and the Algernons, come the Seareses, the Evanses, the Rosengartens, and the Boyesens from Ireland, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Norway, adding to the momentum of changing conceptions proceeding from the more or less traditionally homogeneous New England the impact of heterogeneous forces.

literature and thought have influenced American civilization. An index to the references touching Goethe in American periodical literature is now in preparation. The period 1860-1900 has been completed.<sup>4</sup> This index shows that there are in the last four decades of the nineteenth century no less than 113 magazine sets, representing 2364 volumes, in and among which there are slightly over 2900 items touching Goethe. There is a substantial body of original and translated citations from the works of Goethe; there are more than 400 book notices and reviews concerning some 180 works by or about the poet; there are approximately 150 informative and critical treatises ranging from two to 77 columns in length and at least as many noteworthy shorter articles; and finally, a mass of cursory, and if taken singly perhaps negligible comment—often in otherwise extraneous matter—that in its entirety however is not without considerable significance.

In the purely quantitative elements in this material there may be noted some rather striking phenomena. For example, the total number of references touching Goethe in some connection or other rises steadily with minor fluctuations from 292 in the sixties to 1027 in the nineties, an increase of more than 250 per cent, while the increase in the total number of magazine sets containing references is less than 150 per cent.<sup>5</sup>

Of interest is the fact that in Magazines of the first rank in quality such as the *Nation*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Literary World*, and the *Critic*,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Gruening, John Paul von, *Goethe in American Periodicals from 1860 to 1900*. Ph.D. Thesis, Wisconsin, 1931, to be published. The year 1860, a somewhat arbitrarily chosen *terminus a quo*, was suggested by the circumstance of its having served other investigators as a period-limiting date, for example: Simmons, Lucretia Van Tuyl, *Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation Prior to 1860*, Univ. Wisconsin, Studies in Lang. and Lit. (1919); Hinz, Stella M., *Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation after 1860*, Univ. Wisconsin, Studies in Lang. and Lit. (1928); Nicolai, Martha, *German Literature in British Magazines 1836-1860*, in preparation. The year 1899 marking the sesqui-centennial anniversary of the birth of the poet and turn of the century seemed to be a convenient if not an organic terminating point of a period sufficiently long to furnish some perspective.

<sup>5</sup> In every decade there are magazines that cease publication while others come into being; many are rather short-lived. Thus there are in issuance of the periodicals considered here (not counting a dozen academic journals that indeed touch our subject) the following number of sets: in 1860, 17 sets, in 1870, 32 sets; in 1880, 29 sets; in 1890, 38 sets; in 1900, 41 sets. Only six appear continuously throughout our period. They are: the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Eclectic Magazine*, *Harper's (Magazine and Weekly)*, the *Living Age*, and the *North American Review*.

<sup>6</sup> The *Nation* has 330 references, 56 in the first decade of its existence, 1865-75, and 130 in the eighties; the *Atlantic* has 167, there are 33 in the sixties and 45 in the eighties; the *Literary World*, founded in 1872, has 29 in the eight years before 1880 and 99 in the next decade; and the *Critic*, founded in 1881, has 273 before the close of the century. The average number of references per year volume for the entire period and for all the volumes actually having references is less than three.



there is also a conspicuously and in most cases, at least up to 1890, an increasingly large number of references, while in journals manifesting the most incredible hostility toward and ignorance of Goethe and things German in general, the relative number is invariably low. The best British-American journals such as the *Living Age*, *Literature*, the *Review of Reviews*, and the *Eclectic Magazine* all have a strikingly large number of references, many of them in the form of major articles.<sup>7</sup>

There is to be noted furthermore an unusually high frequency in the reviewing and noticing of translations of Goethe's literary works and of Goethe biographies in the last three decades.<sup>8</sup>

A rather telling distribution is revealed in the count of references in bona fide American magazines according to the individual literary works to which they refer. *Faust* is far in the lead of all others with respect to number of citations, reviews of editions—especially translations, and general comment touching the play, having as many as 442. *Meister* follows with 131; then Lyric Poetry with 77; *Werther* has 70; *Goetz*, 58; *Hermann und Dorothea*, 45; *Iphigenia*, 38; *Tasso*, 34; *Wahlverwandschaften*, 34; *Dichtung u. Wahrheit*, 21; *Egmont*, 17; *Reineke Fuchs*, 13; while other works have fewer references.<sup>9</sup>

Turning now from the extent to the content of the material, we may ask: What characteristics, if any, typify the comment as a whole? Are there revealed any qualities that are distinctly American? What is the predominating critical attitude? To be sure, the general question how American criticism of Goethe will harmonize or contrast with the European view, raised by Louis J. Swinburn in the *New Englander*, XLV,

<sup>7</sup> The *Living Age* has 237 in 40 years; *Literature*, 16 in three years, 1897-99; the *Review of Reviews*, 80 in nine years, 1891-99; and the *Eclectic*, 186 in 40 years.

<sup>8</sup> Morgan, B. Q., *A Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation*, Univ. Wisconsin (1922), shows that the English translations of Goethe number twenty in the decade ending at 1800, rising almost steadily in number to 148 in the decade 1880-90, followed by a drop to 66 in the nineties. In the last three decades there appear 21 editions of Taylor's *Faust*; in 1889 Hayward's prose translation had reached its eleventh, Martin's and Swanwick's each their ninth, and Brooks' its fifteenth edition, to mention only some of the most important ones. Anster's "distorted" translation that in five decades, after 1835, had seen only four new editions, burst forth in 12 new editions in the decade ending 1885. Among the biographies reviewed are editions of Lewes, Calvert, Bernays, Grimm, Boyesen, Düntzer, Prem, Heinemann, Bielschowsky, and Ehrlich.

<sup>9</sup> These figures are based on a normalized rather than a mechanical count to obviate any misleading accretions because of mere formal repetitions. Although they may be subject to some revision, owing to occasional difficulties in interpreting a "unit" reference, the ratio is probably essentially correct. Articles in the technically scholarly journals, to be interpreted as pure isolated contributions addressed to specialists, are omitted in this connection regardless of their intrinsic value, on the ground that they cannot be considered as any reflex or component of popular American journalism.

648-659, in 1886, still awaits a determinative answer and will continue to do so until there shall have been completed careful surveys of the American and foreign journalistic and literary fields together with a detailed correlation of results, an undertaking perhaps of major proportions in itself. Unquestionably American opinion is at times derivative, but it is not unlikely that the final verdict will be that it is quite as often, if not in the main, decidedly independent. In the material at hand there is abundant evidence, for example, of such intangibles as an inertia of fixed notions, a momentum of revolutionary forces, and a gradual change of taste proceeding as well, if not largely, from sources indigenous as from influences abroad. Despite some outbursts of stupidity and proof of lingering bias, the criticism is on the whole creditable and when considered over longer periods of time remarkably self-corrective. There is, to be sure, a greater propensity toward objectives pragmatic, social, and moral, than toward considerations purely aesthetic and cultural. Apparently inaccessible are those Goethean ideas that may not be reconciled with the dogmatic nineteenth-century American conception of democracy. Interesting, moreover, is the fact that from the first and throughout our period American criticism is constantly alive to the tremendous cogency of the personality of Goethe. Although this circumstance leads indeed to many unfortunate misapprehensions and amusing blunders, it also proves in a way a certain soundness of American critical instinct, sensing as it did consistently that the life and the works of the great German are indeed inseparable.

Of the persistence of fixed notions there is perhaps no better illustration than the close-up view afforded by a set or two of typical reactions to the life and thought of Goethe as we see them in the sweep of certain currents. Citing the writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* XL, 494 (1877), who maintains that "the legitimate product" of Goethe's example and teaching is beheld by contemporary Germany in that "art-iconoclast and moral monster, Richard Wagner," von Klenze concludes, "Dieser calvinistische Zelot stand wahrscheinlich im Jahre 1877 schon ziemlich vereinsamt da."<sup>10</sup> However, the zealot is not without goodly company even to the end of the century. In 1879 the *Catholic World* xxix, 111, rejoices that Taylor did not write a biography of Goethe "because the sooner the world forgets that passionless and scientific advocate of lust the better"; it is "profoundly grateful that American literature has escaped the infamy of such a book as Lewes' *Life of Goethe*." In the *American Church Review* (Episcopal) J. I. Mombert, who indeed ranks *Faust* with *Hamlet*, not only voices agreement with Menzel, but announces

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 201.

anew that though Goethe's intellect was "colossal," his "heart was nil" and his "morals . . . were bad," and that Schiller is preferred as a poet "because he was the better man." The italics are his xxxviii (1882), 251. A fairly reliable index should be found in the cross-section of opinions one may read in the cluster of reviews of Sanborn's edition of thirteen lectures on Goethe delivered at the Concord School of Philosophy in July 1885.<sup>11</sup> There is praise and there are strictures; however in most instances reviewers are careful to suggest that faults of genius must not be glossed over, that there are "sins of life," "defects of mind," evidences of "notorious unfaithfulness," and "egoism" not to be condoned.<sup>12</sup> Indeed two magazines, the *Critic* and the *Literary World*, strike a somewhat different if not more favorable note indicative of a shifting of emphasis (supported in part by British opinion) from the much condemned episodic life of the poet to the yet unfathomed true personality behind the works.<sup>13</sup> But this point of view is by no means general in 1886. Almost another decade must elapse before it can be said to have become more widely established. In 1888 the *Literary World* (xix, 291) quotes Florence Traill, indeed not with approval, who says, "What we learn of his (Goethe's) life . . . disgusts us forever with the man and all that he had to do or say." In the following year a *coup de grâce* is attempted by Mary E. Nutting, who, in a twenty-three-page article on "The Over-Estimation of Goethe" in the *Andover Review* (Congregational) (xii, 36 ff.) condemns both his literature and his life, deploring the broken hearts and poisoned lives of his making. Even in the *Open Court*, iii, 1976 and iii, iii, (opposite 2050) in 1889, Susan B. Channing opposing Calvin Thomas voices indignation over Goethe's common-law marriage and his "excesses." In *Poet Lore*, vii, (1895) 383, Margaret Fuller is once more commended for pointing out not only the "marvellous genius" but also the "disappointing limitations of Goethe," and in the *Cosmopolitan*, xxiv, (1897) 172, Emma H. Nason is sad to record the fact (in an article enhanced by a beautiful and excellently reproduced collection of Kaul-

<sup>11</sup> Sanborn, F. B., *The Life and Genius of Goethe* (Boston, 1886).

<sup>12</sup> A reviewer in *Harper's*, lxxiii, 153, says characteristically: "we have liked Mrs. Howe (Julia Ward, lecturing on Goethe's Women) almost the best . . . she does not blink the fact that whatever Goethe's ideal women were, his treatment of real women was not ideal." Compare also *Catholic World*, xliii, 128; *American*, lxi, 300; *Chautauquan*, vi, 546; and *Literary News*, vii, 102.

<sup>13</sup> The *Literary World*, xvii, (1886), 129, finds fault with the fanatical eulogizing of Goethe in his own land, notes a distressing lack of real criticism in Sanborn's volume, and cites Matthew Arnold to the effect that the letters, journals, and conversations reveal the truly significant Goethe. The *Critic*, viii (1886), 115, calls the lectures superficial, explaining that Goethe's genius lies in the breadth of his interests and culture and in the fact that he touches human nature at all points.

bach's illustrations) that the greatest of the German poets loved "most unworthily of them all."

It may be of interest to note that the majority of these animadversions proceed from women and from the religious journals. It should be added, however, with respect to contributions from women, that there are also noteworthy, understanding appreciations, for example, those of Ellen M. Mitchell, *Western*, II (1876) 347; Grace C. Bibb, *ibid.* II, 265; Caroline Lachland, *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, XVI (1882) 320, and Gertrude Garrigues, *ibid.*, XVII (1883) 383, then there are the constructive services of the translators such as Anna C. Brackett and Ellen Frothingham and of the editors such as Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke of *Poet-Lore*. Moreover it must be said that the *Christian Examiner* and the *Christian Union* are on the whole friendly; that the *Princeton Review* (Presbyterian) though not deeply interested in Goethe is not hostile in the references it has; that the *Baptist Quarterly* though dissatisfied with Goethe's religion does not assail his personal life; that the *Unitarian Review* judges Goethe the greatest of modern poets though not a "blameless liver"; and that both the *Catholic World* and the *Andover Review* become more understanding in time.<sup>14</sup>

A rising wave of popular interest in things Goethean reaches its crest about 1890. A great many things with a distinct appeal to the journalist were happening, and Goethe was unquestionably "good copy." There were, following upon the death in 1885 of Goethe's last descendant: the dedication to the public of the Goethe houses; the opening of the Goethe archives and the calling to Weimar of some of the best Goethe scholars, the sensational discovery of the unpublished manuscripts; the preparation of the Weimar edition; the founding of the Goethe-societies, and the erecting of Goethe monuments in many European and American cities. There appear in the magazines numerous items on the disposition of Goethe paintings and Goethe libraries; popular journals join the procession with sundry Goethe "features" including illustrations, even the *American Journal of Numismatics* does its part by printing a list of all the medals of Goethe (*Critic*, XII, 74)! On the stage, notably in the large

<sup>14</sup> The *Catholic World*, that in 1883 (XXXVI, 770), had accused Goethe of leading his countrymen "and multitudes of mankind . . . to befoul whatever was decent among men and profane whatever was sacred before God" in a serial article on the study of modern religion, by William Berry, in 1889, not only makes a serious and creditable if dissenting approach to Goethean religious concepts, but concludes with the statement that there is represented in Goethe's concept of the Religion of Sorrow a height from which mankind will never descend (I, 72-80). In the *Andover Review*, XV (1891), 583 ff., Hamilton Wright Mabie understandingly estimates the greatness of Goethe, and Julia H. Gulliver (XVI, 133), in a thirteen-page generally appreciative treatise on the value of Goethe's thought of God, pleads for an ear to his "great and noble utterances" despite any blemishes of his character.

cities, there are the productions of the dramas of Goethe, chief among which are the long runs of the versions of *Faust*,<sup>15</sup> including the opera.

Then there is to be noted also a converging of activities in certain geographical centers such as Concord, Chautauqua, St. Louis, Chicago, San Francisco, and the university towns. It would lead too far to trace the development in each of these and other centers here. Suffice it to emphasize simply the services of the St. Louis group of cultural leaders. Their intellectual ancestry can be traced on the one hand to what may be called the philosophical thought of New England embodied best in Emerson and on the other to that of cultivated German immigrants, especially the circles represented by Carl Schurz. Two magazines, the *Western* (1875-81), and the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* (1867-88), appearing in St. Louis and serving as the organs of the leading idealists, give considerable space to the literature and thought of Goethe. A catalogue of the names important in this connection would have to include those of W. T. Harris, Anna C. Brackett, D. J. Snider, F. L. Soldan, J. K. Hosmer, J. A. Chase, Thomas Davidson, and others.

Then there is the not unimportant fact that soon after the Civil War there begins a period of great mobility among men of letters. Numerous journalists, lecturers, and educators—serving as guiding spirits in Goethean study and popularization move freely from place to place, not only as traveling lecturers of the Concord and Chautauqua summer schools, but as residents capable of a vital leadership for longer spaces of time in each of a number of different communities. Their significance might well be considered on the one hand geographically according to the office, classroom, or pulpit they occupy, and on the other hand journalistically according to the publications through which they exert their influence. Indeed, there are factors of personal origin, inclination, and traditional bias to be taken into careful consideration.<sup>16</sup> And at this point the study of forces and movements would have to yield once more to the further study of individuals, an undertaking beyond our purposes here.

<sup>15</sup> During the presentation by Irving and Terry of Will's version at the Lyceum Theater, London booksellers are reported to have sold 100,000 copies of *Faust* (*Public Opinion*, 1 [1886], 339). The production was subsequently brought to Broadway. For the history of the Bayle-Bernard, and Haas versions with Lewis Morrison as Mephistopheles who "delighted" packed houses for twenty seasons, within a circuit of 5000 miles including large cities and small towns, see Raschen, J. F. L., "Lewis Morrison's Production of Goethe's *Faust*," *Germanic Review*, iv (1929), 107.

<sup>16</sup> Thus W. T. Harris, purposeful Goethe student and editor of the *J. Spec. Philos.*, and later U. S. Commissioner of Education, belongs indeed to St. Louis, to New England, and to the nation; James MacAlister, Scotch immigrant, and enthusiastic Goethe lecturer,—is to be identified with the Wisconsin normal school system, the school superintendencies of Milwaukee and Philadelphia, and the Drexel institute; Josiah Royce, forceful champion

Precisely to what extent the universities, the platform lecturers, and the periodical journalism of the late eighties and the early nineties may have been responsible for the fact is perhaps indeterminable, but certain it is that after 1890 there is a fairly rapid decline of interest in the episodic life of the poet, not accompanied, however, by any corresponding drop of interest in Goethean literary work, for there is evidence at every hand that Goethe is being read. This circumstance is reflected not only in the appearance of new editions and translations, and in the academic study of Goethe that is being cultivated, but also in the fact that there is forming a new wave of interest that is to reach its crest about 1910 and that would hardly be thinkable if the apparent ebb about 1890 had meant any serious decrease of deeper interest.

The principal effects that seem to have been exerted on American civilization by the personality and the literature of Goethe as reflected in the magazines of the last four decades of the nineteenth century, may in conclusion be enumerated perhaps as follows:

1. A substantial, if in certain respects definitely limited, influence upon the movements tending to liberalize Puritanical thought in its successive stages of Congregationalism, Unitarianism, Transcendentalism, and the subsequent conceptions of social and humanitarian idealism. Liberal philosophical and religious thought, from Emerson to Josiah Royce from Theodore Parker to Lyman Abbott, is unquestionably indebted as well to the deeper spirituality and the poetic imagination especially of Goethe's *Faust*, his philosophic poetry, and prose wisdom, as to that Goethean attitude to life that had sustained a none-too-optimistic but essentially unshaken personal faith in, and reverence for, the purposeful dependableness of nature.

2. A contribution to American pedagogy, both through the medium of such educators as Harris, Brackett, Soldan, MacAlister, and many others of their stamp, and through such organs as Barnard's *American Journal of Education* that presented a translation of the educational theories of the Goethe-saturated Karl von Raumer, VIII, (1860), 123-154, and gave frequent if not liberal space for the presentation of Goethean ideas and quotations. Although sometimes qualified by editorial comment, there are to be found: the ideas formulated in the *Wanderjahre*, XXIII, (1872) 9-16; quotations from Goethe on the teaching of drawing, x 62, on memory, rhythm, grace, and spontaneity, x, 199; 225, on the

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of Goethean idealism is of California and of Harvard; Calvin Thomas of Michigan contributes to the rather elementary *Chautauquan*, to the semi-scholarly *Nation*, to the Montistic *Open Court*, and to other journals; Bayard Taylor, of South-German and Quaker descent is to be vanously classified, as journalist, as traveler, as diplomat, as poet of note, and as foremost translator of *Faust*.

ethical import of teaching singing, VIII, 648, on the need for understanding the child, VIII, 619, etc.

3. The substance of much of the rich material used in our institutional cultivation of classical idealism. The story of the school texts of *Iphigenie*, *Hermann und Dorothea*, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, *Egmont*, *Tasso*, and *Faust* proves an ever-increasing concern on the part of American students with the Goethean ideal of aesthetic perfection.

4. A perceptible if not exactly determinable influence on American literary production and taste, in that men of an unbribable type of mind from Hawthorne<sup>17</sup> to Whitman<sup>18</sup> have ever received positive inspiration from Goethe, and in that such works as *Meister*, the *Elective Affinities*, and again *Faust*, that had met with a decidedly critical reception, gradually came to provoke wide discussion and serious reading.<sup>19</sup> The bearing of these works upon a change of literary taste in America is not to be lost sight of when explaining our schooling for the more serious American literature of today.

5. An unformulated but nevertheless workable body of philosophical conceptions traceable to considerable socio-religious occupation especially with the ethical and cultural thought of Goethe. To be sure, the leaders of the platform and cult movements were at times one-sided and superficial, not excepting W. T. Harris and Paul Carus, but the ventures were on the whole no doubt constructive. An example of a great synthetic attempt is the article by Joseph A. Chase in the *Western*, VII, (1881) 509, explaining that Goethe furnishes us with a complete "rationale of the process of aesthetic culture"; that he represents a school in art and literature opposed to force or power; that his philosophy is "alike removed from positivism whose criterion of excellence is utility and from traditional judgment founded on convention"; that his harmonious culture possesses the true ethical spirit in its insistence on the economy of all energies, and that he therefore "transcends the domain of practical life . . . and in his capacity of aristic thinker becomes the high priest of humanity."

6. An altogether immeasurable and priceless contribution to the growth of aesthetic refinement: through the many lyrics and ballads that so enduringly beguiled translators or inspired melodies, such as *Heidenröslein*, *Erlkönig*, *Wanderers Nachtlied*, *Über allen Gipfeln*, the songs of the Harper, Mignon, and Gretchen as words and as music in

<sup>17</sup> Julian Hawthorne names Goethe among the giants that had tempered his father. *Century*, x (1886), 83.

<sup>18</sup> Compare v. Klenze, *loc. cit.*, p. 203.

<sup>19</sup> John Burroughs sees in the "modern movement" a movement of individualism "which Goethe did more to forward than any other man," *Century Mag*, xiv (1888), 185.

numerous notable compositions; through the wealth of pictorial interpretations of Goethe to be seen in the art of Delacroix, Faber, Gregory, Kaulbach, Kolbe, Konewka, von Kreling, Retzsch, Rietschel, Rauch, Stieler, Tischbein, Trippel, and through the dramatic offerings of Nielson, Terry, and Irving, not to mention Morrison and the opera *Faust*. That the finer lure of this body of Goethean art offered an escape if not a partial corrective in the period that witnessed a progressive vulgarization of public taste with the rise of yellow journalism is a circumstance certainly worth taking some cognizance of.

Thus the picture suggested by the material at hand, despite all negative elements, reveals Goethe as the most imposing figure in German literature, as one of the greatest in world literature, and as a force comprising a distinct world of thought fertile in American civilization. That his permanent place of eminence is more and more taken for granted is shown by the frequent linking of his name, as if it were axiomatic, with those of the very greatest of all times. Again and again, especially toward the close of the century, appears the formula—Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, reflecting better than encomiums the high character of the reception and appreciation of Goethe in American journalism toward the close of the nineteenth century.

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## L'OMBRE DE MADAME BOVARY

L'AUTOBUS de Rouen à Beauvais s'arrêta dans une longue plainte de freins fatigués, et les deux voyageurs qu'il transportait ouvrirent à grand peine sa porte étroite et piquée de rouille.

—Pour aller à Ry, madame? demanda le plus vieux à une paysanne en tablier bleu qui, dans l'ombre d'une porte entre-bâillée, épiait les arrivants.

La porte se referma prestement, comme celle du Paradis au nez d'un mécréant; interloqués, les deux hommes se regardèrent et ne purent tenir leur sérieux.

—C'est plus qu'une réponse laconique, s'égaya le plus jeune.

—Et pis que visage de bois, ajouta l'autre.

L'autobus était reparti dans un battement de vitres trop lâches dans leurs glissières de tôle. *L'Hirondelle*, la diligence jaune qui tant de jeudis emporta la romanesque Madame Bovary vers ses rendez-vous d'amour, ne pouvait rouler à plus grand tapage avec ses "fers lâches qui battaient la terre."<sup>1</sup>

Sur la route bitumée, amollie par un furieux soleil d'août,<sup>2</sup> machinalement les deux compagnons prirent la même direction que l'autobus. Ils firent bien, car à un jet de pierre de l'arrêt, au bout du village de Martainville désert comme une église à l'heure du bal, le svelte poteau indicateur d'une croisée de chemins annonçait, en menus caractères: Ry, 3 km 570.

Cette route de Ry, étroite et raboteuse sous son épaisse poussière, piquait vers la gauche dans une campagne assez plate, mouchetée de moyettes de blé et des oasis que les boqueteaux et les récoltes d'automne formaient dans la blondeur des moissons.

Malgré le soleil, nos pèlerins, un professeur et un étudiant, marchaient d'un pas de chasseur à pied sur les bas côtés herbeux. Que faire sur le chemin de Ry à moins que l'on n'y parle de Madame Bovary? Ils détaillaient donc la tragique histoire d'Emma qui, née paysanne avec une âme de citadine, vite déçue par un mariage qui pourtant avait été d'amour, installée dans ce village de Ry où ils se rendaient, tenta la vie des amoureuses de romans conventionnels jusqu'au jour où, déjà empoisonnée de chimères, jeune et belle encore mais affolée de dettes et abandonnée de ses égoïstes amants, elle ne vit plus de salut que dans l'arsenic.

Au bout d'une demi-heure les piétons atteignirent un calvaire érigé à gauche de la route: 1857, disait l'inscription.

<sup>1</sup> *Madame Bovary* (Conard, 1921), p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Ce pèlerinage à Ry date du début d'août 1932.

—La véritable Madame Bovary n'a pas connu ce calvaire puisqu'elle s'est empoisonnée en 1848, commenta le professeur. Passons; il n'a d'ailleurs aucune originalité.

Dès le calvaire le chemin descend en pente raide. Au premier coude on découvre le village de Ry dont les maisons de pierre relevée de brique s'alignent, comme au garde à vous, le long de sa Grande Rue large et propre. Ce village, "on l'aperçoit de loin, tout couché en long sur la rive (de la Rieule), comme un gardeur de vaches qui fait la sieste au bord de l'eau."<sup>3</sup>

De la côte de Martainville où le calvaire est planté, on ne distingue pas la rivière cachée à gauche par les maisons à un étage qu'embrasse l'accolade des grands peupliers sous lesquels elle sinue. De molles collines enserrent le bourg de toutes parts; elles sont capitonnées de cultures et de bois plus touffus et sombres à l'est; c'est la forêt d'Argueil où Emma et Rodolphe aimaient à faire des promenades à cheval et où, certaine après-midi d'octobre, la brûlante amazone, renversant "son cou blanc . . . , défaillante, tout en pleurs, avec un long frémissement et se cachant la figure, . . . s'abandonna."<sup>4</sup>

Comme au temps de Flaubert les premières maisons du village se dressent en retrait de la route, derrière des grilles, des haies, des jardins et des cours; certaines sont encore traversées de lambourdes noires, mais, sur les toits, l'ardoise a remplacé le chaume épais qui leur faisait "comme des bonnets de fourrure rabattus sur des yeux."<sup>5</sup>

—Y a-t-il moyen de se loger à Ry pour la nuit? demanda le professeur au maréchal-ferrant dont la forge est toujours installée près de la boutique du charron, derrière une barricade de charrettes "qui empiètent sur la route."<sup>6</sup>

—Je vous *croës* 'qu'on peut se loger à Ry! Vous n'avez que l'embarras du *choëx*; y a *troës* auberges dans le pays, mais je vous recommande la première sur votre *droëte*, l'*Hôtel de la Rose Blanche*. Le patron Feuquères vous *soëgnera* aux petits *oëgnons*.

Trois auberges! *La Rose Blanche*, l'*Hôtel de France* et l'*Hôtel de Rouen*, dont les propriétaires, au fond, ne s'aiment probablement pas mieux que Madame Veuve Lefrançois du *Lion d'Or* ne portait dans son cœur ce gueux de Tellier du *Café Français*.

On poussa bientôt la porte vitrée de la *Rose Blanche*. Un vieillard trapu, barbe carrée, belle tête à la Saint-Saëns, émergea de son comptoir

<sup>3</sup> *M. B.*, 97. Le nombre renvoie à la page de ce roman dans l'édition Conard.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.

<sup>5</sup> et <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>7</sup> Comme dans l'Oise et dans l'Aisne, mais pourtant plus discrètement, les paysans de Ry prononcent *oë* pour *oi*.

et, s'essuyant les mains à son tablier bleu à bavette, s'empresse à la rencontre de ses clients.

—Deux chambres pour la nuit, et le vivre? mais parfaitement, messieurs; quinze francs chacune et douze francs pour le souper dont vous me direz des nouvelles! Ça vous va?

—Entendu; mais parons d'abord au plus pressé. Débouchez-nous donc un cruchon de cidre de Normandie, patron.

M. Feuquères remonta bientôt de sa cave avec une champenoise gainée de toiles d'araignée.

—C'est un joli village que le vôtre, propre, pittoresque . . . , célèbre aussi, avança le professeur.

—Il y en a de plus mal. Il faut bien qu'il soit riant pour mériter son nom de Ry. Célèbre? Assez, et à cause de Gustave Flaubert. Il vient pas mal de curieux ici. Si Madame Bovary avait eu tout l'argent qu'elle a fait gagner au pays elle ne se serait pas détruite, la pauvre!

—Alors, c'est bien vrai que Madame Bovary a existé? interrogea l'étudiant dans le français vieillot et charmant de la Province de Québec.

—Si elle a existé! comme vous et moi, monsieur! repartit l'hôtelier avec conviction. Il n'y a rien de plus vrai que la *Madame Bovary* de Gustave Flaubert; c'est de la vie, ça! un livre pris dans le vif, dans le saignant de la vie. Vous voulez connaître l'état civil d'Emma? Madame Bovary, de son vrai nom Adeline Couturier, ou plus couramment Delphine, est née en 1821, la même année que Flaubert, à la Rue-Saint-Pierre, près de Blainville-Crevon, à une bonne lieue d'ici en remontant la vallée du Crevon, notre rivière. En 1839,<sup>8</sup> à dix-huit ans, elle a épousé Eugène Delamare qui en avait vingt-huit, pratiquait la médecine à Ry et était veuf depuis un an.<sup>9</sup> Delphine avait perdu sa mère six mois avant d'épouser le médecin, et son père exploitait alors la ferme du Vieux-Château, les Bertaux dans le livre.—En 1842 elle eut une fille, Alice-Delphine; en 1848, l'année de la révolution, elle s'empoisonna; elle avait vingt-sept ans. Un peu moins de deux ans après son mari la rejoignait au cimetière.

—Il est probable qu'il n'existe plus personne qui ait connu Delphine Couturier?

—Certes, il faudrait être centenaire ou presque, pour cela. Flaubert a écrit que Yonville-l'Abbaye,—c'est-à-dire Ry,—comptait quelques nonagénaires,<sup>10</sup> de son temps; il n'y en a plus aujourd'hui. On vit trop fort à

<sup>8</sup> 1843, écrit dans son *Gustave Flaubert* (Paris; de Brouwer, 1933), p. 349.—M. René Duménil, le critique qui connaît le mieux Flaubert et Maupassant.

<sup>9</sup> Les états civils de Ry, Blainville et Rouen sont en contradiction pour ces dates. Il serait oiseux de les discuter ici.

<sup>10</sup> *M. B.*, 111.

notre époque, on fait trop d'excès, on ressemble trop à Rodolphe, le premier amant d'Emma.

—Une double tragédie contée par un maître écrivain dans un livre qui a eu les honneurs du Tribunal correctionnel de Paris a évidemment fait tourner bien des langues, dit le professeur, et si vous avez passé votre jeunesse dans le pays vous vous rappelez sans doute les réflexions des contemporains du drame à ce sujet?

—Pas plus loin que celles de mes parents, par exemple. Je suis né en 1858, à la tête de la vallée où mon père occupait une ferme pas bien loin de celle du père Couturier. Je ne me rappelle pas m'être fort intéressé à l'histoire, quand j'étais galopin; j'avais d'autres chats à fouetter, mais il y a une cinquantaine d'années on a construit une nouvelle ligne de chemin de fer Rouen-Amiens, passant par Morgny, à six kilomètres d'ici. J'ai été choisi comme messenger, et pendant longtemps j'ai fait le service des voyageurs Ry-Morgny, avec ma voiture qui était connue sous le nom de *la Gondole*. C'était une guimbarde dans le genre de *l'Hirondelle* d'Hivert. Ce que j'en ai *apporté* des messieurs et des dames qui tout le long du chemin me posaient des tas de questions sur Homais, Rodolphe, Léon, Charles Bovary, Emma Bovary de son vrai nom Delphine Couturier, femme du docteur Delamare, des gens que je ne connaissais ni d'Eve ni d'Adam! Au début j'en restais bête comme une tourte et je ne savais répondre que je n'en savais rien. Un jour j'ai demandé à mon père s'il se souvenait de Delphine Couturier 'Delphine? Je *crois* bien! m'a répondu mon père; on a été jeunes ensemble. Ah, c'en était une danseuse, celle-là! Oui-da, elle aimait bien le plaisir, elle était fort belle et toujours bien pomponnée. Elle en a eu des malheurs à Ry, la pauvre femme!

—Et vous-même n'avez-vous jamais rencontré certains des personnages qui, paraît-il, ont servi de modèles à Flaubert pour Rodolphe, Léon . . . ?

—Mais si. Plusieurs fois j'ai *apporté* et reconduit Léon Dupuis, l'ancien clerc, le second bon ami d'Emma. C'était Maître Stanislas-Narcisse Bottet, s'il vous plaît, notaire à Formerie, sur la ligne d'Amiens, à la limite de la Seine-Inférieure et de l'Oise. Ici on l'appelait Monsieur Louis. Il venait de temps en temps faire visite à un neveu qu'il avait à Ry. C'était un petit vieux soigné et bien agréable. Je ne me rappelle pas avoir parlé de l'affaire Delamare avec lui. Il est mort en pleine rue, à Beauvais.

—C'est peut-être ce qui a donné à Flaubert l'idée de faire mourir le père de Charles Bovary sur le seuil d'un café,<sup>11</sup> fit remarquer le professeur. Ne dit-on pas aussi que Rodolphe Boulanger, le châtelain de la Huchette, s'est fait sauter la cervelle à Paris, en plein boulevard, à son retour du Canada où ses rêves de fortune l'avaient mené et puis quitté?

<sup>11</sup> *M. B.*, 346.

—C'est bien cela, monsieur, répondit l'hôtelier. Rodolphe c'était de son vrai nom Louis Campion, le beau Campion, un bourreau des cœurs, un noceur s'il en fut, un viveur, comme on dit; il perdit sa fortune à courir les femmes et les maisons de jeu. Il s'est suicidé quatre ans après Emma.

—Et Homais, le prince des pharmaciens, plus célèbre de beaucoup que le Bézuquet de *Tartarin de Tarascon*, Homais le progressiste phraseur et à l'esprit vide comme ses verres à ventouse?

—Il s'appelait Guillaume Jouanne; il avait cinquante-deux ans quand il céda sa pharmacie à son fils Adolphe; c'était en 1848, l'année même de la mort de Madame Bovary. Je ne l'ai pas connu car il s'est aussitôt retiré à Rouen où il est mort en 1881, un an après Flaubert. C'était, paraît-il, un bien brave homme, pas du tout l'arriviste, l'esprit fort et l'orateur pompier que le roman nous présente. Celui-ci, le rouge, l'écrivassier, l'anticlérical, celui que les gens de mon âge se rappellent bien, celui que Flaubert a le mieux connu, c'est Adolphe, le fils et successeur de Guillaume. Il a été conseiller municipal et longtemps adjoint au maire.

—C'est le Napoléon du livre alors, le frère de Franklin, d'Irma et d'Athalie, Napoléon Homais qui lors de la visite à la filature de lin s'est précipité "dans un tas de chaux pour peindre ses souliers en blanc?"<sup>12</sup> s'enquit le professeur.

—C'est bien notre homme, monsieur. Je l'ai toujours connu vif comme cette chaux-là. C'était un exalté; il a même fait des sourires aux socialistes et accueilli Millerand comme un frère quand il est venu faire une conférence à Ry il y a une quarantaine d'années. Comme Millerand il a tourné casaque vers la fin de sa carrière. Il est mort à Ry en 1895; il avait soixante-seize ans.

—Georgette Leblanc, la première Mme Mæterlinck, a écrit un petit livre, *Au Pays de Madame Bovary*,<sup>13</sup> où elle rapporte les propos des vieilles gens sur Emma. Sa première visite date de 1908. L'épicier de la place avait été enfant de chœur le jour de l'enterrement; celui-ci avait porté à Monsieur Campion les lettres de la "luronne qui aimait le plaisir";<sup>14</sup> celle-là se rappelait bien Madame Delamare qui ne faisait jamais rien de ses dix doigts et qui se promenait souvent dans son jardin "avec son peignoir de nansouk et son ombrelle bleu pâle qui faisait ressortir ses bandeaux, noirs comme l'aile du corbeau";<sup>15</sup> telle autre affirmait que Delphine avait eu aussi pour amant le frère de Léon et qu'avant de s'empoisonner elle avait essayé d'empoisonner son mari. Toutes les comères s'entendaient encore, après soixante ans, pour charger la mémoire

<sup>12</sup> *M. B.*, 141.

<sup>13</sup> Leblanc, Georgette, *Un pèlerinage au pays de Madame Bovary* (Paris; Sansot, 1913).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

de la malheureuse, intoxiquée de littérature fausse, d'ennui et d'adultère. La seule à l'excuser était son ancienne servante, Augustine Ménage, la Félicité du roman, une aimable petite vieille alerte encore malgré ses quatre-vingt-cinq ans. Elle s'était retirée à trois lieues de Ry, à Saint-Germain-des-Essours où elle est morte en 1913.

— Cette Augustine Ménage n'a guère été plus de six mois au service de Madame Bovary, et cela à l'époque du mariage,<sup>16</sup> rectifia vivement le vieil hôtelier. Je vais vous étonner, car c'est une chose peu connue, mais la véritable Félicité ne fut ni plus ni moins que la femme du père Rouault, alias Couturier. Elle était la camarade d'enfance de Fifi, ainsi qu'elle appelait Delphine. Elle était pauvre; Couturier la prit à son service après la mort de sa femme, six mois avant le mariage de Delphine; elle devint sa maîtresse, puis il l'épousa, sur les instances du curé qui les pressait de régulariser leur situation, car elle était enceinte. La véritable Félicité fut donc la belle-mère d'Emma, mais une belle-mère comme il y en a peu, aimable, gaie et dévouée. Elle lui rendait visite chaque fois qu'elle venait au marché de Ry; elle restait parfois plusieurs jours avec elle et lui faisait son ménage et sa lessive. Il est possible qu'après la mort de Madame Delamare elle ait emporté "tout ce qui restait de la garde-robe,"<sup>17</sup> mais elle n'a pas décampé du pays, enlevée par Théodore, le domestique du notaire; elle est tout simplement, comme d'habitude, rentrée chez son vieux mari à la ferme du Vieux-Château.

— Mme Georgette Leblanc relate, d'après Augustine Ménage, que pendant un bal donné dans le verger du père Couturier, Delphine s'était mise à pleurer en s'apercevant qu'elle avait cassé le verre de sa montre. Pour la consoler et la faire rire tous ses galants auraient cassé le verre de leur montre, *itou*.<sup>18</sup> Qu'est-ce que vous dites de cette attention, Monsieur Feuquères?

— C'est gentil, trop joli pour être vrai. Est-ce qu'un paysan, même amoureux à lier, un paysan normand, et cauchois surtout, gâche son bien aussi facilement que ça, voyons?

— Et croyez-vous, toujours d'après Mme Georgette Leblanc, qu'Augustine aurait dit de la voix de Delphine qu' "elle était si douce qu'on aurait voulu ramasser tous les mots qu'elle disait?"<sup>19</sup>

— Je connais bien Mme Leblanc; c'est une payse, s'exclama le vieillard dans un bon rire. Elle est venue bien des fois à la *Rose Blanche*

<sup>16</sup> "Six mois avant le suicide," écrit M. Léo Larguier qui lui aussi a recueilli les confidences de M. Feuquères *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 29 juillet 1933.

<sup>17</sup> M. B., 471.

<sup>18</sup> *itou*, aussi; mot encore fort employé par les paysans normands, picards et artésiens.

<sup>19</sup> *Un pèlerinage* . . . , p. 64.

manger de la confiture de groseilles, mais ce n'est pas la mère Augustine qui aurait trouvé une phrase comme ça toute seule. N'empêche que, d'après mon père, Delphine était bonne, intelligente et bien faite. D'ailleurs tous les Couturier étaient beaux. J'ai bien connu le frère et la sœur de Delphine. La sœur était une jolie blonde, demoiselle de magasin Rue Grand-Pont à Rouen; quand elle se mettait à la porte de la boutique, pour prendre le frais, bien des hommes se retournaient pour la regarder, tant elle était belle fille et se tenait bien. Elle s'est mariée avec un receveur des postes qui a pris sa retraite à La Bouille, sur la Seine, en aval de Rouen. Le frère s'appelait Ulysse; il avait des idées de grandeur. Pas étonnant qu'il fût un des hommes les mieux habillés du pays puisqu'il était marchand de nouveautés,<sup>20</sup> comme Lheureux, de son vrai nom Rey, surnommé l'Auvergnat.

L'horloge de l'église toute proche sonna trois coups, trois notes d'une grande douceur qui vibrèrent longtemps dans l'air tiède et léger de cette fin d'après-midi. Si moelleuses qu'elles fussent, le pesant aubergiste sursauta.

—Sept heures moins le quart, messieurs! Comme le temps passe vite quand on parle de Madame Bovary! Je me sauve préparer le dîner. C'est moi le cordon bleu, aujourd'hui; vous voyez, j'ai le tablier; ma bonne est depuis ce matin en pèlerinage à Sainte Thérèse de Lisieux; elle ne rentrera que par l'autobus de neuf heures. Je vais tâcher que vous ne perdiez pas au change. Le repas sera prêt dans une demi-heure.

\* \* \*

En guise d'apéritif nos pèlerins firent un tour rapide du village et s'arrêtèrent au débit de tabacs-librairie, à démêler d'un fouillis de cartes postales la trentaine de vues qui formaient la collection Bovary.

—Vous vendez le roman? s'informa l'étudiant. J'en voudrais bien un exemplaire.

—Je regrette, monsieur, répondit la débitante. Je ne tiens pas ce livre-là. On me l'a souvent demandé, pourtant, mais il paraît que ce n'est pas facile de se le procurer, parce qu'il y a là-dedans des choses que les gens comme il faut ne doivent quasiment pas lire.

—Et vous l'avez lu? demanda le professeur.

—Ma foi non, et je n'en ai pas envie.

Après une telle réponse il n'y avait plus qu'à aller s'instruire autre part. Vraiment, la conversation du papa Feuquères était plus attachante. Si on allait l'interroger de nouveau? D'ailleurs c'était l'heure du dîner.

<sup>20</sup> *M. B.*, 42, 468. Dans le roman, Rouault perd son fils avant sa fille.

—Ah, messieurs, claironna le brave homme en faisant passer les deux bovarystes dans la grande cuisine où flamboyait une batterie de cuivre, puis dans la salle à manger, plus petite, “sans me vanter vous allez faire un dîner moins copieux, certes, que celui de la noce d’Emma, où les convives restèrent à table de midi à la nuit, mais un dîner comme il n’y en aura pas de meilleur à Ry, ce soir.”

Et de fait, la soupe aux poireaux, l’omelette fines herbes, le filet garni de haricots-beurre, la salade, le fromage de Neufchâtel et les confitures, —ces confitures dont raffole Mme Georgette Leblanc,—composèrent un menu dont la digne conclusion devait être un café arrosé de calvados.

—Alors, vous voulez un *jonquin*, là-dessus? s’enquit le maître queux.

—Un jonquin? Qu’est-ce que c’est que ça? Une canne de jonc, pour faire concurrence à Alfred de Vigny?

—Mais non, c’est ce que vous venez de commander, un gloria, une bistouille, un café baptisé de goutte, et vous avez bien raison car “un café sans goutte c’est un café de jean-foutre,” comme disent les Normands.

Après avoir servi les *jonquins* le patron s’attabla près de ses clients, trinquait avec eux et leur montra un registre où il avait inscrit “l’état civil” des principaux personnages du roman; il contenait aussi des coupures et feuilles de journaux et revues sur *Madame Bovary* signées Dubosc,<sup>21</sup> Delamare, et Dr. Brunon,<sup>22</sup> un article du *Monde Illustré* du 10 décembre 1921, de vieilles cartes postales du pays, la reproduction d’un diplôme de bon cultivateur décerné le 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1855 au père de Delphine, et surtout il y avait deux photos jaunies, encore bien nettes cependant; l’une représentait un coin du vieux cimetière de Ry avant que les monuments eussent été enlevés, l’autre une pierre triangulaire où se lisait clairement cette inscription disposée comme suit:

ICI  
REPOSE  
LE CORPS  
DE DELPHINE  
COUTURIER  
ÉPOUSE DE M<sup>r</sup>  
DELAMARE  
MÉDECIN. DÉCÉDÉE  
LE 8 MARS 1848  
PRIEZ DIEU  
POUR LE REPOS DE SON ÂME

Le sommet arrondi du triangle était ébréché et sa base était frangée d’un fouillis de branches cassées.

<sup>21</sup> *Journal de Rouen*, 6 juillet 1918 et 3 mai 1922.

<sup>22</sup> *La Normandie Médicale*, 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1907 et 15 avril 1910.



—C'est moi<sup>23</sup> qui ai pris cette dernière photo, il y a une quarantaine d'années, expliqua M. Feuquères. J'en ai donné une épreuve au Musée Flaubert à Croisset; elle est accrochée au fond du pavillon, dans le coin à gauche. On<sup>24</sup> a écrit que le Dr. Delamare avait fait graver sur le monument de sa deuxième femme: "Elle fut bonne épouse et bonne mère." C'est mentir comme une épitaphe. Vous voyez bien que ce n'est pas tout à fait ça. C'est un vieux qui m'a fait voir cette pierre un jour que je la cherchais le long du mur de l'église. Le vieux était enfant de chœur quand on a enterré Mme Delamare et il m'a raconté comment ça s'est passé. C'était un samedi après le marché. La fosse était trop courte pour le cercueil, de sorte que la morte a été enterrée la tête beaucoup plus haute que les pieds.

—Le même incident pénible s'est produit lors de la mise en terre de Caroline, la sœur de Flaubert, rappela le professeur. "La fosse était trop étroite, le cercueil n'a pas pu y entrer,"<sup>25</sup> a-t-il écrit à Maxime du Camp. A propos de l'ensevelissement d'Emma on lit que, la bière étant trop large, il avait fallu boucher les interstices avec la laine d'un matelas.<sup>26</sup> Flaubert ne nous a fait grâce d'aucun détail macabre, même pas des vomissements de la morte. . . ! Et à quel endroit du vieux cimetière Delphine est-elle enterrée?

—Exactement entre le mur de soutènement qui borde la grimpette du nouveau cimetière, et l'entrée d'un magnifique porche ouvert, en bois sculpté et noirci; pour être encore plus précis, elle repose entre les deux obus qui marquent aujourd'hui les deux coins les plus élevés du monument aux morts de la Grande Guerre. Il n'y a plus une seule croix, plus un seul tertre dans le cimetière; tout a été enlevé et le sol nivelé et semé d'herbe. La pierre n'était pas sur la tombe de Delphine quand le vieux me l'a montrée, mais sur celle de la première Mme Delamare, la veuve Dubuc qui, en réalité, était veuve d'un cultivateur et non pas d'un huissier de Dieppe comme nous le lisons dans le roman. Les deux femmes, la vieille qui de son vivant était "laide, sèche comme un cotret, et bourgeonnée comme un printemps,"<sup>27</sup> et la jeune qui avait de si jolis yeux noirs, ont d'ailleurs été enterrées côte à côte dans la concession à perpétuité que Delamare avait achetée. Dans le roman Flaubert fait mourir la vieille à Tostes où Bovary s'est installé d'abord; en réalité il n'a exercé la médecine qu'à Ry. La pierre avait 1 m., 30 de haut, si cela peut vous intéresser.

<sup>23</sup> M. Deshays lui aussi photographia cette pierre qu'il trouva renversée, après le transfert du cimetière.

<sup>24</sup> Par exemple Mme. Georgette Leblanc, *Un pèlerinage* . . . p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> *Correspondance* de Flaubert, édition Conard, t. 1, 197, 23 ou 24 mars 1846.

<sup>26</sup> *M. B.* 461.

<sup>27</sup> *M. B.*, 13.

—Elle a disparu, n'est-ce pas?

—Oui, en 87,<sup>28</sup> au cours de travaux qu'on faisait alors autour de l'église; on ne l'a jamais revue depuis.

—Peut-être a-t-elle été recouverte par les terrassiers.

—Ça se peut bien; en faisant des fouilles dans l'ancien cimetière on la retrouverait peut-être; mais il vaut mieux laisser les morts dormir en paix.

—N'y avait-il donc plus personne de la famille Delamare ou Couturier qui eût pu s'occuper de faire entretenir les tombes, et même de faire relever les corps pour les transporter dans le nouveau cimetière, comme cela se fait parfois en pareil cas? Berthe, la fille d'Emma, par exemple? Au fait, qu'est-elle devenue?

—Pour ne pas sortir de la note triste Flaubert a écrit, à la fin du livre, que pour gagner sa vie Berthe dut travailler dans une filature de coton. La réalité est moins sombre. La petite fut recueillie par une tante de sa mère; elle reçut une excellente éducation et, coïncidence, cette petite voisine d'Homais épousa un pharmacien qui s'établit à Rouen près de l'église Saint-Patrice.<sup>29</sup> Elle-même laissa une fille.

—Ainsi Flaubert a changé bien des détails de l'histoire, dit l'étudiant, et c'est plutôt un roman qu'il a écrit.

—Dame oui, et c'est tout naturel. Quand on raconte une histoire toute chaude encore, comme celle-là, et surtout une histoire pénible, il faut bien travestir un peu les lieux, les faits, les gens, sous peine de passer pour une mauvaise langue et un vilain monsieur. Ainsi Yonville-l'Abbaye est à huit lieues de Rouen, tandis que Ry n'en est qu'à cinq. Notre rivière ne sépare pas deux régions de physionomie distincte, herbage à gauche, labour à droite;<sup>30</sup> le terroir est plus mêlé que ça. Cette rivière, Flaubert l'a placée à l'entrée du bourg quand on vient de Rouen, alors qu'elle passe à l'autre bout de la Grande Rue; de même, dans le roman, l'église est séparée du cimetière par une campagne où seigles et colzas verdoyaient lors de l'enterrement d'Emma; à Ry, en 1848, le cimetière touchait à l'église. Les descriptions de l'église et du cimetière sont à peu près exactes, à part le porche qui a été oublié, et la terre rouge "rejetée sur les bords" de la tombe d'Emma<sup>31</sup> et qui, vous le verrez, est marneuse. Flaubert a décrit un comice à Ry; jamais il n'y

<sup>28</sup> En 1868, affirme Mme. Leblanc, *Un pèlerinage* . . . , p. 49:

"Les racontars s'exaspèrent, la famille s'inquiète et vingt ans après, à la faveur de la nuit, on viendra saisir au cimetière l'humble pierre qui couvre sa tombe." La pierre disparut après 1896, écrit M. Gossez, moins catégorique. *Mercur de France*, 16 juillet 1911.

<sup>29</sup> Mme. Leblanc se rappelle que, petite fille, elle entraît quelquefois dans la pharmacie où Berthe, dame timide aux mains longues et fines, se tenait derrière le comptoir. *Un pèlerinage* . . . , 7.

<sup>30</sup> *M. B.*, 95.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 466.

a eu de ces concours agricoles ici; ils se tenaient tous les neuf ans à Darnétal, notre chef-lieu de canton.

—En effet, dans une lettre à Louise Colet,<sup>32</sup> Flaubert, toujours bougon quand il s'agit des occupations des bourgeois, raconte que pour faire une description plus exacte du comice il a passé tout un dimanche à Darnétal où se tenait, comme il dit, "une de ces ineptes cérémonies rustiques," spécifia le professeur.

—Je reconnais bien là l'ours blond de Croisset. . . . Je dois vous dire aussi que *l'Hirondelle* du père Hivert n'arrivait pas à Rouen par la côte de Bois-Guillaume, mais par ce même Darnétal. Hivert ne détélait pas à *l'Hôtel de la Croix Rouge*, Place Beauvoisine, mais plus bas, dans la partie Est de Rouen, au 103 Rue Saint-Hilaire, à *l'Image Saint François*. Oui, Flaubert a pris de grandes libertés avec la carte de Rouen et de la région; pour se rendre de la Huchette à Rouen, Rodolphe passe par Buchy, c'est-à-dire qu'il tourne le dos à sa destination,<sup>33</sup> pour Emma qui, après le départ de Rodolphe, est prise d'une fièvre cérébrale, le docteur Bovary envoie chercher de la glace à Neufchâtel, à trente-cinq kilomètres, alors que Rouen, mieux achalandé, n'est qu'à vingt-deux kilomètres de Ry; pour aller de Blainville-Crevon à Ry le père Rouault, qui est pourtant pressé, prend le chemin des écoliers par Maromme; mais tous ces coups de pouce à la vérité ont été voulus; ces lignes artificielles sont des positions de repli que Flaubert se ménageait pour le cas où on l'eût attaqué en diffamation.

—On n'a pourtant pas eu de peine à reconnaître Ry en Yonville-l'Abbaye.

—Cela saute aux yeux pour qui connaît bien la région de Rouen. Un bourg entre la route d'Abbeville et celle de Beauvais, au fond d'une vallée, c'est Ry; une petite rivière qui se jette dans l'Andelle après avoir fait tourner trois moulins vers son embouchure,<sup>34</sup> —il y en a deux à Ry, — c'est le Crevon, la Rieule du livre. Notez que nous avons, pas loin d'ici, une rivière qui s'appelle la Rieule. Une rue principale longue d'une portée de fusil, un maréchal et un charron à l'entrée,<sup>35</sup> une église au bout de la place, un cimetière à gauche de la Grande Rue, des halles, c'est encore Ry.

—D'ailleurs il y a Ry dans Bovary, interrompit l'étudiant en riant; Bovary c'est le *bos*, le bœuf de Ry; votre Charles Bovary n'était-il pas un butor, lourd et bête comme un bœuf?

Le professeur se récria, dit que le nom a été inspiré par celui de

<sup>32</sup> 18 juillet 1852. *Correspondance*, II, 466.

<sup>33</sup> *M. B.*, 287.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 97. L'édition Conard, de *Madame Bovary*, donne un plan rudimentaire d'Yonville-l'Abbaye tracé par Flaubert, p. 499.

Bouvaret, hôtelier de Flaubert au Caire en 1849; l'aubergiste s'esclaffa et poursuivit:

—Et surtout les circonstances sont identiques. La tragique histoire du docteur Delamare de Ry, et de sa femme, en 1848-1849, époque à laquelle Flaubert, dégoûté du lyrisme de son *Saint Antoine*, se décida à composer un roman terre à terre et vécu, est exactement celle des *Bovary*. Une femme de docteur ne s'empoisonne pas tous les jours dans la région de Rouen, et son mari ne la suit pas toujours de si près. La mère de Flaubert se rendait bien compte qu'il n'avait pas assez arrangé l'histoire et que tous les Rouennais la reconnaîtraient et en feraient des gorges chaudes. 'Gustave, lui disait-elle, ce n'est pas bien ce que tu as fait là; tu es célibataire, mon garçon, et tu ne comprends pas ce qui peut se passer dans un ménage; tu peux te marier; il pourrait t'arriver les mêmes malheurs; qui sait? Qu'est-ce que tu dirais si quelqu'un décrivait minutieusement les tristes côtés de ton histoire comme tu as fait de celle de ce pauvre Delamare qui a été l'élève de ton père à l'Hôtel-Dieu?'

—Bien sûr, Flaubert jurait ses grands dieux que la *Bovary*, comme il disait, c'était lui, que ce n'était pas un roman à clés, qu'il avait plus d'ambition qu'un photographe, qu'un faiseur de personnalités, que le propre de l'artiste vraiment digne de ce nom est d'être impersonnel, impassible, de créer des types généraux, universels, n'empêche que Ry et le fait divers de 1848 forment la charpente du livre, invisible seulement pour ceux qui à dessein ferment les yeux, ajouta le professeur. A Louis Bouilhet qui le premier lui avait suggéré d'écrire l'histoire de Delamare il écrivait: "J'espère que la fin (qui dans la réalité a été la plus remplie) ne soit, dans mon livre, étriquée. . . ." <sup>36</sup> Ce témoignage si clair de l'auteur lui-même prouve assez que si le bourg de Ry doit sa célébrité à Flaubert ce n'est qu'un échange de bons procédés; la dette première de Flaubert envers Ry est évidente.

—Flaubert venait-il souvent à Ry? s'enquit l'étudiant?

—Souvent? non, répondit l'intarissable hôtelier, car il aimait trop sa pipe, ses pantoufles et son coin de feu de Croisset; les seuls sports qu'il aimait étaient la natation et le canotage qu'il n'y a guère moyen de pratiquer ici. La marche lui était antipathique. De temps en temps il prenait l'*Hirondelle* et venait passer une journée ou deux à Ry avec Louis Bouilhet. Il ne manquait pas d'aller voir Delamare et Jouanne qu'il connaissait par son père. On l'appelait Monsieur Gustave, ou le fils Flaubert, dans la région, car le grand Flaubert c'était le père, Achille-Cléophas, chirurgien en chef de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Rouen, l'original du

<sup>36</sup> 10 mai 1855, Vol. III.

docteur Larivière que les gens de Ry appelaient dans les cas graves. Bouilhet et Flaubert couchaient à *l'Hôtel de Rouen* et parfois au château du Catillon où je les ai vus une fois en compagnie d'Elisée Reclus et de Michelet.

—Ry a-t-il beaucoup changé depuis que vous le connaissez?

—Guère; cependant la mairie avait deux étages; il n'en reste plus qu'un, et c'est assez pour les flaubertistes puisque Rodolphe et Emma ont commencé leur flirt au premier, dans la salle des délibérations, pendant le discours du conseiller de préfecture.<sup>37</sup> Les halles, couvertes de tuiles et reposant sur une vingtaine de poteaux<sup>38</sup> comme ceux de *l'Hôtel de France*, en face d'ici, ont été démolies et remplacées par le marché couvert qui est derrière la mairie et fait corps avec elle. L'auberge du *Lion d'Or*, où les Bovary sont descendus le soir de leur arrivée,<sup>39</sup> a été rasée par ordre du comité d'hygiène; *l'Hôtel de Rouen* en occupe l'emplacement. Même la maison où Emma est morte a été en partie reconstruite.

—A votre avis, pourquoi Bovary s'est-il empoisonné lui aussi? Aimait-il tant sa femme? Dans le roman il reste aveuglément épris d'elle jusqu'au bout.

—Les vieilles gens m'ont affirmé qu'il ne s'occupait pas beaucoup d'elle; il lui préférerait son cheval et ses roses dont il avait de beaux spécimens. Je crois plutôt qu'il s'est fait périr par amour-propre, par dépit; il était devenu la risée du pays, il n'avait plus de clients, c'était la misère. Aigri, désespéré, il a pris un poison lent qui l'a fait devenir maigre comme un sac à os. En 1848 il était conseiller municipal, avec le messager Thérain-Hivert, sur la liste républicaine, car c'était un franc-maçon, un sans-culotte, au contraire d'Homais, Jouanne I, qui, dans la réalité, tenait pour l'église et le roi, le goupillon et la fleur de lis. . . .

Le père Feuquères s'interrompt et prête l'oreille; on entendit le roulement d'une grosse auto sur le bitume de la route.

—C'est l'autobus qui me *rapporte* ma bonne, dit-il en fermant son registre et en se levant brusquement; excusez-moi, il faut que j'aille l'aider à descendre et à porter ses paquets. J'ai été content de répondre à vos questions, messieurs, mais si vous écrivez dans les journaux ne me faites pas dire, comme certains, que j'ai raconté que Mme Bovary avait eu deux filles qui étaient parties *en* Amérique, et que, pour décider son père à la marier, elle avait simulé une grossesse en se mettant des serviettes sur le ventre. Ça c'est des histoires de brigands, conclut l'érudit hôtelier en riant dans sa barbe blanche et carrée.

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<sup>37</sup> M. B., 196.

<sup>38</sup> M. B., 99.

<sup>39</sup> M. B., 109.

Le lendemain matin les voyageurs explorèrent le village plus en détail. Il n'est que de traverser la rue pour se trouver à la mairie dont le rez-de-chaussée, à la porte et aux fenêtres en plein cintre, est occupé par un magasin de machines agricoles. Aucune trace du péristyle de trois colonnes ioniques dont Flaubert l'a décorée,<sup>40</sup> elle héberge aussi une salle de classe et, entre ses piliers de bois, couve un petit marché. Plus en arrière, de l'autre côté de la rue, au pied d'une colline, se dresse le presbytère, grande bâtisse de brique dont le pignon porte la date de 1742 et une grande inscription, AVFINBAM, que le professeur avoua ne pas comprendre. L'allée qui mène à l'église monte entre deux murs de moellons; celui de droite est couronné d'une haie de fusain; les sapins et les buis de la cure fleurissent bon dans la fraîcheur du matin.

L'église de Ry ressemble à deux hautes maisons entrées l'une dans l'autre, disposées en croix et dominées par l'éteignoir effilé du clocher couvert d'ardoises, vierge du drapeau tricolore en fer blanc que l'imagination de Flaubert y a placé.<sup>41</sup> Une petite porte est percée dans le pignon qui borde l'allée; on y accède par sept marches que les pas des fidèles ont creusées profondément en leur milieu. C'est peut-être sur ce perron qu'Emma aborda le curé Bournisien<sup>42</sup> dont elle eût souhaité que l'esprit fût aussi fin que le corps était athlétique; n'aurait-il pu plier quatre Homais sur son genou?<sup>43</sup>

Les deux nefs de l'église sont basses, blanchies à la chaux et leurs voûtes sont soutenues par de grosses poutres brunes. Propre, ornée avec simplicité, elle impressionna les pèlerins plus vivement que bien des églises plus riches et monumentales. Ils se recueillirent devant l'autel, à gauche de la vieille chaire, à l'endroit où, couverte d'un "drap noir semé de larmes blanches," la bière d'Emma reposa "entre quatre rangs de cierges."<sup>44</sup> Charles et le père Rouault étaient assis dans cette stalle du chœur, sous cette statue de Saint Pierre, près de ces deux hautes croix accrochées dans un coin, et les trois chantres passaient continuellement devant eux en psalmodiant.

Le serpent soufflait à pleine poitrine. M. Bournisien, en grand appareil, chantait d'une voix aiguë; il saluait le tabernacle, élevait les mains, étendait les bras. Lestiboudois circulait dans l'église avec sa latte de balleine. . . . On chantait, on s'agenouillait, on se relevait, cela n'en finissait pas.<sup>45</sup>

La longueur du service augmentait les souffrances du pauvre Charles et il souhaitait qu'on en finît au plus vite.

Assis sur un des bancs d'œuvre "rangés en travers de la muraille,"<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *M. B.*, 99.

<sup>41</sup> *M. B.*, 100.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 464.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 464.

<sup>46</sup> *M. B.*, 98.

rugueux et garnis de gros champignons de bois pour les chapeaux des hommes, les deux voyageurs avaient l'impression d'assister au service funèbre de la pécheresse que, malgré lui, Flaubert a rendue sympathique et dont il a perpétué le charme. Ils refirent le tour de l'autre nef; leurs pas sonnaient sur le carrelage craquelé aussi clairement que la jambe de bois d'Hippolyte le pied-bot lorsque, pendant la messe d'enterrement il s'avança "dans les bas-côtés." Honteux du bruit qu'ils faisaient ils se hâtèrent de sortir et, longeant une petite merveille de porche Renaissance en bois, frangé de dragons et de rinceaux, bordé de fines colonnes et de piliers ciselés surmontés de statuettes de rudes saints, ils allèrent droit au petit monument aux morts de la guerre. Au dire de l'hôtelier c'était sous le milieu du côté droit que reposait Emma.

—Oui, c'est bien là, confirma un vieux paysan qui, la houe et le râteau sur l'épaule, allait désherber les tombes des siens, dans le cimetière crayeux planté trois cents mètres plus haut.

Ainsi Emma était là, presque sous leurs pieds, la tête probablement tournée vers le village, et beaucoup plus haute que les pieds, Emma, la femme adultère à qui le Christ eût pardonné comme il pardonna à celle que les scribes et les Pharisiens lui amenèrent sur le Mont des Oliviers. Ils reculèrent comme s'ils eussent marché sur elle.

Ils se trouvaient dans l'ancien cimetière qui, épaulé d'un mur, forme un glacis herbeux devant le grand pignon ocre de l'église. Ils cherchèrent, mais en vain, un de ces sapins qui abritaient la tombe d'Emma,<sup>47</sup> et une de ces dalles qui pavaient le cimetière et sur lesquelles les enfants du catéchisme ne se gênaient pas pour jouer aux billes.<sup>48</sup>

Le vieillard les invita à l'accompagner. Il leur désigna, à droite de la mairie, la maison du notaire, parée de glycines et, en face du monument aux morts, un long bâtiment rectiligne de bois et de brique, la ferme où la petite Berthe avait été en nourrice.

—Pourtant la maison était petite et basse<sup>49</sup> et celle-ci a un étage, objecta le professeur.

—La maison a été agrandie, comme beaucoup d'autres depuis quatre-vingts ans.

La pluie qui n'avait cessé de tomber au cours des deux semaines précédentes avait fait jaillir des tombes un fouillis de vigoureuses herbes folles au spectacle desquelles le vieillard se lamenta. Pourtant il retrouva sa sérénité pour montrer, de son râteau, le chemin que Mme Bovary suivait dans ses escapades matinales à la Huchette.

—Voyez-vous, elle traversait la Grande Rue, prenait une ruelle qui la menait derrière les maisons;—cette route plate qui part de la Grande

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 469.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 154

<sup>49</sup> *M. B.*, 127.

Rue et file à gauche vers Blainville-Crevon n'existait pas, alors—; elle traversait ces vergées de belle prairie que vous apercevez entre les arbres, derrière la haie du cimetière.

—Est-ce la prairie où Flaubert a placé les comices et dressé la tente du banquet, la prairie où le percepteur et capitaine des pompiers, Binet, s'embusquait dans un tonneau, parmi les herbes, à l'affût des canards sauvages et où, un matin, il surprit Emma qui rentrait de son rendez-vous à la Huchette?<sup>50</sup> demanda le professeur.

—C'est bien ça. Flaubert a copié notre paysage, à part quelques détails qu'il a ajoutés ou déformés pour dépister les curieux, la planche aux vaches, par exemple; il ne faut pas traverser la rivière pour se rendre à la Huchette. Donc Emma prenait à gauche derrière la haie, rattrapait, à la maison de la nourrice, le raidillon que nous avons grimpé, se défilait dans une *creuse* le long du chemin de Martainville, montait à gauche sur le plateau et coupait à travers champs jusqu'à la Huchette.

—Elle avait peur des bœufs, rappela le professeur, elle avait encore plus peur des gens et épiait chaque lucarne du village d'où on pouvait l'apercevoir.<sup>51</sup>

—Mâtin, vous connaissez le livre mieux que moi, mais avouez que je connais le pays mieux que vous! Tenez, encore une chose qui peut vous intéresser; voyez-vous, tout là-bas en face de nous, dans le faubourg, sur la route de Saint-Aignan, ce groupe de masures? la plus haute est celle qu'habita sur ses vieux jours le père Hivert, de son vrai nom Thérain, le messager de *l'Hirondelle*. En réalité il était le mari de celle que Flaubert appelle Mme Veuve Lefrançois, la tenancière du *Lion d'Or*; je l'ai bien connu; c'était un loustic; il portait un collier de barbe; il est mort en 1905; sa femme aussi est morte très vieille.

Pendant que le vieillard, à vigoureux coups de houe, abattait les graminées qui menaçaient de recouvrir le caveau de sa famille, nos amis circulèrent le long des rangées de tombes, essayant de découvrir les noms des prototypes du roman, Couturier, Delamare, Jouanne, Thérain, Rey; cette fois encore leurs recherches furent vaines; les monuments, pour la plupart faits de pierre trop tendre, s'écaillaient et ne présentaient que des inscriptions frustes et moussues. La plus vieille date d'inhumation qu'ils relevèrent était 1884; elle était suivie de la formule: "Bons parents."

—C'est un peu l'habitude, par ici, de mettre une inscription comme celle-là sous le nom des défunts, précisa le paysan.

—Voilà qui explique l'inscription que Mme Georgette Leblanc a prêtée à la pierre de Mme Bovary, "bonne épouse et bonne mère,"<sup>52</sup> pensa le professeur.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 229

<sup>51</sup> *M. B.*, 228.

<sup>52</sup> *Un pèlerinage . . .*, 50.



Nos deux voyageurs dévalèrent le chemin caillouteux du cimetière et se retrouvèrent bientôt dans la Grande Rue.

Voici à gauche *l'Hôtel de Rouen*, l'auberge du *Lion d'Or* du roman; c'est une grande maison quelconque à un étage et à porte charretière; son nom, imprimé en grosses lettres noires, ne peut certes rivaliser de pittoresque avec le vieux lion d'or à frisure de caniche qui servait d'enseigne à l'auberge du roman.<sup>53</sup> L'hôtel s'anime encore du vol de ces pigeons blancs qui "venaient tremper leurs pattes roses et leurs ailes blanches"<sup>54</sup> dans les gouttières de la maison d'Homais.

Mais où est donc cette maison d'Homais? Est-ce, en face, cette pharmacie A. FURON qui étale son nom en grosses lettres dorées sur toute la largeur de la façade? "Et l'enseigne, qui tient toute la largeur de la boutique, porte en lettres d'or: *Homais, pharmacien*."<sup>55</sup>

—Oui, dit l'apothicaire en servant à nos amis une boîte de bonbons réglisse, je suis le successeur de Monsieur Homais, alias Jouanne, et je n'envie pas sa gloire qui, pour le ridicule, est comparable à celle de Joseph Prudhomme. Le matériel du Dr. Jouanne? Il a été dispersé, à l'exception de ce comptoir semi-circulaire. Je dois vous dire aussi que la pharmacie Jouanne ne se trouvait pas ici, mais plus près de la place, dans ce qui est aujourd'hui la mercerie de Mme Lecomte. Ma pharmacie occupe une partie de l'ancienne maison de Madame Bovary. Emma est morte dans la chambre dont vous pouvez voir la fenêtre au-dessus de la grande porte verte.

On sortit pour contempler cette maison d'Emma qui semblait la plus pimpante de Ry avec ses volets blancs, ses nombreuses et grandes fenêtres et ses rangées verticales de briques alternant avec des rectangles de crépi grisâtre. Dans le roman la plus belle maison du pays est celle du notaire, mais Homais affirme que celle des Delamare est quand même une des plus confortables du pays. Elle était blanche et avait quatre jalousies vertes.<sup>56</sup> Le second étage était occupé par un grenier et une mansarde où Emma lut cette lettre impitoyable dans laquelle Rodolphe le poltron lui annonçait la fin de leur liaison. . . . Alors elle s'appuya contre l'embrasure de la mansarde et se pencha pour se laisser tomber sur les cailloux du trottoir.

Le rayon lumineux qui montait d'en bas directement, tirait vers l'abîme le poids de son corps. Il lui semblait que le sol de la place, oscillant, s'élevait le long des murs, et que le plancher s'inclinait par le bout, à la manière d'un vaisseau qui tangué. Elle se tenait tout au bord, presque suspendue, entourée d'un grand espace. Le bleu du ciel l'envahissait, l'air circulait dans sa tête creuse, elle n'avait qu'à céder, qu'à se laisser prendre. . . .

<sup>53</sup> *M. B.*, 100.<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

—Ma femme! ma femme! cria Charles.

Elle s'arrêta.<sup>57</sup>

Oui, voilà cette mansarde d'où l'abandonnée, victime de ses peu intéressants amants plus que de son imagination faussée, a voulu se laisser tomber.

—Vous voulez voir Madame Bovary, messieurs? cria un homme entre deux âges qui venait de surgir de la demeure voisine dont l'extérieur est identique à celui de la maison d'Emma.

—Et comment donc! Nous sommes venus à Ry pour ça.

On suivit l'aimable guide sous une porte-cochère aux pavés mal plantés, puis dans un confortable salon bourgeois dont le plus bel ornement était une superbe comtoise dont le propriétaire, un fonctionnaire retraité, fit remarquer, sur le cadran, la fleur de lis en bronze, à demi limée pendant la Révolution par crainte des sans-culottes.

—Voici Madame Bovary, dit le rentier en sortant d'un placard un grand portrait encadré représentant une jolie blonde en buste.

—Je croyais qu'elle était brune, brune aux yeux noirs, protesta le pédagogue.

—Qui sait? L'un dit blanc, l'autre dit noir. Maxime du Camp, l'ami de jeunesse de Flaubert, rapporte qu'elle avait les cheveux d'un jaune terne et les yeux de couleur indécise,<sup>58</sup> et ce portrait est plus près du type normand. Tous les commentateurs de Madame Bovary se contredisent. Les gens de Ry boursoufflent les racontars de leurs grands-pères et grands-mères qui ont mélangé leurs souvenirs propres et pas toujours exacts aux détails fournis par le livre. L'histoire de Madame Bovary est devenue un roman-feuilleton ici, et pour étonner les touristes chacun se creuse la cervelle pour y ajouter un détail *énhaurme*, comme disait l'ermite de Croisset. Entre nous Flaubert était trop Normand pour donner la réalité toute crue, trop artiste pour ne pas vouloir créer sur le plan d'une humanité générale; au fond, il n'y a que le livre qui compte.

—Dites-moi, y a-t-il encore des Madame Bovary à Ry?

—Bien sûr qu'il y en a encore, mais chut, il ne faut pas le dire! Quel est l'endroit qui n'en a pas? Madame Bovary, telle que l'a peinte Flaubert, est si vraie que nous la reconnaissons partout, brune ici, blonde là; la couleur n'y fait rien, pas plus que le rang social. Madame Bovary s'ennuie auprès d'un mari trop quotidien; elle s'exalte à la lecture des romans, et aujourd'hui au spectacle des films d'amour; elle veut les vivre, elle pêche et se repent tous les jours. Elle ne finit pas toujours aussi lamentablement qu'Emma, et c'est tant mieux. Et nous, nous

<sup>57</sup> *M. B.*, 285.

<sup>58</sup> Maxime du Camp, *Souvenirs littéraires* (Hachette, Paris: 1882-1883), I, xii.

sommes un peu, ou nous avons été, les Rodolphe ou les Léon, ou les Charles Bovary; tant pis si nous sommes les Charles Bovary!

On quitta l'indulgent philosophe, non sans avoir jeté un coup d'œil dans le jardin, étroit et bordé de hauts murs de brique, où l'on voit encore une tonnelle qui, dit-on, est celle des rendez-vous. Dans le livre le jardin se termine par une terrasse et un perron conduisant au bord de l'eau. Une planche aux vaches servait de pont; quand cette planche était levée Emma suivait les murs qui longeaient la rivière; la berge était glissante.<sup>59</sup> La rivière ne passe pas au bout de ce jardin, derrière la pharmacie Furon, mais derrière ceux des maisons qui se dressent de l'autre côté de la rue.

On chemina jusqu'au bout de la Grande Rue. A gauche, contiguë à l'*Hôtel de Rouen*, s'élève une vieille maison de brique qui abritait l'étude de Maître Guillaumin. Plus loin deux médecins voisinent. Delamare aussi avait un concurrent, le cousin de Jules Levallois,<sup>60</sup> l'un des secrétaires de Sainte-Beuve.

La route tourne à gauche et se rétrécit brusquement; deux parapets de pierre annoncent une rivière. Large de trois à quatre mètres, profond d'autant de pieds, le Crevon coule limpide et silencieux sur un lit de cailloux au-dessus desquels frissonnent de longs rubans d'herbe.

—Y a-t-il de la truite<sup>61</sup> dans cette rivière? demanda le professeur à un garçonnet assis sur un des parapets.

—Un petit peu. Y en a qui en attrapent de temps en temps.

Une rangée d'ormes borde la route, à droite, et semble faire une garde d'honneur à un tilleul protégé par une grille rehaussée d'une inscription:

ARBRE DE LA MUTUALITÉ, PLANTÉ EN COMMÉMORATION DU  
CINQUANTENAIRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DE SECOURS MUTUELS  
FONDÉE EN 1856 PAR LE DOCTEUR JOUANNE

Ce Jouanne était Napoléon, le fils d'Homais, qui déjà avant la mort de Charles Bovary aidait son père au laboratoire.<sup>62</sup>

La route monte et tourne encore. On la suivit jusqu'à mi-pente pour avoir une autre vue d'ensemble du bourg, puis on redescendit jusqu'au carrefour voisin de la maison des Bovary. On fit quelques centaines de mètres à droite et à gauche. A droite s'amorce la route de Blainville-Crevon dont la construction, disent certains, fit jeter bas le premier logis des Delamare. Ceux-ci ont occupé deux maisons à Ry; c'est peut-être ce qui a donné à Flaubert l'idée de les faire déménager de Tostes à Yonville.

<sup>59</sup> *M. B.*, 227.

<sup>60</sup> Jules Levallois, *Milieu de siècle: Mémoires d'un critique* (Paris: Librairie illustrée, 1896), I.

<sup>61</sup> *M. B.*, 95.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 477.

La route de Blainville mène bien vite à la prairie que traversait Emma, mais la Huchette est vers la gauche. Pourquoi l'amante prenait-elle le plus long? De l'autre côté la lisière du village est trop exposée aux regards et Emma, grimpant sur le plateau, derrière la gendarmerie actuelle, eût été vue, immanquablement.

On repassa par la *Rose Blanche* où l'on prit congé du savant hôtelier, et gaillardement on attaqua la côte de Martainville en direction de la Huchette. A gauche une sente rocailleuse monte entre une haie d'aubépine et des taillis de noisetiers, prunelliers, ronces, saules et maigres chênes. On s'y engagea, non sans avoir reconnu, à droite de la route, le ravin embroussaillé que le vieillard du cimetière avait signalé.

—C'est ici qu'Emma traversait la route, dit l'étudiant.

Emma! Lui aussi parlait d'elle maintenant comme d'une vieille et chère connaissance; il était pris par la grande pitié de l'histoire trop vraie qui tous les jours finit et recommence dans le monde.

Quelques centaines de mètres de montée entre un boqueteau et une prairie plantée de pommiers, et l'on déboucha sur un plateau où la moisson battait son plein. Le chemin de terre descend vers une route empierrée qui méandre par la campagne onduleuse. On n'y entendit pas le cri des grillons dans les avoines,<sup>63</sup> pas plus qu'on n'aperçut de joncs marins sur la colline.<sup>64</sup>

Au bout d'un kilomètre on atteignit quelques fermes flanquées de profonds trous d'eau, puis un château; il semblait offrir quelque ressemblance avec "l'impassible" demeure de Rodolphe; on s'informa; c'était plus loin encore.

—Elle en avait du courage, cette pauvre Emma, pour faire tout ce chemin à pied! Elle devait être épuisée en arrivant à la Huchette, dit l'étudiant en s'épongeant le front.

—Oui, surtout quand "elle prenait à travers des champs en labour, où elle s'enfonçait," mais de même qu'il a rapproché de la place les maisons de Bovary, de Homais et de Mme Lefrançois, Flaubert a raccourci la distance d'Yonville à la Huchette, et c'était son droit de romancier.

Voici la grand route de Beauvais. Des électriciens, juchés sur un pylône, désignèrent la Huchette aux marcheurs. On la découvre parfaitement à gauche de la route, par une large trouée que barre une grille basse. Des rangées de grands marronniers, tilleuls, ormes, acacias, lui forment de trois côtés un écran impénétrable à la vue.

"Emma arriva à la cour d'honneur que bordait un double rang de tilleuls touffus."<sup>65</sup> Le roman est ici très près de la réalité. La maison est

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 426.

<sup>65</sup> *M. B.*, 426.

de brique égayée de pierres blanches aux coins, et de roses qui font des guirlandes aux fenêtres du rez-de-chaussée. Pas de rideaux jaunes, mais deux girouettes sur le toit.<sup>66</sup> La façade est riante et le château n'a dû paraître impassible à Emma que parce qu'elle s'y était vu refuser tout secours.<sup>67</sup>

Une grande pelouse où broutaient deux chèvres s'étend devant la Huchette; à droite, par les interstices des arbres, nos curieux devinèrent une vieille baraque en planches; c'était le pavillon des rendez-vous; le beau Campion y abritait ses amours; le propriétaire actuel, un ancien notaire, y abrite ses poules.

Le professeur évoqua la dernière visite d'Emma à la Huchette; harcelée par Lheureux à qui elle avait acheté des étoffes à crédit, elle était venue demander à son amant de lui prêter trois mille francs.<sup>68</sup>

Les voyageurs emportaient le souvenir inoubliable du décor provincial où, par la magie d'un maître écrivain délibérément impassible, l'histoire banale et tragique d'une pauvre femme, qui valait mieux que son milieu, éclate de pitié et prend force de symbole, celui de l'humanité que la souffrance rend chère malgré ses fautes.

L'ombre de Madame Bovary est aujourd'hui plus vivante à Ry que ne l'a jamais été la jolie et volage Mme Delamare; elle plane aussi par tous pays; bien plus que dans "cent villages de France" Emma a des sœurs qui "vivent, souffrent et pleurent" sous tous les cieux.

D'un fait divers, de personnalités, Flaubert qui s'est tant fait violence pour rester impersonnel, a créé des types éternels, types sans puissance ni beauté mais pleinement vrais. Admironons son génie, admironons le fleuve, mais rendons aussi hommage à la source, au "coin de la création" qui, vu à travers le tempérament de Flaubert, a produit l'œuvre d'art.

Malgré les racontars et le désaccord des commentateurs, les lignes et la couleur<sup>69</sup> de Ry s'harmonisent dans leur ensemble à celles du roman. Une visite à ce pittoresque village de Ry, normand par excellence, donne au chef-d'œuvre gris de Flaubert une fraîcheur nouvelle, fait du couple si mal assorti des Bovary, de Homais, le solennel imbécile, des fantoches que sont les amants, du curé balourd, et même de tous les personnages épisodiques si vrais dans leur médiocrité, des êtres de chair et d'os que l'on ne peut oublier, et c'est indissolublement qu'une telle visite incorpore le roman à la vie, source de l'art.

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 431.

<sup>68</sup> *M. B.*, 431.

<sup>69</sup> Magistralement détaillée ici même par M. Jean Canu: *La "couleur normande" de Madame Bovary*, *PMLA*, XLVIII, 1 (March, 1933), 167-208.

## A SOURCE FOR BALZAC'S DETERMINISM

IN any explanation of the sources for the doctrine of physical determinism, as expressed in modern French literature, the book of Jean-Philibert Dessaignes (1762-1832), *Etudes de l'homme moral, fondées sur les rapports de ses facultés avec son organisation*,<sup>1</sup> deserves a place. This is because its author was the teacher of Honoré de Balzac at the Collège de Vendôme, and because Balzac later became one of the chief creators of the doctrine in question.

It will be recalled that Balzac, perhaps first among French realists, rejected the romanticist conception of man and nature as bound together by a sort of pantheistic identity of substance,<sup>2</sup> substituting for it the newer and more scientific notion of a humanity whose physical and mental qualities were largely the result of environmental influences. Following this idea, he conceived it necessary to present as a background for all serious character delineations the *milieu* in which his characters grew and lived, weaving a web of minute detail into the description of important personages regarding the region, town, street, house, and even room inhabited by them. The idea of physical determinism, therefore, was of capital importance for the style and general literary workmanship of the *Comédie humaine*. From Balzac, the notion spread among realists and naturalists, achieving perhaps its most perfect expression in such a work as Flaubert's *Un Cœur Simple*, where the smell of the soil, the sights and sounds of country life, seem so incorporated in the physical form and toddling mentality of a primitive character that personage and background blend into one indistinguishable mass. And Flaubert's formula has since been zealously copied by non-French literatures, especially in America, becoming one of the *clichés*.

It is apparent, then, that this idea—even though received and interpreted by many authors with a literalness and finality, a will to assimilate man to the inanimate and sub-human, that goes far beyond the soberer dictates of recent science<sup>3</sup>—has played an important rôle in

<sup>1</sup> (Paris: Typographie Delalain Frères, 1881).

<sup>2</sup> For an unusually penetrating treatment of this aspect of romantic thought, see Helmut Rehder, *Die Philosophie der unendlichen Landschaft! Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der romanischen Weltanschauung* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1932).

<sup>3</sup> It seems evident that the *possibilisme* of Vidal de la Blache, Brunhes, and other human geographers furnishes a more plausible explanation of man's relation to his physical environment than the theories put forth in the second half of the nineteenth century by biologists, whose interest and knowledge were largely limited to the subhuman.

modern literary history, and that the work of Jean-Philibert Dessaignes, which throws light upon its origin, is of more than passing interest.

Balzac refers as follows to the philosophy taught at Vendôme by M. Dessaignes, in the dedication of his novelette *Gobseck* (1840) to the historian Baron Barchou de Penhoën, one of his former classmates:

Parmi tous les élèves de Vendôme, nous sommes, je crois, les seuls qui se soient retrouvés au milieu de la carrière des lettres, nous qui cultivions déjà la philosophie à l'âge où nous ne devions cultiver que le *De Viris!*

This philosophy lived with him during his years of literary apprenticeship and mature authorship, occasionally finding direct expression in his works.<sup>4</sup> Evidently the memory of its creator's personality also lingered long in memory, and justly so, because M. Philibert Dessaignes was a man of singular depth and insight.

It was he who with his brother-in-law, Lazare François Mareschal, founded (1795) a *pensionnat* in parts of the abandoned buildings of the former college of the Oratoriens at Vendôme that Revolutionary laws against teaching congregations had suppressed.<sup>5</sup> This institution, popularly known as the Collège de Vendôme, though without governmental designation as such until 1848, continued under the direction of its founders for thirty years. M. Dessaignes gave instruction in philosophy, as he had previously done under the Oratoriens, though adding classes in other subjects. He began the composition of *Etudes de l'homme moral* in 1818, only five years after Balzac left the college, and did not finish it until shortly before his death in 1832. Its actual publication was delayed by unusual circumstances till 1881. We have no reason to believe

<sup>4</sup> Note, for instance, the connection of Dessaignes' theory that "les phénomènes jusqu' alors attribués à divers fluides impondérables: mouvement, chaleur, lumière, électricité, magnétisme ne sont que des manifestations diverses d'un même fluide éthéré, animé de mouvements différents" and the dying words of Louis Lambert to Mlle Villenoix: "Ici bas tout est le produit d'une substance éthéré, base commune de plusieurs phénomènes connus sous les noms impropres d'électricité, chaleur, lumière. fluides galvaniques, magnétiques, etc." These purely physical and chemical aspects of Dessaignes' doctrines, in their relationship to Balzac, are treated by A. Coriveaud in two tiny articles, one in *la Revue Scientifique* (Feb. 6, 1886) and the other in *la Chronique Médicale* (Dec. 1, 1902). Neither touches the general subject of physical determinism.

<sup>5</sup> Details from a pamphlet by Dr. A. Ribemont-Dessaignes (grandson by adoption of J.-P. Dessaignes) entitled *Deux Grands Savants Vendômois, Jean-Philibert et Victor Dessaignes* (Vendôme: à l'Imprimerie Launey et Fils, 1930), most graciously made available to me by its author. In answer to my queries whether another member of the faculty may not have instructed Balzac in philosophy, the Proviseur du Collège de Vendôme wrote as follows, July 7, 1927: "Rien ne permet de supposer qu'il y ait eu à cette époque au Collège de Vendôme un autre professeur de philosophie, et il n'est pas vraisemblable que J. Ph. Dessaignes ait abandonné à un autre un enseignement qu'il avait à cœur de donner lui-même."

that it does not contain essentially the same ideas that the young Honoré received while a student.

In the preface to his work, M. Dessaignes discusses the reason why the philosophy of his day has fallen into disrepute, finding it due to the self-imposed separation of that discipline from the physical sciences, that could explain for it the origin of mental action. This isolationist tendency has resulted in the creation of various . . .

. . . systèmes absurdes qu'elle (philosophy) a successivement enfantés, lorsque s'étant persuadé que la pensée se produisait en nous sans l'intervention des organes, elle a voulu s'isoler des sciences physiques et proclamer son indépendance sous le nom fastueux de métaphysique.<sup>6</sup>

As a teacher of the subject, he realizes the darkness into which it has long been plunged, from the preference of philosophers for their own subjective imaginations and suppositions instead of experience and observation. Indeed, if they consult experience at all, it is to endow nature with their own inductions and to picture man as they wish him to be rather than as he is,<sup>7</sup> a criticism that extends, in some degree, even to Locke and Condillac, despite their undisputed greatness.<sup>8</sup> Orthodox thinkers likewise are pushed on by an imprudent zeal for the interests of religion and the desire to free the soul from all dependence on a physical organism into the acceptance of Bonald's dictum that man is "une intelligence servie par des organes." Of this idea M. Dessaignes remarks: "Cette idée est grande: elle élève l'homme, elle flatte son amour propre; mais elle n'est pas conforme à la réalité."<sup>9</sup>

This state of affairs has led the author of the *Études morales* to the following conclusion concerning his own course of action:

J'ai donc senti que si je voulais obtenir quelques nouveaux aperçus dans cette branche intéressante de nos connaissances, je devais en même temps étudier avec soin l'organisme du physique de notre être, les mouvements propres ou réfléchis des organes, leurs fonctions respectives et l'action modifiante des causes externes sur eux.<sup>10</sup>

This has led him to associate with philosophy the study of the physical sciences, especially as revealed in the research of savants such as Cabanis, Cuvier, Magendie and Broussais—all favorites of Balzac and repeatedly mentioned in the *Comédie humaine*. The result of his studies is the conclusion that thought and will, the immaterial aspects of man's mental life, are the effects of organic action. He says:

Tous les phénomènes, instinctifs ou intellectuels qu'on observe en nous, sont dus au jeu de l'appareil nerveux comme en étant la cause déterminante. Si l'on

<sup>6</sup> P. viii.

<sup>7</sup> P. xv.

<sup>8</sup> P. xvi.

<sup>9</sup> P. xii, xiii.

<sup>10</sup> P. xv.



veut obtenir des connaissances positives sur l'homme moral, il faut donc en étudier les facultés dans l'organe qui en est la source.<sup>11</sup>

Starting from this point of view, he develops with infinite patience, in three thick volumes, the influence of individual human organs on the formation of intellectual qualities, as well as the relationships of the latter among themselves. Chapters on "The Influence of Climate on the Passions," "Diet and the Passions," and "Physical Causes that Produce the Varieties Observable in Human Imagination" are scattered along the way. The effect of environment on man's organism and the continuation of its molding force through the physical structure into the realm of mind both receive consideration.

M. Dessaignes praises Cabanis for reaching the same conclusions: Nous devons à Cabanis d'avoir, le premier, mis en évidence les rapports intimes des phénomènes intellectuels avec les procédés de l'organisation, assigné dans les viscères l'origine de nos goûts et de nos penchants, la cause impulsive de nos passions, et ouvert à l'idéologie une nouvelle source d'idées.<sup>12</sup>

These declarations make it easy to understand how Balzac, a pupil of their author, should later write in a letter to Mme d'Abrantès:

Maintenant, raisonnant en thèse générale, je vous dirai que nous ne nous donnons pas nos caractères, nous les subissons en naissant, de la conformation bizarre de nos organes.<sup>13</sup>

Likewise we see why he should have constantly observed the effect of climate, atmosphere, and altitude on human individuals and races, and published the results of his investigations concerning diet as it molds minds and bodies in a series of monographs such as *la Physiologie gastronomique*, *Nouvelle Théorie du déjeuner* and *Traité des excitants modernes*, boldly declaring, "The baker is the father of thought" and "A nation's fate depends on the food it consumes."<sup>14</sup> Nor does it surprise us to find him quoting the following in his *Physiologie de l'employé*:

Villagers have no nerves, as people say, but they are unconsciously impressionable, and undergo, without noticing it, the action of atmospheric circumstances and exterior factors. Identified, in a way, with the nature in the midst of which they live, they are penetrated insensibly by the ideas and sentiments it awakens in them and reproduce these in their actions and on their physiognomy, according to their individual organization and character.<sup>15</sup>

Thus in theory, as well as in artistic practice, Balzac follows the general lines laid down by his early teacher.

Still, it would be unfair to call J-P. Dessaignes a determinist pure and simple, for he believed firmly that the immaterial element in the human mentality exercised quite as much influence on the physical

<sup>11</sup> P. viii.

<sup>12</sup> P. xix

<sup>13</sup> *Correspondance générale*, letter xxx.

<sup>14</sup> *Traité des excitants modernes*, section 3.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. V. Balzac, C. Lévy ed., xxi, 327.

organism as it received from it. He simply conceived the two factors, mind and matter, as being in a state of mutual dependence,<sup>16</sup> saying, "Si l'on veut définir l'homme, il est donc plus juste de dire que c'est une intelligence assujettie à des organes et servie par des organes."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, being himself an Oratorien, he naturally intended no affront to religion, and protested vividly against those who claimed that systems of thinking like his own degrade man and confuse him with unthinking matter by showing that the human spirit requires the aid of organs for the production of its thought. Degradation, he argued, comes only by lowering a thing below its natural condition, which his theory does not do. Nobody can deny that the soul's dependence on physicality is the very condition of its present existence. Therefore we must conclude that the bodily organism has been created by the Supreme Author of life as an aid to the soul. This being so, it is impossible to believe that matter, coming from the hand of God, could be a degrading influence.<sup>18</sup>

Here again Balzac follows him, for nowhere in the *Comédie humaine* do we find an air-tight system of physical determinism that leaves the spiritual elements in life completely out of consideration. The French novelist recognized freely that the human mind both acts upon and reacts toward the material elements around it; indeed, most of his studies in the relationship of mental qualities in his characters to the furniture in their rooms, the clothing they wear and the houses inhabited by them imply a projection of the human mentality into surrounding material objects. Not only that, Balzac consciously created spiritualized characters such as Louis Lambert and Sôraphita, in whom the flame of the soul burns at its brightest and to whom materiality is largely in subjection.

It is not until considerably later in the history of French letters that doctrinaires such as Hippolyte Taine constructed uncompromisingly coherent systems of determinism and fiction writers contemporary with them limited their character studies to human types so childishly simple in mentality, so close to the soil and intellectually so non-resistant to the primal sap of emotion flowing through them, that Zola could truthfully say of the creatures in one of his earlier works:

I have chosen personages dominated to the highest degree by their nerves and blood, with no freedom of choice, drawn toward each act of their lives by the fateful urge of their flesh. The soul, I recognize, is absolutely lacking in them, since I have willed it so.<sup>19</sup>

Dessaignes and Balzac, then, represent merely the first workers in the construction of a theory destined to go far and develop broadly.

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<sup>16</sup> P. xi, xii

<sup>17</sup> P. xiii.

<sup>18</sup> P. xxxv, xxxvi.

<sup>19</sup> Preface to *Thérèse Raquin*.

## LOUIS-XAVIER DE RICARD, POET OF PROGRESS

IN the course of his essay on Paul Verlaine, Anatole France, in speaking of the early Parnassians, makes the very shrewd observation:

Nous avons, je ne sais trop pourquoi, la prétention d'être impassibles. Le grand philosophe de l'école, M. Xavier de Ricard, soutenait avec ardeur que l'art doit être de glace et nous ne nous apercevions même point que ce doctrinaire de l'impassibilité n'écrivait pas un vers qui ne fût l'expression violente de ses passions politiques, sociales ou religieuses.<sup>1</sup>

It will be the purpose of the present study to verify this statement on the basis of evidence furnished by Ricard's poetry as well as by his life, and to suggest, by way of conclusion, the necessity of a re-definition of Parnassianism.

Louis-Xavier de Ricard was, together with Catulle Mendès, co-editor of the first *Parnasse contemporain*, published by Alphonse Lemerre in 1866, at which time the salon of his mother, la marquise de Ricard, was one of the principal meeting-places of the group which was soon to be dubbed "les Parnassiens." In 1866, Ricard was twenty-three years old and had already made a place for himself in the world of literary journalism in Paris. Three years before, he had founded, with the help of Adolphe Racot and several other Latin Quarter friends, a periodical bearing the name, rather significant in connection with the aim of this study, of *la Revue du Progrès*. This review became one of the organs of the Socialists and the positivistic scientists of the Paris of that day, but it was short-lived, as Mgr. Dupanloup had it prosecuted on the charge of atheism and Ricard had to submit to a three-month imprisonment and the payment of a fine of two hundred francs. Not long afterwards he was presented to Lemerre, who agreed to undertake the publication of a periodical for the encouragement of literature and the arts to be known as *l'Art*, which was the immediate predecessor of *le Parnasse contemporain*.<sup>2</sup> "C'est *l'Art*," claims Ricard's biographer, Fernand Clerget, "qui formula la doctrine parnassienne et leur gagna l'épithète d'impassibles,"<sup>3</sup> a claim which is highly debatable since it is becoming increasingly evident that it is unsafe to speak of a "doctrine parnassienne" and because other explanations have been offered as to why the Parnassians had been previously known as "les Impassibles."<sup>4</sup> Be that

<sup>1</sup> *La Vie littéraire* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, n.d.) III, 311.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Catulle Mendès. *la Légende du Parnasse contemporain* (Brussels, 1884), p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Louis-Xavier de Ricard*, Editions de *la Revue littéraire de Paris et de Champagne* (Reims, 1906), p. 25.

as it may, *l'Art*, too, enjoyed only a brief existence and soon made way for the periodical from which the three *recueils de vers nouveaux* styled *le Parnasse contemporain* took their name.

Ricard, then, had, as a journalist, been sufficiently militant in the cause of "progress" to be forced to endure imprisonment for its sake—hardly an evidence of "impassibilité." This fact is brought out much more forcibly by a study of his literary career, which reveals him as a very vocal crusader for a great variety of ideas which in the middle of the nineteenth century were undoubtedly held to be radical. If we are to trust Clerget, he had, at the age of fourteen, composed an anti-Crusades poem, a "longue tétralogie en vers" called *les Albigeois*.<sup>5</sup> Ricard's first printed verse was a highly juvenile sixteen-page *plquette* entitled *A Mlle Léontine Huguet le premier janvier 1860*.<sup>6</sup> As epigraph to this poem, the sixteen-year-old versifier selected two lines from Hugo:

Le mortel qu'un Dieu même anime  
Marche à l'avenir, plein d'ardeur.<sup>7</sup>

The poem, a rhapsodic ode in ten parts with variation of verse-form in the successive sections, is addressed to one Mme Huguet de Lorient, who, in 1857 and again in 1858, had published a slender and worthless collection of "poésies, contes, légendes, nouvelles, récits historiques" under the title of *l'Ermite de Passy: Œuvre littéraire*.<sup>8</sup> Ricard goes so far as to compare this seeress with Plato, to call her "le guide nouveau" and to predict that:

... la main du Seigneur  
... va, guidant au but ton esprit immortel,  
Te faire asseoir enfin entre Sand et Staël.<sup>9</sup>

He apostrophizes her:

Hâte vers le progrès l'esprit humain trop lent,  
Les yeux sur l'avenir, dédaigne le présent.  
...  
... O toi, de ton génie  
Lance les traits brûlants contre la tyrannie.<sup>10</sup>

Two years after the appearance of this "péché de jeunesse," Ricard published his first volume, containing selections in both verse and prose, *les Chants de l'aube*,<sup>11</sup> the "aube" being the dawn of the new era of en-

<sup>4</sup> Vide Mendès, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8, and the present writer's *Parnassus in France*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 5. Two "fragments" of this poem were published in *les Chants de l'aube*.  
<sup>6</sup> (Paris: Jouaust, 1860).

<sup>7</sup> Italics inserted.

<sup>8</sup> Passy, chez l'auteur.

<sup>9</sup> *A. Mlle. Léontine Huguet*, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>11</sup> (Paris: Poulet-Malassis, 1862).

lightenment which the young poet so hopefully foresaw.<sup>12</sup> The volume was dedicated "aux jeunes filles" and, in a prose "préface dédicatoire," Ricard declared that the time had come for man to cease worshipping false gods and to substitute therefor the worship of humanity. "La tendance de la littérature moderne est, croyons-nous, essentiellement moraliste et libérale,"<sup>13</sup> a statement which, coming from a future organizer of the Parnassian group, deserves to be noted. In a lengthy poem in nine "motifs" called "A M. le comte Alfred de Vigny," who is styled "l'un des plus hauts fronts qui dominent notre âge,"<sup>14</sup> Ricard voices the Hugolian conception of the apostleship of the poet and the Vignyesque idea of the martyrdom of the sage. "Le poète," we read, "c'est l'Idéal fait homme,"<sup>15</sup> and the poem is a long hymn in praise of "l'Amour et la Liberté," with anathemas heaped upon the heads of the materialists and Epicureans of the day. The remaining poems in the volume are insistently didactic and overloaded with capital-letter abstractions such as la Conscience, la Liberté, l'Espérance, la Divinité, la Justice, and so on. Though he still believes in a somewhat metaphysical God, Ricard's real gods at this time are Love, Reason, and Nature; "l'Amour" he describes as "seul bon et seul vrai Dieu";<sup>16</sup> "la Foi, l'Amour, la Poésie" are "les seuls bonheurs, les seules vérités."<sup>17</sup> He speaks frequently of "la sainte Trinité—Dieu, l'Amour, la Liberté,"<sup>18</sup> and the last of these is lauded in these terms:

Liberté, Liberté, religion nouvelle  
Du genre humain entier que l'avenir appelle,  
Liberté, seule foi qui triomphe aujourd'hui!<sup>19</sup>

He thinks of himself as the "prêtre" of and the "lutteur" for "la Liberté."<sup>20</sup> Though he emphatically declares: "Je crois en toi, Seigneur,"<sup>21</sup> Ricard is really a pantheist;<sup>22</sup> the old world is crumbling, carrying in its wake "les codes, les autels, les prêtres et les rois!"<sup>23</sup> Many of the poems have epigraphs from Népomucène Lemerrier, of whose importance Ricard had a very exaggerated notion. He apparently considered himself the disciple of Lemerrier and Barbier as a satirist; he was the champion of poets and poetry, an ardent feminist and the enemy of bigotry. The two "Fragments extraits d'un poème inédit et intitulé: *les Albigeois*," with an epigraph from Agrippa d'Aubigné, are an attack on "cette foule

<sup>12</sup> *Les Chants de l'aube*, p. 273.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>22</sup> *Vide* the somewhat Leconte-de-Lisle poem, "le Panthéisme."

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.

de brigands qu'on appelle des Croisés."<sup>24</sup> In a lengthy prose "Conclusion" to his volume, Ricard salutes Leconte de Lisle, "que je n'ai pas l'honneur de connaître,"<sup>25</sup> as a poet of genius; and a note on this "Conclusion" ends with the words: "la Poésie est l'art universel, l'art divin."

The most important of Ricard's works is a collection of poems entitled *Ciel, rue et foyer*,<sup>26</sup> which enjoyed the honor of being the first of numerous volumes of verse from the pens of Parnassian poets to be brought out by Alphonse Lemerre. Several of the poems in *Ciel, rue et foyer* had first appeared in *la Revue du Progrès*, and the entire volume is animated by the worship of liberty, humanity, and progress which had characterized Ricard's earlier work. The place of Népomucène Lemerrier, who had been the presiding deity of *les Chants de l'aube*, is here taken by Quinet and Michelet, and the poetic influence of Hugo, Vigny and Leconte de Lisle is very marked. A prefatory sonnet, written in 1864, refers to:

Ces vers nouveaux, écrits pendant l'aurore  
De cette ère naissante, . . .<sup>27</sup>

and, in a "dédicace" styled "Ouverture," Ricard renounces God and the gods to whom the poets had hitherto looked for inspiration in favor of liberty and progress, in short, of man. The volume is divided into four "books," entitled successively: "l'Art et l'histoire," "les Lutttes," "l'Amour," and "les Dieux." The first book opens with a poem "A Edgar Quinet," in which the great historian is extolled as the herald of a new era. Then follows "les Deux pôles," a very Leconte-de-Lisle effort in praise of both past and future, of the serenity of Brahma and the impassibility of the Sphinx, with the names of Hindu deities strewn about in profusion; the poet is adjured:

Assieds-toi fortement dans ta sérénité,<sup>28</sup>

Marche d'un pied tranquille entre ce double pôle:  
*Dédaigne le présent* qui murmure en fuyant.<sup>29</sup>

In a lengthy free ode entitled "Aphrodité Anadyomené," in which the names of the gods are written in the orthography characteristic of Leconte de Lisle and which ends with a Banvillesque hymn to Aphrodite, man is acclaimed as the ruling force of the universe:

L'homme est le dieu qui crée incessamment;  
. . . l'homme est Dieu.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 372.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399.

<sup>26</sup> (Lemerre, Paris: 1866).

<sup>27</sup> *Ciel, rue et foyer*, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.—Italics inserted. These same three words had already been used in *Mlle. Léontine Huguet*.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18 and 19.

A sonnet, dated 1864 and extolling the "poème sculpté" that is the Venus de Milo, concludes:

Poète, garde ainsi ton âme intacte et fière:  
Que ton esprit, vêtu d'impassibilité,  
Marche à travers la vie au but qu'il a tenté.<sup>31</sup>

A nine-part ode styled "le Combat" is an imaginative account of the victory of Liberty over the forces of darkness and evil; while "Au bord d'une fenêtre" is a meditation upon the ills of society, in the course of which we are told: "Les autels sont détruits et les Dieux ont vécu."<sup>32</sup>

The second book of *Ciel, rue et foyer* begins with a glowing verse-tribute to Victor Hugo, and such poems as "l'Esprit" and "la Liberté" continue the paean to that liberty in which man is free of tyrannies and prejudices. In "Aspiration indéfinie," Ricard speaks of himself as the "Juif errant du Progrès"<sup>33</sup> and as "l'homme moderne" driven by a restless search for truth: "Par la foi au progrès mon âme est fécondée."<sup>33</sup> Thought will sound the depths of knowledge, science will roll back the mists of ignorance, and the poet will be supported in his quest by his love of poetry. "L'Endormi" is an attack on those who refuse to engage in the struggle for the advancement of humanity:

. . . les flots du Progrès incessant,  
Montant, montant toujours, le noîront en passant.<sup>34</sup>

One of the most important compositions in the volume is "le Poète," dedicated to Laurent-Pichat and reprinted from *la Revue du Progrès* for October, 1863. To the objection that the poets of the day were too far removed from life:

Et sans cesse tournant les yeux vers le passé,  
Habillent leur néant d'un chaos insensé,<sup>35</sup>

and that poetry no longer has meaning for the traveler who

Au progrès éternel monte à travers l'orage,<sup>35</sup>

Ricard replies by distinguishing rhymesters from poets:<sup>36</sup>

Le vrai poète est fier; et, fils de la tempête,  
Il va toujours devant, tient toujours haut sa tête,  
Et, mécontent toujours du présent malvenu,  
Du sommet idéal il plonge en l'inconnu  
Comme un aigle, toujours volant de cime en cime,  
En étoile de flamme, il brille sur l'abîme.  
Il conduit, il éclaire; il trouve les chemins

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.—Italics inserted. Note, in connection with this poem, the oft-quoted line of Verlaine: "*Est-elle ou non en marbre, la Vénus de Milo.*"

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 81.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.—Italics inserted.

Où devront pas à pas le suivre les humains,  
 Des suprêmes hauteurs de son vol solitaire  
 Il verse ses clartés et ses chants sur la terre,  
 Le poète est un œil qui contemple les choses  
 Il décrit les effets sans remonter aux causes.  
*Ce n'est pas un Musset dont le vague regard  
 N'aperçoit les objets qu'à travers un brouillard,  
 Et ne sait pas vêtir d'une forme précise  
 Les pâles visions de son âme indécise*

Genuine poets are "conduits par le Progrès," animated by the desire to know Nature and Truth and to break the altars of all the old gods:

. . . L'idéal impossible  
 Déployait sur ton front [that of the poet] l'azur inaccessible  
 Vous chantiez écoutés des astres radieux  
 L'humanité féconde et le néant des dieux.

This poem, highly significant as a statement of what was to prove the attitude of many of the Parnassians, is followed by what might be called a pendant-piece; it is given no title and bears citation at length:

J'admire, dédaigneux des vagues mélodies  
 Qu'entonnent nos rimeurs sinistres ou plaintifs,  
 L'épanouissement des vastes épopées  
 Balançant leur parfum dans les vents primitifs.  
 . . . . .  
 Mais quand je redescends vers notre crépuscule  
 Plein de gémissements mornes et violents,  
 Trouvant l'homme pervers, honteux et ridicule,  
 Dans l'immense avenir je m'engouffre à pas lents,  
 Et sur le long chemin de la Cité nouvelle  
 Pour marquer où passa mon pied de voyageur,  
 Je dresse quelque strophe, austère et solennelle,  
*Comme un sphinx de granit immuable et rêveur.*<sup>37</sup>

The naïveté of much of this poetry reaches a climax in "la Pensée," a hymn to Thought, "l'idée éternelle," "l'idée immaculée," in which the solemn declaration is made: "Les mensonges sont morts."<sup>38</sup>

The third "livre" of *Ciel, rue et foyer* opens with a poem "A Theophile Gautier," to whom the entire "book" is dedicated. Ricard here declares:

Pour marier le moderne à l'antique  
 J'ai calqué mes dessins.<sup>39</sup>

He reveals the fact that he possesses, in his "musée artistique," two busts, one of Gautier and the other of his own mistress, and the follow-

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.—Italics inserted.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.



ing poems are devoted to the celebration of the beauty of his loved one in tones that are not entirely "impassible." The poet, however, though he places implicit trust in the loyalty of his mistress, is prepared to accept stoically the loss of her love:

Au-dessus des douleurs dont la foule l'assaille,  
Mon âme inaccessible habite ma fierté.<sup>40</sup>

Echoing Vigny in such expressions as "impassible Espérance" and "Nature impitoyable,"<sup>40</sup> he concludes that, if he does lose his mistress, he will conceal his wound so carefully "que personne du moins ne le verra saigner."<sup>40</sup> Probably because of Ricard's striving after intellectuality, the poems of this group are not very *réussis*; a footnote to one of them, "les Papillons," tells us that they are printed here only as specimens of a collection to be published under the title of *Poèmes de la femme*; this volume was never published and presumably never finished. That Ricard was an experimenter in prosodic moulds is illustrated by "Vers pentadécasyllabiques," written in 1865 and dedicated to Adolphe Racot; this rather fluid form, the fifteen-syllable verse divided into three equal parts, he claims to have invented. The "impassible" note is resumed in "Sérénité," in which the poet, stricken with ennui, is left cold by the peacefulness of a scene he describes:

Car je souffre en silence une morne torture  
A vivre dans des temps désenchantés et vieux.<sup>41</sup>

Nature is "impassible et sereine," hence:

C'est pourquoi, sans amour et sans haine inutile,  
Je subirai la vie ainsi qu'il sied aux forts;  
Je serai calme et fier, comme l'arbre immobile  
Qui, sous les yeux changeants, croît et vit sans efforts.<sup>41</sup>

The last book of the volume is dedicated to Michelet and begins with a poem lauding him as the champion of liberty and humanity and as the enemy of clericalism. In "Recueillement," inscribed "à Elle," and dated November, 1864, Ricard asserts that, in the midst of his struggle in behalf of mankind, he is strengthened by the love of a woman—

Et mon âme, inflexible et ferme mais sereine,  
Attend, o Liberté, ta victoire prochaine.  
Que le passé s'éveille et revienne aux combats;  
Cet athlète est poussif; il ne vous vaincra pas.  
La Révolution, tutrice maternelle,  
Nous a pris sous sa garde et tend sur nous son aile;  
Et, fière de sa foi, debout la Liberté  
Entr'ouvre l'avenir devant l'Humanité.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, "la Volonté," p. 124.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.

"Le Crépuscule des dieux" is a free ode, fittingly dedicated to Sully Prudhomme; it describes the downfall of the gods in favor of Nature and Humanity. The second of its six parts, "les Larmes de Jésus," flatly asseverates:

Tous les dieux ont perdu leur puissance sublime,  
Et la divinité s'effeuille dans l'abîme;  
Et, secouant ses reins, la forte Humanité  
Laboure éperdument les champs de Liberté.

. . . . .  
Le soleil du Progrès féconde les épis.<sup>43</sup>

It might be remarked, in passing, that his frequent rhyming of "Liberté" with "Humanité" and constant harping on "le Progrès" are evident marks of technical weakness and paucity of subject-matter in Ricard. On the other hand, flagrant contradictions in his train of reasoning stamp him as even less competent a philosopher than he was a poet. In a poem called "les Formes," he makes the admission that the arts have been overthrown by the "vulgus," which has exiled the

. . . divin chœur des Formes  
Parce qu'il entonnait avec sérénité  
L'hymne de l'idéal et de la Liberté.<sup>44</sup>

Now, if the death of gods and of tyrants does not result in the liberation of the masses, "cui bono?" And if the liberation of the masses means the banishment of the arts, where is the vaunted Progress on which Ricard so incessantly insists? It should be remembered, too, that Ricard, while exhorting man to rid himself of superstition and of purely surface ritual, urges him not to ignore the past but to know it and thus himself. In "le Règne de la femme," he foretells the approach of the reign of woman and the subsequent expulsion of the gods and of evil, and he naïvely exclaims: "Et ce sera sublime!"<sup>45</sup> The volume of *Ciel, rue et foyer* is brought virtually to a close by the poet's declaration of his determination to cling to the arduous paths of art:

Fuyant les lents sentiers, que couvre l'ombre lourde,  
Moi! je veux conquérir la future clarté:  
Que m'importe, o Progrès! que la foule soit sourde  
A la voix de la Forme et de la Liberté.<sup>46</sup>

Whatever may be the artistic shortcomings of *Ciel, rue et foyer*, it has been amply demonstrated that the volume, as Clerget styles it, is a "profession of foi."<sup>47</sup> This "faith" is positivistic, and is compounded

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 24.—Clerget goes on to characterize Ricard's poetry as "vaillante et surtout sincère" and the poet himself as "un homme."

of a hatred of formal religions and an almost mystical belief in progress and revolution, in the emancipation of woman, in love, and in humanity and in art. Above all, this "faith" is militant and anything but "impassible," despite the poet's reiterated application of that epithet to himself. Ricard was not afraid to face the constituted authorities in his fight for what he considered the good cause. During the last years of the Second Empire, he was a Republican-Socialist and a regular contributor to radical periodicals. An ardent "félibre" since the appearance of Mistral's *Mireio* in 1859, he became president of the *Fédération régionaliste française* and wrote stories and novels based on the history of the Languedoc. Although the 1869 *Parnasse contemporain* contains two poems by him and that of 1876 one, his poetic strivings may be said to have terminated with *Ciel, rue et foyer*.

Ricard, thus, until his death in 1911, was a militant democrat and humanitarian, yet not merely a Parnassian but one of the organizers of the group and co-editor of the first *Parnasse contemporain*. How are these facts to be reconciled? In his little volume on *le Parnasse*,<sup>48</sup> M. André Thérive lays down the axiom: "Est considéré comme parnassien tout essai de poésie impersonnelle ou décorative au dix-neuvième siècle" and he rejects the work of Sully Prudhomme with the corollary that "il n'y a plus de poésie morale, il n'y a plus de poésie psychologique, il n'y a plus de poésie instructive ou explicative."<sup>49</sup> But Ricard's poetry is never wholly impersonal and rarely pictorial, it is sometimes erotic, and it is often moralistic and instructive. It would seem preposterous to argue that Ricard, who was, as Clerget exaggeratedly puts it, after Leconte de Lisle and Banville, "le principal fondateur du Parnasse et comme poète et surtout comme homme d'action,"<sup>50</sup> was not a Parnassian; it would, indeed, seem that the time has come for a careful re-definition of the term Parnassian. Such a re-definition can be achieved only through a study of the poetry of all the members, at least, of the original Parnassian group, if not of all the contributors to the three *recueils* of the *Parnasse contemporain*. The tendency to make Parnassianism almost wholly synonymous with Leconte de Lisle, which has hitherto held sway, should make way for a larger appreciation of the work of the entire group, minor poets as well as major. And Ricard's "progress" poetry, artistically deficient though it undoubtedly is, must be given due consideration in any such revaluation.

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<sup>48</sup> Les Œuvres représentatives (Paris, 1929), p. 40.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 26.—Catulle Mendès deserves to be placed with if not ahead of Ricard.

# DIE HERKUNFT DER PALATALISIERUNG UND MOUILLIERUNG DES L-LAUTES IN DEUTSCHEN DIALEKTEN<sup>1</sup>

DAS Gebiet der Sprachforschung des letzten Jahrhunderts hat, allgemein gesprochen, sein Bestes darin geleistet, Spracherscheinungen in ihrem Zusammenhange zu erkennen und in ihrer Regelmässigkeit darzustellen. Parallel dazu lief allerdings eine vorsichtiger gehaltene Bewegung, welche die gefundenen Erscheinungen auf die Frage des "Warum" hin zu prüfen und auf Grund ihrer inneren Notwendigkeit darzustellen sich bemühte. So kam es, dass schon seit den Zeiten eines Zeuss, Bopp und Grimm ernste Versuche von Deutungen wichtiger Lautgesetze gemacht wurden, die sich allerdings über den Radius eines "wohl" und "vielleicht" selten hinausbewegen konnten. Zu Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts mehrten sich auch jene Theorien, die wohlbekannte Lautgesetze, wie Umlaut, Ablaut und Lautverschiebung nach ihrer inneren Notwendigkeit zu erklären versuchten. Bei dem Emporkommen so vieler neuer Hilfswissenschaften ist es nur natürlich, dass wir bald ein "Sich Jagen" von Theorien beobachten können, was manchen Gelehrten vorsichtig, vielleicht auch skeptisch stimmte und damit von der Lösung der schönsten und schwierigsten Frage "Warum ändern sich Laute?" ferne hielt. Um so mehr muss man es dem Mut, vielleicht Opfermut einzelner Männer danken, trotzdem *Lösungsmöglichkeiten* angedeutet zu haben, die doch wenigstens die Forschung wach und rege erhielten.

Immer wieder werden neue Felder und Möglichkeiten durch neue Wissenschaften, wie Psychologie, Prähistorie, Paläographie, Volkskunde usw. erschlossen. Letzten Endes kann sogar eine alte, längst als abgetan betrachtete Theorie wieder ans Tageslicht gezogen werden. Noch immer besteht der Grundsatz, dass eine Theorie solange besteht, bis sie durch eine wahrscheinlichere entkräftigt wird. Von einem Dogma in der Wissenschaft können wir nicht sprechen. Es gibt sogar unwahrscheinliche Theorien, die nicht widerlegt werden können.<sup>2</sup> Erst der Zukunft kann es vorbehalten sein, sich ein Schlussurteil über ein so heikles Gebiet, wie das des Lautwandels, zu bilden. Und doch würde sich die gegenwärtige

<sup>1</sup> Über Vorgang, Zwischenstufen und landschaftliche Verbreitung dieser Erscheinung siehe C. Selmer, "Palatalization and *i*-Vocalization of *l* in Present German Dialects," *Germ. Review*, VIII, 124-136.

<sup>2</sup> Eine solche ist z.B. Paul Passys Theorie, das Fehlen des *p* im Keltischen aus dem Tragen von Lippenringen zu erklären, was die Aussprache dieses Lautes unmöglich gemacht habe.

Sprachforschung nicht selbst gerecht werden, wollte sie sich durch zwar treffende, aber lieblose Schlagwörter, wie "Germanomanie" und "Keltomanie" abschrecken lassen, ihre Ergebnisse rücksichtslos nur dort zu suchen, wo wissenschaftliche Ehrlichkeit ihr gebietet, sie zu suchen. Aus der Fülle zahlreicher Theorien muss sich doch endlich etwas Positives, allgemein Gultiges herauschälen lassen. So soll auch dieser Beitrag nur ein Versuch sein, eine bisher in deutschen Dialekten wenig beobachtete Erscheinung zu untersuchen und auf ihre Herkunft hin zu prüfen

2. Auf dem Gebiet der Vokalisierung des *l*-Lautes zu *u*<sup>3</sup> oder *i* haben wir es, vom phonetischen Standpunkt aus betrachtet, eigentlich mit keinem radikalen, eine fundamentale Verschiedenheit zeitigenden Lautwandel zu tun. Denn, so aussergewöhnlich auch diese Erscheinung in ihrer Verwandlung von *l* zu *u*, bzw. *i* auf den ersten Blick anmuten mag, so wird sie uns doch durch untereinander verwandte, bindende Zwischenstufen (*l* > *l̃* > *l̃<sup>e</sup>* > *u* und *l* > *l̃* > *j̃* > *i*<sup>4</sup>) natürlich erscheinen. Wenn wir die Hauptmerkmale der letzteren Erscheinung genauer betrachten, ergibt sich ungefähr folgendes:

Im Gegensatz zu einem alveolaren, "bühnendeutschen" *l*-Laut kann man in gewissen Dialekten, wie dem Bayrisch-Österreichischen, Wallischen, Lausitzischen und in Teilen des Thüringischen und Fränkischen eine zur Palatalisierung und *i*-Vokalisierung<sup>5</sup> führende Tendenz feststellen, für die bis jetzt noch keine Erklärung abgegeben wurde. Die Entwicklung zum reinen Vokal wird durch Zwischenstufen bewerkstelligt (z.B. *balđ* > *bal̃đ* > *baĵĭđ* > *baid*). Zur reinen Vokalisierung in grösserem Stile hat sich diese Erscheinung nur im Bayrisch-Österreichischen, weniger weit in Teilen des Thüringischen und im Wallischen entwickelt; nur in Zwischenstufen ist sie im Lausitzischen und Fränkischen bemerkbar. Auf dem mit unserer Erscheinung parallel laufenden Gebiete der *u*-Vokalisierung haben wir es gleicherweise mit Zwischenstufen zu tun. Doch muss diese in ihrer Tendenz zur Verdunklung des *l*-Lautes als germanisch bezeichnet werden. Urkunden des 13. Jahrhunderts enthalten bereits zahlreiche Beispiele der *u*-Schreibung,<sup>6</sup> und in die holländische Sprache ist diese schon früh eingedrungen. Bei der *i*-Vokalisierung jedoch liegen die Verhältnisse nicht so klar.

<sup>3</sup> Über Vorgang, Zwischenstufen, landschaftliche Verbreitung und Herkunft dieser Erscheinung siehe C. Selmer, "Velarization and *u*-Vocalization of *l* in German Dialects," *PMLA* XLVIII, 220-244.

<sup>4</sup> Der Zirkumflex deutet Palatalisierung an.

<sup>5</sup> Ich vermeide absichtlich den Ausdruck *i*-Epenthese, da einerseits die Ansichten über die Wirkungsweise und Zwischenstufen derselben sich in zwar kleinen, für diese Arbeit aber bedeutenden Merkmalen unterscheiden und da andererseits meinen Schlüssen durch die Annahme eines postkonsonantischen *i* beengende Schranken gezogen wären. Der Ausdruck Palatalisierung oder Mouillierung scheint mir eindeutiger zu sein.

<sup>6</sup> Vergl. C. Selmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 242.

3. Wir haben es hier mit Dialekten und Mundarten zu tun, die erst in der jüngsten Zeit einem eingehenden Studium unterworfen werden, da sie ein neues, fast unbearbeitetes Feld der Sprachwissenschaft darstellen. Es steht fest, dass es schon immer Dialekte gab<sup>7</sup> und dass diese älter sind als unsere Schriftsprache.<sup>8</sup> Die *i*-Vokalisierung konnte, ungleich der *u*-Vokalisierung, in keine der jetzt existierenden Schriftsprachen eindringen, da sie in den in Betracht kommenden Gegenden nicht gebraucht wurde. Sie konnte auch unmöglich das am Ende der Pergamentperiode sich bildende Neuhochdeutsch beeinflussen,<sup>9</sup> da sie in den ausschlaggebenden Faktoren eben nicht vorhanden war, weder in der Sprache Luthers noch in der der Kanzleien. Selbst wenn sie vorhanden gewesen wäre, wäre sie, da nur den ungebildeten Volksschichten eigen, nicht geschrieben worden. Auch noch gegenwärtig werden stark dialektisch klingende Aussprache und Form merklich von der verallgemeinernden Schriftsprache verdrängt, wenn auch gewisse Merkmale der Artikulation und besonders der Intonation nie verschwinden werden. Selbst der alte Wortschatz muss leiden, wenn uralte Wörter<sup>10</sup> als "geschert" und bäuerlich und deshalb verachtungswürdig gelten. Ausserdem wurden von Schreibern, selbst von Dialektschreibern der Gegenwart, die Laute von Dialekten nicht immer in ihrer richtigen Färbung schriftlich wiedergegeben. Wenn schon das Englische in Amerika stark verschiedene Färbung aufweist (Norden: Süden), wenn selbst die Sprache der Gebildeten eine stärkere quantitative und eine feine qualitative Veränderung, z.B. im Verkehr des Lehrers mit seinesgleichen, Schülern, Freunden,

<sup>7</sup> Beweise, dass es mhd. Mundarten gab, bringt A. Socin, *Schriftsprache und Dialekte im Dt. nach Zeugn. alter und neuer Zeit* (Heilbronn, 1888), p. 116.

<sup>8</sup> A. Pfalz, "Grundsätzliches zur dt. Mundartenforschung," *Germ. Forschungen, Festschrift* (1925), p. 223: "Dass eine ununterbrochene lebendige Sprachtradition unsere heutigen Mundarten mit einer in unserer Heimat wirklich in alt- und mittelhochdt. Zeit gesprochenen Sprache verbindet, ist unleugbar."

<sup>9</sup> Der Codex Germanicus Monacensis, fol. 107<sup>v</sup> vom Jahre 1435 weist folgende merkwürdige Form auf: *des heliff vns.* . . . Solche Beispiele liessen sich wohl vermehren, doch ist nur ein verschwindend kleiner Teil des Sprachschatzes der ausgehenden Pergamentperiode herausgegeben.

<sup>10</sup> Man denke z. B. im bayrischen Dialekt an das jetzt aussterbende *pfoat* für *Hemd*, worüber Hirt (*Etym. der nhd. Sprache* [1921], p. 227) sagt: "In alte Zeit geht zurück das got. *paida*, mhd. *pfeit* 'Gewand,' wovon bayr.—öst. *pfeidler* (entlehnt aus gr. *paidon*)." Oder man denke an die Namen für die Wochentage, von denen E. Kranzmayer (*Die Namen der Wochentage in den Maa. von Bayern und Ost* [Wien, 1929], p. 72) sagt: "Unsere Wochentagsnamen gehen auf eine ältere Stufe des Vulgarlateins und Vulgargriechischen zurück als die modernen röm. und griech. Namen selbst." So z. B. wird das seltener werdende "*Ergetag*" für *Dienstag* schon von Berthold von Regensburg (1250) gebraucht. Auch die ältesten mhd. Benediktinerregeln weisen diese und sogar noch ältere Formen auf. (Cf. C. Selmer, "MHG Transl. of the Reg. S. Benedicti," *The eight Oldest Versions, The Mediaeval Acad. of America* [Cambridge, Mass., 1933], pp. 141, 143, 180, 218, 220, 293, 296.)

Arbeitern, oder Kindern, zutagetreten lässt, um wieviel mehr muss dann im individuelleren Mittelalter der Dialekt vorgeherrscht haben, zur Zeit einer starken Unbelesenheit, als noch keine sprachverallgemeinernde Schule Bildung vermittelte. Selbst in unserer ganz verallgemeinernden Schriftsprache der Gegenwart, vermittelt durch Schule und Fremdenverkehr, ist es bei Gebildeten, die korrekt nach der "Buhnensprache" sprechen, nicht schwer, sie landschaftlich zu bestimmen. Keinem Zweifel unterliegt es ferner, dass seltener werdende Dialektformen, wie z.B. im Bayrischen die Dualformen<sup>11</sup> oder die alten Konjunktive der schwachen Konjugation auf *-at(e)*<sup>12</sup> sehr alt sind. Von früh gesprochenen Dialekten berichtet uns auch Hugo von Trimberg.<sup>13</sup> Hätte man damals phonetisch-dialektisch schreiben wollen, so hätte sich ganz von selbst die Schwierigkeit ergeben, gewisse Laute wie z.B. unser *l* nach Klang und Artikulationsstelle als stimmhaften oder stimmlosen, dentalen, alveolaren, palatalen, semivelaren oder velaren Laut schriftlich wiederzugeben.<sup>14</sup> Wir können also von einem mittelalterlichen Schreiber unmöglich verlangen, dass er uns—falls in diesen vokalisierenden Dialekten überhaupt geschrieben wurde, was im Wallischen und Lausitzischen nur in sehr beschränktem Masse der Fall gewesen sein kann—in unserem Falle ein palatales, palatalisiertes oder vokalisiertes *l* phonetisch bezeichnete.<sup>15</sup> Wenn wir uns schon streiten, wie die Sprache Schillers, Goethes und Wielands klang, um wieviel weniger wissen wir von der Sprache Luthers oder Walthers von der Vogelweide. Denn der Laut vergeht, nur das Schriftbild besteht. Wir erwarten von einem mittelalterlichen Schreiber auch nicht, dass er uns seine Werke in derjenigen Sprache hinterlässt, die damals als unfein betrachtet wurde, also in der Sprache der Ungebildeten und Bauern, bei denen aber gerade die uns interessierende Erscheinung, vielleicht in einem Zwischenstadium oder schon vokalisiert,<sup>16</sup> zutage

<sup>11</sup> Z.B. *z̄s* (ihr), *z̄nk* (euch).

<sup>12</sup> Z. B. *chundat*=got. \**kunþidēdi*.

<sup>13</sup> Vers 22253 ff. (Ausg. Ehrismann, p. 220): *Swer tiutsche wil eben tihten, / Der muoz sin herze rihlen / Uf manigerleie spräche: / Swer wēnt daz die von Ache / Reden als die Franken, / Dem suln die miuse danken. / Swāben ir worter spallent, / Die Franken ein teil sie vallent, / Die Beier si zezzerrent, / Die Düringe si uf sperrent, / Die Saksen si bezuckent, / Die Rīnlūte si verdruckent, / Die Weterēiber si wūrgent, etc.*

<sup>14</sup> Man denke an das bayrische Schibboleth "Laibltheig" (*loawidoag*), dessen Aussprache durch Norddeutsche stets grosse Heiterkeit auslöst. Ebenso ist es, wenn ein Süddeutscher sich bemüht, das bekannte sächsische "Mein Gudester" auszusprechen.

<sup>15</sup> Auch im Englischen finden wir nur einen einzigen *l*-Laut geschrieben, obwohl wir dort ein alveolares *l* (wie in *land*) und ein semi-velares (wie in *hall*) erkennen können. Nur in den sogenannten "funny pictures" findet man gelegentlich die korrekte Schreibung des fast völlig vokalisiertes Lautes (*he-u-p* für *help*). Ob das von Daniel Jones zum allgemeinen Gebrauche empfohlene dentale *l* in allen Stellungen von den breiten Volksmassen diesseits und jenseits der Atlantik je beachtet werden wird, ist mehr als fraglich.

<sup>16</sup> In dieser Hinsicht sagt auch J. Schatz, *Altbair. Gram.* (1907), p. 90: "Aus den Schrei-

trat. Die Sprache der unteren Schichten wurde damals im Mittelalter ebenso sehr verachtet und vernachlässigt, wie sie jetzt erforscht und geachtet wird. Wir wissen fernerhin durch die neueste Forschung, dass früher mehrere Sprachschichten nebeneinander existierten, wie z.B. die vielumstrittene Schriftsprache, Umgangssprache, Herrensprache, Bauernsprache usw. Auf welche der als weniger fein angesehenen Sprachen die Palatalisierung und Vokalisierung zurückgeht, lässt sich nicht feststellen, um so weniger, als weder Sprache noch Erscheinung geschrieben wurden. Wir wissen auch von Hartmann von Aue, dass er grobe, "dörperliche" Ausdrücke vermied. In der Gegenwart werden palatalisierte oder vokalisierte Ausdrücke auch nur mehr von Volksstämmen und Volksschichten benutzt, die nicht als stark neuerungssüchtig angesehen werden, wie von den bayrischen Bauern und den in den Bergen eingeschlossenen Bewohnern von Wallis. Um so eher dürfen wir deshalb ein hohes Alter für unsere Erscheinung annehmen. Erfreulicherweise stehen uns auch Belege zur Verfügung, die sich aus der frühen, deutschen Kolonialzeit her ergeben. Es ist eine anerkannte Tatsache,<sup>17</sup> dass die Siebenbürger Sachsen, die im 12. Jahrhundert aus rheinischen Gegenden auswanderten, heutzutage dieselbe mouillierende Erscheinung aufweisen wie die Franken im Rheinland. Diese muss also schon im 12. Jahrhundert in ihrer jetzigen oder in einer verwandten Form vorhanden gewesen sein.<sup>18</sup> Auch die Dialekte anderer, z.B. von Bayern aus besiedelter Kolonien und Sprachinseln dürften davon Zeugnis geben, obwohl sie geographisch nicht so weit geschieden sind wie die obengenannten Dialekte und an eine spätere Übernahme unter Umständen gedacht werden konnte.

4. Es dürfte mit nicht unbedeutenden Schwierigkeiten verbunden sein, die der Vokalisierung zugrundeliegende Ursache zu ergründen. Die Mouillierung<sup>19</sup> ist natürlich nur das Endresultat einer aus mehreren Stadien bestehenden Bewegung, auch Palatalisierung genannt, die durch immer stärkere Annäherung der *l*-Artikulation an den Gaumen in das Gebiet des *i*-Lautes hinüberleitet. Unsere erste Aufgabe wird es deshalb sein zu untersuchen, ob eine solche Tendenz als germanisch angesprochen werden kann.

Es lässt sich kein Beweis erbringen, dass Palatalisierung als eine natürliche, in der Natur und somit in der Lautentwicklung der deutschen Bungen im Altbairischen kann man nicht erkennen, ob im Mittelbairischen die heutige Spaltung der *l*-Laute schon in altbairischer Zeit vorhanden war."

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. dazu R. Huss, *Vergleich. Lautlehre des Siebenburg. Moselfrk. Rip. mit den moselfrz. und wallon. Maa.* Diss. (1908), p. 45, und O. Behaghel, *Gesch. der dt. Sprache* (1928), p. 171. Ferner A. Scheiner, "Die Ma. der burzenl. Sachsen," *Dt. Dialektgeogr.*, xviii, 80.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. O. Weise, "Zur Palatal im Fränkischen," *ZfdMaa*, 1910, p. 372.

<sup>19</sup> Nach O. Bremer sind mouillierte Laute solche, bei denen sich die Zunge in grösserer Längsausdehnung dem Munddache anschmiegt als bei den gewöhnlichen.



Stämme liegende Erscheinung zu betrachten ist. Wäre sie das, müsste sie uns als ein besonderes Kennzeichen in den deutschen Dialekten oft entgegentreten. Das ist aber nicht der Fall. Wir haben zwar ein verwandtes Gebiet, das des Umlauts, in dem die Vokale unter gewissen Bedingungen hohergehoben werden. Es ist jedoch eine umstrittene Frage, ob man den Umlaut wie auch die Konsonantenverschiebung als eine ausschliesslich germanische Tendenz betrachten darf.

Zunächst spricht die Mischungslehre gegen eine rein germanische Tendenz dieser Erscheinung. Alle Laute eines Wortes stehen in einem Zusammenhange. Sie fliessen ineinander, erleichtern oder erschweren einander die Artikulation. Wir können hauptsächlich zwei einander entgegengesetzte Arten der Lautverbindung beobachten, fortschreitende und vollkommene Mischung.<sup>20</sup> Die erstere erlaubt das Einsetzen eines Lautes erst dann, wenn der vorhergehende Laut bereits in seiner Artikulation vollendet ist. Keine Zwischenstufe erleichtert den Übergang. Diese fortschreitende Mischung gilt besonders als dem Deutschen eigen.<sup>21</sup> Die letztere erfolgt dann, wenn sich der nachfolgende Laut bereits beim Artikulieren des vorausgehenden Lautes bemerkbar macht. Die Mischung tritt also dann ein, wenn der betreffende Laut eingesetzt wird und nicht erst dann, wenn er aufhört zu klingen. Diese Art Mischung ist nichtgermanischen Sprachen eigen.<sup>22</sup> Unter Anwendung eines *l*-haltigen Beispiels ergäbe sich fol. Unterschied in der Aussprache des Wortes *ali*:

- a. Fortschreitende Mischung: *a-l-i*, wobei, wie im Deutschen, ein alveolares *l* gesprochen wird.
- b. Vollkommene Mischung: *a-li-i*, wobei die Aussprache des *i* vorausgenommen wird und das *l* deshalb in seinem alveolaren Charakter beeinträchtigt wird. In diesem Falle hätten wir also bereits die Grundlage für das Palatalisieren.

Bei der vollkommenen Mischung sehen wir also die bei unserer Erscheinung entstehenden Zwischenstufen,<sup>23</sup> wie *ĭ* und *jĭ*. Die sich dabei ergebenden Formen wären nun:

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. Paul, *Grdr. der Germ. Phil.*, E. Sievers, *Sprachgesch.*, I, "Phonetik," p. 301.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*: "Diese ist im Deutschen sehr gewöhnlich, z.B. bei Konsonanten, die zwischen Vokalen von konträrer Artikulation (z.B. velaren und palatalen) stehen."

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*: "Diese Weise ist z.B. in den slavischen Sprachen sehr verbreitet. . . . Übrigens verhalten sich die verschiedenen Sprachen in Beziehung auf die Palatalisierung verschieden. Die modernen germanischen Sprachen kennen ausgeprägte Palatalisierung nur in verhältnismässig seltenen Fällen, während sie in den slavischen Sprachen in weitestem Umfange herrscht. Dass ihr Gebiet im Germanischen früher ausgedehnter gewesen ist, lehrt z.B. der Umlaut, der nur durch vorausgehende Palatalisierung zu erklären ist."

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. C. Selmer, "Palatalization," etc., p. 125.

1. *āli*, bei Palatalisierung, wobei das *l*-Element, allerdings nicht das alveolare, sondern das palatale, gewahrt bleibt.
2. *a<sup>h</sup>ji* (*aj<sup>h</sup>li*), wobei das aufstrebende *i*-Element das *l* schon zur Hälfte verdrängt hat.
3. *aji*, bei Vokalisierung, wobei das *l*-Element zugunsten des *i* vollständig verdrängt wurde und reine Vokalisierung eingesetzt hat.

Da unsere Erscheinung also, wie gezeigt, auf vollkommener Mischung beruht und nicht, wie beim Deutschen zu erwarten wäre, auf fortschreitender, müssen wir eine rein germanische Tendenz<sup>24</sup> verneinen. Sie weist auf nichtgermanischen Ursprung hin.

Ferner widerspricht Palatalisierung einer rein germanischen Tendenz, da sie eine Erweichung der Artikulation darstellt. Die allgemeine phonetische Tendenz des Germanischen zielt jedoch auf eine Erstarkung der Artikulation hin.<sup>25</sup>

Auch die germanische phonetische Basis ist einer Erscheinung wie der unsrigen abhold. Denn die anerkannte Tendenz des Germanischen neigt zu Extremen und schärfster Muskellanspannung.<sup>26</sup> Besonders wenn wir die Verwandtschaft des späteren Stadiums der Palatalisierung (*j* mit frikativer Beigabe) mit den Rillenlauten ins Auge fassen, werden wir uns wiederum des Ungermanischen in unserer Erscheinung bewusst. Denn Rillenlaute stellen ein Charakteristikum nichtgermanischer Dialekte dar.<sup>27</sup> Dazu kommt, dass unsere Erscheinung nur in jetzigen oder

<sup>24</sup> Es wäre in diesem Zusammenhange sehr verlockend zu behaupten, dass die den Mischungen zugrundeliegende Ursache auf psychologischem Gebiete zu suchen sei, dass also die Germanen ihre Laute langsam und bedachtig verbanden, dass dagegen Völker wie die Slaven und Romanen mit ihrem ungeduldigeren Temperament sich keine Zeit dazu liessen und die Artikulation von Lauten in der Aussprache vorausnahmen. Diese Theorie, die dieselben Gefahren in sich birgt wie die "Tragheitstheorie," wurde auf einem weniger soliden und bedeutend subjektiveren Boden stehen.

<sup>25</sup> E. Prokosch, *Sounds and History of the German Language* (1916), p. 125: "It is difficult to prove in detail just where the Celtic and Slavic influences are to be sought. There is one fact, however, that greatly alleviates the difficulty of the task, namely the fact that the Germanic phonetic tendencies happen to be diametrically opposite to both the Celtic and Slavic tendencies, the former going in the direction of strengthened, both of the latter, in the direction of weakened articulation. Therefore, wherever we find evidences of weakening tendencies in the Germanic dialects or in the German standard language, there is at least a considerable probability of foreign influence." Ausserdem p. 111: "Phonologically, the Pre-Germanic language is characterized by the predominance of a remarkably uniform tendency prevailing in Indo-European times and gradually disappearing thru race mixture. . . . However, it was only during that indefinite period that we call the "Germanic time" and only among the German people, that these tendencies were followed consistently and completely."

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*, "Die Stabilität des Germ. Konsonantensystems," *Idg. Forsch.*, xxxiii, 377.

<sup>27</sup> *Idem*, *Sounds and History*, etc., p. 128: "The fact that rill formation is absolutely not in keeping with the general habits of Germanic articulation, but is a very common

früheren Grenzdialekten vorkommt, also in Dialekten, die durch ihre exzentrische Lage in ihrer Aussprache im Laufe der letzten Jahrhunderte von deutschen Inlandsdialekten hatten beeinflusst werden können. Wenn also der Anstoss zu unserer Bewegung nicht vom Deutschen gekommen ist und gekommen sein kann, dann muss er irgendwoher von aussen stammen.

5. Seit dem Entstehen der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft beschäftigen sich bedeutende Gelehrte mit der Frage eines fremden Einflusses auf die deutsche, bzw. germanische Sprache. Besonders in den letzten Jahrzehnten haben sich die einen solchen Einfluss bejahenden Theorien in einer Weise gemehrt, dass man sich nicht wunderte, auch bedeutende Skeptiker auftauchen zu sehen, die einer Überschätzung fremden Einflusses, besonders des Keltischen, Einhalt zu bieten versuchten.<sup>28</sup> Doch gibt es immerhin zahlreiche Beispiele fremden Einflusses, die von der gesamten Gelehrtenwelt ohne weiteres angenommen werden. Besonders auf dem Gebiete des quantitativen Einflusses auf den deutschen Wortschatz sehen wir in sehr vielen Beispielen unverkennbar fremden Einfluss vorliegen.<sup>29</sup> Wir haben zweifelsohne keltische, romanische, slavische und andere Bestandteile im germanischen und deutschen Wortschatze, die nur durch frühere Berührung mit fremdem Sprachgute zu erklären sind. Weniger verarbeitet ist das Gebiet fremden Einflusses in qualitativer Hinsicht. Es scheint hier noch vieles zu geben, was erst durch die Verbindung mit anderen Wissenschaften, wie Geschichte und Prähistorie, gelöst werden wird. Der qualitative Einfluss hat schon früh die Sprachpsychologen interessiert. An ihn glaubt besonders W. Wundt,<sup>30</sup> wenn er von einer Vermischung grösseren Stils eines nichtgermanischen Stammes mit einem germanischen Stamme spricht. Der sprachlich unterliegende fremde Teil nimmt dabei die Grammatik und den Wortschatz des obernden Teiles an, überträgt aber seine Spracheigentümlichkeiten auf

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phenomenon in the Romance languages that originated in Celtic soil, . . . leads to the suspicion that the transition . . . was due to Celtic influence.”

<sup>28</sup> Zu ihnen gehört besonders Gustav Neckel (*Germanen und Kelten*, 1929) der sich bemüht die Germanen-Kelten Frage in zweifelhaften Fällen immer in deutschfreundlichem Sinne zu lösen. Der dem Keltentum von ihm zugestandene Einfluss ist nicht bedeutend. Es dürfte deshalb sicher nicht als radikal erscheinen, wenn sich dieser Aufsatz des öfteren gerade deswegen auf diese wenigen, aber dafür als gesichert zu betrachtenden Zugeständnisse stützt. Daher auch die öfteren Zitate aus Neckel in den folgenden Seiten. Ein Leichtes wäre es natürlich, den fremden Ursprung unserer Erscheinung auf Grund der Forschungen von Gelehrten wie S. Feist, H. Schuchardt, F. Kauffmann, A. Meillet und H. Hirt nachzuweisen, die stärkere Vermischung und stärkeren fremden Einfluss annehmen.

<sup>29</sup> Beispiele dafür finden sich konservativ zusammengetragen in Rudolf Much, *Di. Stammeskunde* (Wien, 1920).

<sup>30</sup> W. Wundt, *Volkerpsychologie* (Leipzig, 1916), I, 405, 495, 660 u. a.

die neuangenommene Sprache.<sup>31</sup> Dieser Einfluss muss sich also qualitativ, d.h. in der Aussprache der neuen Wörter bemerkbar machen. Es werden somit alte zugrundeliegende Sprechenden auf die neuerworbene Sprache übertragen und dadurch die neuen Laute auf Grund der alten Sprachgewohnheit umgeändert. Wenn wir nun den Grund der Palatalisierung und Vokalisierung, den wir ja nicht aus dem Germanischen ableiten können, mittels einer Sprachvermischung erklären wollen, müssen wir zunächst zeigen, dass in denjenigen Dialekten, in denen sie jetzt noch existiert, eine Verschmelzung stattgefunden hat und dass das fremde, absorbierte Element in der Richtung unserer Erscheinung zu wirken fähig war,<sup>32</sup> was allerdings wegen des Zurückgehens in die graue Vorzeit und der Knappheit brauchbaren Materials beträchtliche Schwierigkeiten bietet.

6. Bei der Vermischung der obengenannten deutschen Stämme vor und zur Zeit der Völkerwanderung können nur drei grössere Völkergruppen in Betracht kommen, die wir auf diese Möglichkeit hin prüfen müssen.

A. *Slavischer Einfluss*.—Es ist nur Weniges und Unsicheres, was wir aus einer vorchristlichen Vermischung von Slaven und Germanen wissen, besonders was sich aus Flussnamen (Weichsel) und Spuren der germanischen Lautverschiebung erschliessen lässt. Eine etwas stärkere Vermischung deutscher Stämme mit slavischen ergibt sich im späteren Mittelalter, die allerdings in ihren Einzelheiten noch stark im Dunkel liegt. Doch fand diese Vermischung eher auf niederdeutschem und mitteldeutschem Gebiete (einschliesslich Nordbayerns) statt, weniger auf oberdeutschem. Wir werden also auf diese Frage beim Lausitzischen und Thüringischen zurückkommen müssen. Das Rheinfränkische und Wallische scheiden, da ja eine Vermengung in grösserem Stile erforderlich ist, von vorneherein aus. Auch das Bayrische muss hier ausscheiden. Es ist ja eine Tatsache, dass besonders in Nordbayern eine Vermischung mit slavi-

<sup>31</sup> Ein modernes Beispiel dieses Vorganges sehen wir beim (sud)deutschen Immigrantentum in Amerika, der seine Sprechereigentümlichkeiten, z.B. die stimmlosen Medien, auf das Englische überträgt. Nur haben wir es hier natürlich mit einer Minorität zu tun. Immerhin ist es unausbleiblich, dass sich das amerikanische Englisch wegen der Völkervermischung anders auszuwirken bestrebt wie das britische Englisch. Von einem verwandten Beispiel spricht Rud. Lenz (*Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, 1893, p. 308), wenn er sagt: "Das chilenische Spanisch ist wesentlich Spanisch mit araukanischen Lauten." Dazu bemerkt W. Streitberg (*Germ.-Rom. Monatsschrift*, I (1909), 4): "Diese Erscheinung erklärt sich daraus, dass in Chile ein starker Prozentsatz von Spaniern eingewandert ist; infolgedessen haben die Eingebornen ihre Sprache aufgegeben, ihre Artikulationsgewohnheit, ihr Lautsystem aber haben sie beibehalten."

<sup>32</sup> Unter dieser Bedingung würde auch G. Neckel (*op. cit.*, p. 51) das Vordringen der germ. Lautverschiebung aus dem sprachlich gemischten Süden Deutschlands zugeben, wenn er sagt: "Überzeugend wäre dies, wenn das Keltische die phonetische Bedingung erfüllte."

schen Elementen stattgefunden hat,<sup>33</sup> aber ein slavischer Einfluss kommt hier schon deshalb nicht in Frage, da sich in Nordbayern unsere Erscheinung nur in ganz geringem Masse zeigt. Der vokalisierende Mittelpunkt liegt südlich der Donau. Auch käme das Tschechische schon deshalb nicht in Betracht, weil es die Mouillierung des *l* nicht (mehr) kennt. Man könnte eher von einer Beeinflussung des Tschechischen durch das Deutsche sprechen, wenn man an den Umlaut und das sogenannte mittlere "deutsche *l*" denkt.<sup>34</sup> An eine Vermischung in früher Zeit im böhmischen Talkessel mit den Markomannen-Bayern ist wiederum nicht zu denken, da diese schon um 500 A.D. abzogen, um von andern germanischen Stämmen dort abgelöst zu werden. Erst als auch diese abgezogen waren, stand das Land den bedeutend später nachrückenden Slaven offen.<sup>35</sup>

B. *Romanischer Einfluss*.—Dieser Einfluss könnte weniger im Lausitzischen und Thüringischen, eher im Wallischen, Fränkischen und Bayrischen stattgefunden haben. Und doch wissen wir, besonders im letzteren Falle, nichts von einer Vermischung in grosserem Stile. Denn die wenigen Soldaten, die nach Zurückziehung der römischen Garnisonen in Bayern verblieben, konnten unmöglich diese Erscheinung bewirken. Es fragt sich ausserdem, in welcher starkem Masse das Lateinische fähig gewesen wäre, unsere Erscheinung hervorzurufen. Es unterschied zwischen zwei *l*-Lauten, dem *sonus tenuis* oder *exilis* im Wortanlaut und in der Gruppe *ll*, und dem *sonus plenus* oder *pinguis* zwischen Vokalen. Im Altfranzösischen begegnen wir in der Verbindung *-li-* bereits der Palatalisierung, z.B. Lat. *salire* > afrz. *saillir* (worauf im Neufrz. volle Vokalisierung und Verschleifung über die Spirans *y* stattfand). Dafür haben wir in manchen Gegenden des romanischen Gebietes Vokalisierung in den Gruppen *pl*, *cl*, *fl* am Wortanfang, die aber ihrerseits wiederum im Deutschen in dieser Stellung überhaupt nicht vorhanden ist. Man konnte schon bei der auf einer germanischen Tendenz beruhenden *u*-Vokalisierung sehen, dass diese Anfangsgruppen bedeutenden Widerstand hervorriefen.<sup>36</sup> Es scheint, dass die der fremden Erscheinung

<sup>33</sup> So sollen die Narisker nach A. Vierling, "Die slav. Ansiedlungen in Baiern," *Beitr. zur Anthropol. und Urgesch. Bayerns*, xiv (1902), 190, einen Einfluss auf die Bajuvarier ausgeübt haben.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. F. Miklosich, *Vergl. Lautlehre der slav. Sprachen*, p. 502: "Aber das Czechische hat in den meisten Teilen seines Gebietes nur das mittlere, deutsche *l*: das Slovak. scheidet *l* und *ḷ*." Das Eindringen des deutschen *l*-Lautes verlegt M. in die Zeit Hussens; als Beispiele gibt er: *lyko* > *liko*, *tobolka* > *tobolka*.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. I. Schránil, *Slav. Grundriss der Vorgesch. Böhmens und Mährens* (1928), p. 273: "Um die Wende des 6. und 7. Jahrh. findet also in den böhmischen Ländern die germanische Kolonisation ihren Abschluss."

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. C. Selmer, *Velarization, etc.*, pp. 222, 223.

sich entgegenstimmende stärkere Tendenz des Germanischen, die Anfangslaute mit ziemlicher Vehemenz<sup>37</sup> einzuführen, ein Stimmloswerden des l-Lautes verursachte (z.B. in dem Worte "Platz" ist das l stimmlos), was natürlich eine Vokalisierung unmöglich machte.<sup>38</sup> Doch ist es immerhin merkwürdig, dass z.B. im Bayrischen die Mouillierung viel weiter entwickelt ist, als im Romanischen. Auch der Gedanke, dass in vielen hier zuständigen romanischen Sprachen in phonetischer Hinsicht an eine keltische Beimischung zu denken ist,<sup>39</sup> wird uns die Endlösung nicht im Romanischen suchen lassen.

C. *Keltischer Einfluss*.—Vermischung mit keltischen Stämmen ist durchaus möglich und auch wahrscheinlich. Gerade die Verwandtschaft des Keltischen mit den übrigen Sprachen, besonders dem Germanischen ist mehr in Einzelheiten untersucht worden, wobei sich gegenüber den andern idg. Dialekten eine merkwürdige Übereinstimmung, besonders im Wortschatze feststellen liess.<sup>40</sup> Man hat auf Grund der vielen Bestrebungen sogar von einer erneuten "Keltomanie" gesprochen, die viele unerklärliche Phänomene auf keltischen Einfluss zurückführen wollte. Der etwas lieblos klingende Name hat doch nur den Zweck, Forscher in ihren Zusammenhangsbeziehungen vorsichtig sein zu lassen, ohne jedoch die auf ernster Forscherarbeit beruhenden und diese Frage bejahenden Thesen als unwissenschaftlich bezeichnen zu wollen. Männer wie Kluge, Feist, Hirt und Much glaubten deshalb auch auf Grund ihrer diesbezüglichen Forschungen Keltisch und Germanisch einander bedeutend näher bringen zu können. Dass ein quantitativer keltischer Einfluss im Germanischen vorliegt, wird von niemandem bezweifelt. Er kann daher kommen, dass die Kelten in der vorchristlichen Periode den Germanen gegenüber die kulturell Gebenden, vielleicht auch die politisch Herrschenden waren. Hierher gehört natürlich die beträchtliche Menge von Lehnwörtern im

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. E. Prokosch, *Sounds and History*, etc., p. 49: "The muscles of the tongue are, in general, inclined to be tense, a fact which largely prevents the rill formation so common in Romance and Slavic tongues. The energetic expiration makes the language rather averse to a distinct voicing of consonants."

<sup>38</sup> Dieser Gedanke legt die Vermutung nahe, dass sich in denjenigen romanischen Dialekten, in denen diese Anfangsgruppen unverändert sind, wegen einer stärkeren Vehemenz in der Einführung des Wortanlautes eine dem Germanischen mindestens ähnliche Tendenz zeigt. Auffallend ist im Französischen z.B. *blanc, clair, fleur* gegenüber Italienischem *bianco, chiaro, fiore*. Sollte man in der Isle de France an eine stärkere Vermischung mit Germanen, bzw. Westfranken und hiemit an germanischen Einfluss zu denken haben? Über germ. Einfluss siehe auch U. T. Holmes and E. Vaughn, "Germanic Influence on Old French Syntax," *Language*, ix, 162-170.

<sup>39</sup> Über die auffallende Ähnlichkeit zwischen Gallisch und Lateinisch und qualitativen Einfluss im Lautstande berichtet unter anderen E. W. Windisch, *Gall. Gram.*, I, 392.

<sup>40</sup> Betreffs der jüngsten Zusammenstellung auf Grund von Walde-Pokornys Vgl. Wb. der idg. Spr. siehe Geo S. Lane, "The Germano-Celtic Vocabulary," *Lang.*, ix, 244-264.

Sprachschatze, sodann die keltischen Fluss-, Gebirgs- und Ortsnamen, welche gerade in Süddeutschland die germanischen Bezeichnungen beträchtlich an Zahl übertreffen. Auch G. Neckel, der zweifelhafte Fälle immer in germanenfreundlichem Sinne zu lösen bestrebt ist, macht hier bedeutende Zugeständnisse. Was uns jedoch besonders interessieren muss, ist die Frage, ob das Keltische in qualitativer Hinsicht überhaupt fähig war, eine andere Sprache zu beeinflussen. Zeigte das Keltische Mouillierung oder eine ähnliche Erscheinung? Erst spät fliessen die Quellen, die bei dieser Frage eine Antwort zu geben versprechen. Gerade deswegen ist auch das Altkeltische nicht so völlig durchforscht und steht nicht auf so sicheren Grundlagen wie die germanischen Dialekte. Dass wir erst mit einer der Zukunft vorbehaltenen Bereicherung der altkeltischen, bzw. keltoromanischen Studien einer endgültigen Lösung qualitativen Einflusses näher treten können, soll uns hier nicht entmutigen. Die Untersuchung des Keltischen wird uns schon deshalb interessieren, weil sich gerade für unseren Fall folgende Vorbedingungen für einen Einfluss feststellen lassen:

Zunächst sind es die keltischen Entsprechungen des *l*-Lautes, die uns mit ihrem *al* und *il*<sup>41</sup> aus der Sphäre des germanischen *ul*<sup>42</sup> weit wegführen. Ähnlich wie bei der Mouillierung zeigt sich also hier eine Vorliebe für die helle *i*-Färbung.<sup>43</sup> Es ist ganz undenkbar, dass die dunklen *u*-Entsprechungen des Germanischen in engerer Beziehung zur *i*-Vokalisierung stehen könnten als die keltischen *i*-Entsprechungen. Eine Vorliebe für die *i*-Färbung zeigt sich im Keltischen auch darin, dass z.B. im Altirischen beim Zusammentreffen von Konsonanten von verschiedener Färbung immer das mouillierende (*i*-)Timbre siegt.

Auffallend ist ferner, dass die Mouillierung auch im Keltischen eine nicht unbeträchtliche Rolle spielt und spielte. Pedersen berichtet, dass vom Anfang der Überlieferung bis heute im Irischen die mouillierten, d.h. an die Mundstellung eines *i* oder *e* angenäherte Aussprache der Konsonanten eine grosse Rolle spielte. Aus den zahlreichen Beispiele von Umlaut und Epenthese gehe aber hervor, dass die Mouillierung in einer älteren Periode im Brittanischen eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben müsse.<sup>44</sup> Somit ist also in diesem Falle eine Möglichkeit der Beein-

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. H. Pedersen, *Vergleich. Lautlehre der kelt. Sprachen* (1909), p. 43: "Im Kelt. ist bei idg *g*, *l* das *i*-Timbre durchgeführt.

<sup>42</sup> Siehe K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gram. der idg Sprachen*, I, 299.

<sup>43</sup> In dieser Hinsicht sagt H. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 144: "In den keltischen Sprachen ist das *i*-Timbre durchgedrungen, aber es gibt Überbleibsel des alten *u*-Timbre in den alten keltischen Sprachen, Falle, in denen wir statt *li lu* haben." Das *i*-Timbre ist also weit überwiegend Sollte das *u*-Timbre gar fremden Einfluss darstellen?

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 336.

flussung gegeben. Beispiele für Mouillierung im Irischen, Brittanischen, Bretonischen und Cornischen lassen sich in Menge erbringen.<sup>45</sup> Dabei müssen wir uns aber immer vergegenwärtigen, dass gerade keine Unterschiede von Palatalisierung und Mouillierung, also auch unsere Zwischenstufen, schriftlich mindestens unvollkommen, wenn überhaupt, ausgedrückt wurden.<sup>46</sup> Leider können wir auch, so sehr es erwünscht wäre, die im Keltischen vorhandenen lateinischen Fremd- und Lehnwörter<sup>47</sup> für unsere Arbeit nicht heranziehen. Mit Recht meint Pedersen, dass es bei der engen Verwandtschaft mit dem Lateinischen und den frühen Berührungen des Gallischen mit dem Lateinischen meist zweifelhaft sein muss, ob man es mit einer Entlehnung aus dem Lateinischen oder mit einem echten keltischen Wort oder nur einem sprachlich verwandten oder mit einem Grundwort für ein lateinisches zu tun hat. Auch muss man daran denken, dass ältere Entlehnungen später durch gelehrten Einfluss dem lateinischen Original ähnlicher gemacht wurden.

Ferner sehen wir, dass die Laute *l*, *n*, *t*, *d* in grossem Umfange palatalisiert und mouilliert werden, dass also gerade unsere Erscheinung im Keltischen vorhanden war. Das Hauptmittel zur Bezeichnung der Mouillierung im Altirischen ist ein *i*, um den affizierten Konsonanten zu bezeichnen.<sup>48</sup> Auch Umlaut, ein der Epenthese und Mouillierung verwandter Vorgang, tritt uns in zahlreichen Abarten entgegen.<sup>49</sup>

Fernerhin wissen wir, dass es z.B. im Irischen eine Vierheit von *l*-Lauten gab,<sup>50</sup> nämlich *L*, *l*, *Ĺ*, *ĺ*, also auch ein stark und ein schwächer mouilliertes *l*. Dieses Vorhandensein von mouillierten Lauten spricht unbedingt für eine Tendenz zum Mouillieren. Es ist dieselbe, die wir auch in den anfangs erwähnten deutschen Dialekten beobachten können, wenn auch in veränderter Fassung.

Dass eine Beeinflussung germanischer Laute durch Nichtgermanen im Bereich der Möglichkeit liegt gibt auch Neckel<sup>51</sup> zu, wenn er sagt: "Vielleicht sind die Zäpfchen-*r* und die stimmlosen Medien (Süddeutschland) Erbstücke aus der vorgermanischen Zeit Süddeutschlands. Aber dann sind sie auf dem Wege der Doppelsprachigkeit von den Germanen übernommen und in den Kinderstuben fortgepflanzt worden. . . . Möglich ist ferner, dass der erste Anstoss zur germanischen Lautver-

<sup>45</sup> Für die Bezeichnung und die zahlreichen Lautgesetze der Mouillierung (*nomina abstracta*, gen. sg. der *a*-Stämme etc.), *op. cit.*, pp. 345, 469, 372 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. Julius Pokorny, *Altir. Gram.* (1925), p. 9: "Die lenierte Aussprache wird nur bei *t*, *c*, *p* bezeichnet, seit 840 auch bei *s*."

<sup>47</sup> Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 341.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 356. Über die Lenition der Verschlusslaute siehe Julius Pokorny, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 145; handelt auch von den Gesetzen, unter denen *l* mouilliert wird.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51.



schiebung in Süddeutschland geschah." Wenn wir also als Bedingung für fremden Einfluss in dem Hervorbringen der Mouillierung Doppelsprachigkeit annehmen dürfen, muss uns daran gelegen sein, eine geschichtliche Vermischung der die Mouillierung aufweisenden Volksstämme mit nichtgermanischen Stämmen zu beweisen. Dass ein Volk, das eine fremde Sprache annimmt, die Artikulation notwendig verändern muss, bedarf keines Beweises.<sup>52</sup> Je verschiedener die Sprachen, desto gewaltiger muss die Wirkung sein. Eine Vermischung fand in der grauen Vorzeit überall dort statt, wo die nach Süddeutschland vorrückenden Germanen auf keltische oder romanische Bevölkerung stiessen. Wo dies der Fall war, haben wir es mit Überbleibseln der letzteren und deshalb mit Mischbevölkerung zu tun. Es hat sogar keltische Sprachinseln in Süddeutschland bis tief in unsere Zeitrechnungsperiode herein gegeben.<sup>53</sup> Als Beispiel gilt auch das Fortleben des Mainnamens in seiner keltischen Form mit *oi*. Während im Norden Deutschlands germanische Flussnamen in der Mehrzahl sind, findet man in den südlichen Gegenden ein Vorwiegen allophyler und keltischer Namen, wie Neckar, Kocher, Isar, Ilz, Laber, Loisach, Naab, Tauber, Vils, Würm etc.<sup>54</sup> Ebenso ist es mit Gebirgsnamen wie Alpen, Taunus, Haardt und Spessart. Wenn auch die "Hall"-Orte (Hallein, Hallstadt, Halle, Reichenhall etc.) für uns wenig dienstbar sind, muss man doch wenigstens bei den "Walch"-Orten (wie See-, Strass-, Traun-, -stadt, -see und vielen mehr) an eine Vermischung mit Kelten oder Keltoromanen denken.<sup>55</sup> Der vor der Lautverschiebung entlehnte Name "Walchen" wurde eben wie "Alemannen" bei den Franzosen und "Sachsen" bei den Finnen, als *pars pro toto* für die Kelten gebraucht.<sup>56</sup> Selbst wenn die Walchen (nach Neckel) nur germanische Rückwanderer waren,<sup>57</sup> müssen sie durch ihre jahrhundertlange Verbundenheit mit den Galliern stark gallisiert gewesen sein, weshalb sie ja auch von den Germanen als "Fremdlinge" bezeichnet wurden. Wir

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. G. Neckel, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>53</sup> *Op cit*, p. 25. Natürlich darf man hier nicht an die bis ins 15. Jahrhundert in österreich. und bayr. Klöstern lebenden Irländer denken. (Vgl. D. I. Binchy, "Irish Benedictines in Mediaeval Germany," *Studies, An Irish Quart. Review*, xviii, 194.)

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. R. Much, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>55</sup> Von geringer Bedeutung nur können natürlich keltogermanische Namen sein, wie z B. Boiocalus, wenn auch zugegeben werden muss, dass die Überzahl keltischer Übernahmen gegenüber den romanischen der späteren Zeit eher an keltische Vermischung und ehemalige Überlegenheit denken lässt. (Vgl. E. T. Karsten, *op. cit.*, p. 198.)

<sup>56</sup> Altnordisch *Valir* bezeichnet die Bewohner Nordfrankreichs.

<sup>57</sup> Nach Caesar die "Volcae Tectosages," die aus Gallien nach Germanien zogen. "Itaque ea, quae fertilissima sunt Germaniae loca circa Hercyniam silvam. . . . Volcae Tectosages occupaverunt atque ibi consederunt. Quae gens ad hoc tempus iis sedibus sese continet." (*B.G.* 6, 24.)

finden diese Bezeichnung auch bei Notker<sup>58</sup> und im Angelsächsischen.<sup>59</sup>

D. *Keltoromanischer Einfluss*.—Die Frage, ob keltischer oder romanischer oder keltoromanischer Einfluss vorliegt, ist schon deshalb nicht leicht zu lösen, weil Keltisch und Lateinisch einerseits seit früher Zeit nahe verwandt sind<sup>60</sup> und andererseits mit einer Verschmelzung zur Zeit des Anfangs der christlichen Zeitrechnung zu rechnen ist.<sup>61</sup> Wir wissen, dass gerade in dieser Periode eine Romanisierung der Kelten auf breiterer Grundlage erfolgte, die sich besonders in qualitativer Hinsicht auswirken musste. Über die Art der Vermengung und ihre sprachlichen Folgen sind wir jedoch vom romanischen Standpunkt aus nicht genügend unterrichtet. Wie oben vermerkt, zeigt aber das Lateinische selbst keine nennenswerte Anlage zum Mouillieren. Auch die romanischen Hauptsprachen weisen Mouillierung nur in den Verbindungen *il* oder *li* und zu einem ganz geringen Teil in den Kombinationen *pl*, *cl*, *fl*, auf. Im Keltischen zeigt sich dagegen eine Unmasse solcher Erscheinungen (siehe oben), so dass sie sogar ein Charakteristikum darstellen. Die Mouillierung könnte also niemals vom Lateinischen auf das Keltische übergegangen sein. Es liegt hier eher der Gedanke nahe, dass sie vom Keltischen vermittels Vermischung auf das Lateinische übertragen wurde, wenigstens in denjenigen romanischen Dialekten, die eine starke keltische Vermischung aufweisen. Natürlich können wir hier, ebensowenig wie in deutschen Dialekten, keine geschriebenen oder phonetisch angedeuteten Beweise der Palatalisierung verlangen, am allerwenigsten im Anfangsstadium dieser sich lang hinziehenden Entwicklung. Man denke hier auch an die Fälle der Nichtbezeichnung des Umlauts im Germanischen und Deutschen. Somit ist es bei unserer Frage nach der Herkunft der Mouillierung genauer, von keltoromanischem als von romanischem Einfluss zu sprechen, wo immer wir einen solchen feststellen sollten. Als weiterer Hinweis auf das Keltoromanische muss es betrachtet werden, wenn ein deutscher Dialekt dieselbe Erscheinung aufweist wie der benachbarte romanische (keltoromanische) Dialekt, worauf im Wallischen

<sup>58</sup> Er spricht von keltischen Ketzern und keltischen Knechten (*walaha de stabulo*), siehe P. Piper (ed.), II, 248.

<sup>59</sup> Z.B. *swearte wealas* und *wonfeax weala*.

<sup>60</sup> Vgl. H. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 1: "Deponens und Passiv, b-Futurum und andere Tempusbildungen und zahlreiche etymologische Einzeltatsachen bestätigen die genaue Zusammengehörigkeit der beiden Sprachzweige, die in Wirklichkeit nur einen, allerdings früh geteilten Doppelzweig bilden." Diese enge Verwandtschaft, die sich merkwürdiger Weise im Wortschatz am wenigsten nachweisen lässt, wurde von Marstrander angezweifelt. (Siehe "De l'unité italo-celtique," *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, III, 241 ff.).

<sup>61</sup> Vgl. auch F. Kluge, *Urgermanisch*, p. 4: "Mit dem Keltischen bestehen schon charakteristischere Übereinstimmungen . . . , aber sie beruhen zum Teil auf der wohl nicht zu beanstandenden Tatsache, dass das Latein, das seinerseits mit dem Keltischen nahe verwandt ist, auch als nächster Verwandter des Germanischen zu halten ist."

und Fränkischen hingewiesen werden soll. Auch ein anderer Gedanke wird uns die Bevorzugung keltischen Einflusses gegenüber dem lateinischen glaubwürdiger machen, nämlich der, dass es sich beim lateinischen Einfluss auf das Deutsche nur um eine meist durch Handel und Verkehr hervorgerufene, äussere Berührung handelt, bei keltischer früher Vermischung aber um ein intimes Zusammenleben. Die Berührung der Germanen mit den Kelten<sup>62</sup> fällt ja auch schon viele Jahrhunderte vor Christus, während die mit den Romanen hauptsächlich in die nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte zu verlegen ist. Wertvollen Hinweis auf diese frühe Berührung mit dem Keltischen liefern uns die keltischen Lehnwörter, die der germanischen Lautverschiebung unterliegen.

E. *Das Substrat*.—Von einiger Bedeutsamkeit ist auch die Frage des Substrates. Wenn man mit den Verfechtern der Substrattheorie an eine Beeinflussung des Germanischen durch eine Urbevölkerung glaubt, könnte auch in dieser Hinsicht Einfluss angenommen werden. Wir konnten hier bezüglich Süddeutschlands, nämlich des Bayrischen und Wallischen, an das Rätische denken, das aber mit seinem Volkselement und seiner Herkunft noch in Dunkel gehüllt ist.<sup>63</sup> Da ferner unsere Erscheinung ja auch im Fränkischen vorkommt, kann man unmöglich hier solchen Einfluss vermuten. Ausserdem müsste dann eine alpine, allophyle Urrasse auch in den übrigen (alemannischen) Dialekten die gleiche oder wenigstens eine ähnliche Erscheinung hervorgerufen haben, was jedoch nicht der Fall ist.<sup>64</sup>

F. *Rassenuntersuchungen*.—Keine Lösung unserer Frage ist ferner von Untersuchungen über die Rassen zu erwarten. Die Virchowsche Schulkinderuntersuchung<sup>65</sup> stellt fest, dass der sogenannte reine Germanentyp (blond) in Norddeutschland in bedeutend höherem Prozentsatz vorzufinden ist als z.B. in Bayern. Daraufhin war man geneigt auf eine stärkere ungermanische Vermischung in Süddeutschland zu schliessen. Diese Untersuchungen bestätigen höchstens die Ansicht, dass der Süden Deutschlands stark gemischt ist.

7. Unsere letzte Aufgabe muss es nun sein, die Möglichkeit einer Ver-

<sup>62</sup> Diesbezüglich sagt auch O. Behaghel, *Gesch. der dt. Sprache* (1928), p. 9: "Ein keltischer Einfluss muss eher vor die Zeit des Sonderdaseins des Deutschen fallen."

<sup>63</sup> Die Räterforschung hat sich seit den Zeiten ihres Begründers L. Steub über Paulis, Stolzens und A. Waldes Illyrtheorie und über Ribezzos "herodotische Legende" zur gegenwertigen Theorie Paretis und P. Kretschmers von einer pelasgo-etruskoiden Unterschicht entwickelt.

<sup>64</sup> Wir haben auch Berichte über Alpengermanen, die sich in der Schweiz aufgehalten haben sollen: die Gaesaten und ihre Teilstämme, wie die Seduni, Dalitermi, Tulingi-Tylangii und Calucones, deren zeitliches Erscheinen jedoch unsicher ist (vielleicht 500 vor Chr.). Vgl. E. T. Karsten, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>65</sup> Über den Prozentsatz der Vermischung vgl. G. Neckel, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

mischung der oben genannten deutschen Dialekte mit fremden Volksstämmen, wie den Slaven, Kelten und Romanen geschichtlich zu untersuchen. Zuverlässige Quellen aus früher Zeit fließen spärlich und es wird in vielen Fällen der zukünftigen Geschichtsforschung vorbehalten sein, zu Endergebnissen auch in dieser Hinsicht zu gelangen. Doch ergibt sich mit dem Wenigen, das herangezogen werden kann, ein in unserem Sinne sprechendes, überzeugendes Bild.

#### A. Das Bayrisch-Österreichische<sup>66</sup>

Kurz vor dem Beginn der christlichen Zeitrechnung<sup>67</sup> drangen die Markomannen, ein suebischer Volksstamm in den von den keltischen Boiern besiedelten böhmischen Talkessel ein und besetzten Teile des jetzigen Böhmens. Obwohl wir keine schriftlichen Beweise haben und solche auch nicht wohl erwarten können, ist doch (mit Neckel<sup>68</sup>) anzunehmen, dass es dabei zu einer Vermengung mit zurückgebliebenen Boiern kam.<sup>69</sup> Ein anderer Punkt bestärkt uns noch in dieser Annahme, nämlich der, dass die eingewanderten siegreichen Markomannen ihren Namen aufgaben und als Boier in das von ihnen benannte Bayern auswanderten. Aber auch die keltischen Boier verschwinden<sup>70</sup> seit dieser Zeit aus der Geschichte. An eine schon früher, also vor der böhmischen Einwanderung stattgefundene Vereinigung ist, wenn sie auch nicht im Bereich der Unmöglichkeit liegt, kaum zu denken, da die Markomannen als einer der letzten Stämme am südlichen Punkte der germanischen Vorrückungslinie eindringen.<sup>71</sup> Seit dem 6. Jahrhundert nach Christus nun sind die Bayern in ihren jetzigen Wohnsitzen zwischen Lech und Enns südlich der Donau nachzuweisen.<sup>72</sup> In ihren neuen Wohnsitzen stiessen

<sup>66</sup> Über Beispiele, Grad und Verbreitung der Pal. und Vok. vgl. C. Selmer, "Palatalization," etc., pp. 126 ff. <sup>67</sup> Vgl. *Reallex. der Vorgeschichte* (Berlin, 1926), iv, 280, 281.

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 25: "Eine Vermischung fand überall dort statt, wo die vorrückenden Germanen auf keltisch redende Bewohner stiessen. Überall, wo dies der Fall war, haben wir mit Überbleibseln der letzteren und insofern mit Mischbevölkerung zu rechnen."

<sup>69</sup> Umsomehr ist damit zu rechnen, da nach Karsten (p. 96) die Kelten Böhmen erst nach Christi Geburt verliessen.

<sup>70</sup> Mit "Boii" werden zwei keltische Stämme bezeichnet, die in früherer Zeit ein Stamm gewesen sein müssen. Ein Teil sass in Oberitalien, der andere in Böhmen, wohin sie 400 vor Chr. gekommen sein sollen. Nach ihrer Auswanderung gingen sie über die Donau, kämpften mit den Tauriskern, schlossen sich den Helvetiern an und wurden endlich (nach Strabo) von dem Dakierkönig Boerebistas vernichtend geschlagen. Doch sollen sich nach dem Zeugnis von Inschriften Reste von ihnen bis in die römische Zeit erhalten haben. (Siehe R. Much, in J. Hoops' *Reallex. d. germ. Altertumskd.*, p. 303.) Für die Annahme des Namens "Boii" durch die Markomannen klinge ein längeres Zusammenleben in Böhmen nach Karsten gegenüber Muchs Anschauung überzeugender.

<sup>71</sup> Das Nebeneinandervorkommen der markomannischen Brandgräber und keltischen Skelettbestattungen dürfte in dieser Hinsicht nicht ganz bedeutungslos sein.

<sup>72</sup> Wir finden in der *Lex Baiuvariorum* eine sonderbare Oberschicht der *Fagana*, *Huosi*,

sie jedoch auf eine romanischsprechende Bevölkerung, die man wohl als Keltoromanen<sup>73</sup> betrachten muss. Es waren Vindeliker, Noriker (und Räter), die unter römischer Herrschaft, unter der sie mehrere Jahrhunderte standen, vollständig romanisiert worden waren.<sup>74</sup> Langsam erfolgte die Germanisierung dieser Völkerschaften, die fast bis zum Jahre 1000 nach Christus dauerte. Wir haben noch um diese Zeit romanischsprechende Dörfer und Höfe im südlichen Bayern und jetzigen Tirol.<sup>75</sup> Wie weit wir es mit Fremdlingen, also Walchen zu tun haben, ist hier nicht von Wichtigkeit, da diese entweder reine Kelten, Keltoromanen oder (nach Neckel) gallisierte Germanen vorstellen. Nach dem vorher Gesagten müsste also entweder durch rein keltische oder keltoromanische Vermischung der Grund zu einer Sprachvermischung gelegt worden sein, die, da das Keltische fähig war in unserm Sinne zu wirken, Palatalisierung hervorrief und somit die Richtung zur endgültigen *i*-Vokalisierung andeutete. Dass die Bewegung eher dem keltischen als dem lateinischen Element zuzuschreiben ist, dürfte auch daraus hervorgehen, dass von allen deutschen Dialekten gerade im Bayrischen diese Bewegung mit Ausnahme vom Anlaut überall durchgegriffen hat.<sup>76</sup> Sie konnte sich in der Folgezeit in der geschützten Winkelstellung des Bayrischen zwischen mitteldeutscher Gebirgsschwelle, Böhmerwald und Alpen, ungestört entwickeln.

### B. Das Wallische

In den alemannischen Dialekten zeigt sich keine Neigung zur *i*-Vokalisierung. Eine Ausnahme begegnet uns nur in Oberwallis, wenn auch nur in beschränkter Form. Hier wissen wir ebenfalls, dass die deutsche Einwanderung auf eine romanisierte Bevölkerung stiess.<sup>77</sup> Über die genauere Zusammensetzung dieser romanisierten Bevölkerung

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*Drozza*, *Annion* und *Hahilinga*, deren Herkunft und Herrschaftsgebiete noch nicht erklärt sind. Ein sprachlicher Einfluss kann sehr wohl von dieser (keltogermanischen?) Herrenschicht ausgegangen sein. Nach neuesten Ansichten soll gerade diese Oberschicht das bayr. Element darstellen, während der Rest der Bevölkerung Alemannen gewesen seien.

<sup>73</sup> Interessant sind die Stempel der römischen Töpfer, die man in Westerndorf bei Rosenheim fand, die neben römischen Namen auch noch keltische Namen vorweisen. Vgl. S. Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns*, I, 43, Anm.

<sup>74</sup> S. Riezler, *op. cit.*, I, 43, 15.

<sup>75</sup> Vgl. O. Behaghel, *Gesch. der dt. Sprache* (1928), p. 112. Man denke auch an diejenigen Ortsnamen, die nicht an der ahd. Lautverschiebung teilnahmen, wie *Parlenkirchen* (*Par-tanum*).

<sup>76</sup> Die phonetische Bedingung, die G. Neckel (p. 15) für das Vordringen der Lautverschiebung aus dem sprachlich gemischten Süden nach Norden verlangt, ist in unserem Falle im Keltischen viel klarer gegeben als im Romanischen.

<sup>77</sup> Darüber berichtet O. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, p. 105: "Im Oberwallis, das bis dahin durchaus eine romanisierte Bevölkerung aufwies, erfolgte etwa im 9. Jahrh. die dt. Besiedlung, die wohl vom Haslital im Berner Oberland ausging."

sind wir nicht unterrichtet. Möglicherweise war hier eine keltoromanische Vermischung eingetreten; denn die Schweiz war früher von Kelten bewohnt.<sup>78</sup> Die Anschauung, dass im Oberwallis und in dem westlich der Aar gelegenen Teil des Kantons Bern burgundische Bestandteile in Bevölkerung und Sprache zu finden seien, birgt einige Wahrscheinlichkeit in sich, kann aber für unsere Untersuchung nicht von Bedeutung sein.<sup>79</sup> Die Art der Mouillierung lässt uns hier sofort an romanischen oder keltoromanischen Einfluss denken, denn im Wallischen haben wir, wie im Romanischen, nur die Gruppe *il* und *li* mouilliert. Als sprachlich interessante Parallelen liegen hier romanische Dialekte der südwestlichen Schweiz vor, z. B. von Neuenburg, Lignièrès und Landeron, wo man dieselbe Erscheinung feststellen kann, nämlich die Mouillierung der Gruppe *il* und *li*, in folgenden Beispielen:<sup>80</sup> *lundi* = delyou; *lire* = yier; *valoir* = voye; *vouloir* = voya.

Die germanische Tendenz der Velarisierung des *l*-Lautes zeigt sich im Wallischen ebenfalls, oft in demselben Worte,<sup>81</sup> z.B. Sgl. Esel = esu, und Pl. \*esila = esja.

### C. Das Thüringische

Im Thüringischen tritt uns die Palatalisierung nur in ein paar Beispielen in kleinen Teilen Thüringens entgegen. Es konnte wohl sein, dass die Aussprache z.B. des Wortes "spelzen" als "speizen" oder "speißen" nicht von allen Forschern gehört wurde. Entweder dürfen wir hoffen, dass zukünftige Forschungsarbeiten durch genauere Aufzeichnung ein grösseres Verbreitungsgebiet feststellen, oder es sind nur mehr wenige, klägliche Reste davon erhalten. Ein Verschwinden wäre durchaus nicht zu verwundern, wenn man im Gegensatz zum Bayrischen an die ungeschützte Lage dieses Dialektes im Herzen Deutschlands denkt. Wie leicht können die umliegenden, unsere Erscheinung nicht aufweisenden Dialekte diese Erscheinung im Laufe der Jahrhunderte verdrängt haben. Auch die Vorgeschichte des thüringischen Stammes liegt noch so sehr im Dunkel, dass wir keinen direkten Beweis für eine Sprachvermischung finden können. Das wenige, was wir wissen, ist folgendes: Die Thüringer-Hermunduren waren, wie die Markomannen-Bayern, ein suebischer

<sup>78</sup> Vgl. T. E. Karsten, *op. cit.*, p. 17: "Ein dritter altkeltischer Volksname, der der Helvetier, hängt mit der oben angeführten altkeltischen Bezeichnung zusammen. Dieser Volksstamm wohnte früher im südwestlichen Deutschland und hat manche Spur in den Ortsnamen dieser Gebiete hinterlassen. Aber schon im 2. Jahrh. vor Chr. hatten die Helvetier diese Gegenden verlassen, denn Caesar erwähnt ihrer schon als Bewohner der Schweiz."

<sup>79</sup> Vgl. O. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>80</sup> A. Häffelin, *Die rom. Mundarten der südwestl. Schweiz* (1873), p. 16.

<sup>81</sup> Siehe K. Bohnenberger, "Die Mundart der deutschen Walliser im Heimattal und den Aussenorten," *Beitr. zur Schweizerdt. Gram.*, III (1913), 155.

Volksstamm, der nach Beginn der christlichen Zeitrechnung in Böhmen einwanderte.<sup>82</sup> Immerhin wäre die Möglichkeit einer Vermischung mit den keltischen Boiern gegeben, da sie nach R. Much<sup>83</sup> zur Zeit der Kimbern noch im herkynischen Walde ansässig waren. Ferner wurden<sup>84</sup> heimatlos umherirrende Schwärme der Hermunduren vom römischen Legaten Ahenobarbus im Jahre 1 nach Chr. im ehemaligen Boierland angesiedelt. Wieweit sich die Thüringer vor und nach dieser Zeit mit nichtgermanischen Teilen vermengten, ist nicht sicher festzustellen.<sup>85</sup> Da die Bayern erst um 500 n. Chr. aus Böhmen auszogen, könnte man leicht an ein Nebeneinanderwohnen, vielleicht sogar Zusammenleben denken.<sup>86</sup> Die Thüringer machten sodann den Langobarden Platz.<sup>87</sup> Bei der Besetzung ihrer jetzigen Wohnsitze wird man wegen mangelnder Grundlagen trotz der zahlreichen keltischen Bergnamen,<sup>88</sup> wie Finne, Taunus, Sudeten und *Hercynia Silva* kaum an eine Vermischung mit Kelten denken dürfen. Näher liegt der Gedanke an eine Vermischung mit slavischen Elementen. Wir wissen auch, dass in diesen Gegenden ehemals Slaven<sup>89</sup> wohnten. Auch wäre das Slavische auf Grund seines Lautstandes (weiches *l*) und seiner Erweichungstendenzen durchaus in der Lage, in dieser Hinsicht eine Beeinflussung auszuüben.<sup>90</sup> Doch wissen wir wiederum zu wenig von der Art und der Zeit der Vermischung (vielleicht gab es nur versprengte, kleine slavische Vorposten), um die

<sup>82</sup> Auch prahistorisch wird der Wohnsitz der Hermunduren im jetzigen Böhmen um Christi Geburt in neuester Zeit von Leonhard Franz in den *Forschungen und Fortschritten* bestätigt. Schon Tacitus berichtet in seiner *Germania*, dass die Elbe im Gebiete der Hermunduren entspringt. Vgl. auch J. Schráníl, *op. cit.*, p. 272: "Nach der archäologischen Seite finden wir hier eine Reihe Fibeltypen aus der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jahrh., die auf eine Verbindung mit dem Westen, mit der thüringer Kulturgruppe hinweisen, und die auch L. Liederle zu dem sehr wahrscheinlichen Schluss geführt haben, dass in diesen Grabern historische Thüringer zu finden seien."

<sup>83</sup> J. Hoops, *Reallex. d. germ. Altertumskd.*, p. 303.

<sup>84</sup> *Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte*, IV (1926), 280.

<sup>85</sup> Nach Karsten (*op. cit.*, p. 18) erstreckten die Kelten ihre Wanderungen bis zu den Flusstälern der Weser und Elbe.

<sup>86</sup> Manche Gelehrte nennen alle aus *\*Baiahaima* hervorkommenden Völkerschaften, wie Bayern, Thüringer, Heruler, Rugier etc. mit einem Sammelnamen "Bayern."

<sup>87</sup> Wiederum ist es merkwürdig, dass die Langobarden, die seit 508 in Italien sesshaft sind, *l*-Vokalisierung gehabt haben sollen, weshalb K. Hentrich auf den Gedanken kam, dass Erscheinungen wie *atio* (<*atio*) in Oberitalien auf langobard. Einfluss zurückzuführen seien (was von Meyer-Lübke bestritten wird).

<sup>88</sup> Vgl. darüber Karsten (*op. cit.*, p. 92). Man konnte hier auch an die Walen-Orte denken, die noch in Thüringen vorhanden sind. Siehe O. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>89</sup> Vgl. R. Schottin, *Die Slaven in Thüringen*, Bautzen, 1884; E. E. Fritze, *Slav. Vorposten im Herzen Mitteleuropas*, Meiningen, 1906, und L. Gerbing, *Die ehem. Verbreitung der Slaven in Südwestthüringen*, Mitt. der Geogr. Ges. in Jena, XXX (1912), 1.

<sup>90</sup> Vgl. F. Miklosich, *op. cit.*, pp. 202, 203.

Herkunft unserer Erscheinung darauf zu basieren. Ausserdem finden wir ja diese nur in einem geringen Teile Thuringens und nicht auch im benachbarten Sachsen und Franken. Dazu kommt, dass schon in früher Zeit eine andere germanische Einwanderung erfolgte, wie z. B. die fränkische,<sup>91</sup> sogar anglische, friesische und dänische.<sup>92</sup> In Ermangelung genauer Vorarbeiten über das bei der Siedelung vorherrschende Element müssen wir es vorläufig dahin gestellt sein lassen, unsere dort nur in ein paar Beispielen auftretende Erscheinung auf keltischen, slavischen oder fränkischen Einfluss zurückzuführen.

#### D. Das Lausitzische

Die Besiedelung der Lausitz ist ebenfalls sehr uneinheitlich. Dort haben wir die Vermischung einer ursprünglich slavischen Bevölkerung mit deutschen Ansiedlern, wobei die letzteren die Oberschicht bildeten. Unsere Erscheinung ist dort auch nicht zur höchsten Stufe, der Vokalisierung, entwickelt. Sie bewegt sich eher in den Zwischenstufen *î* und *jî*. Die deutschen Einwanderer konnten vielleicht selbst diese Erscheinung mitgebracht haben. Die erste Einwanderung in die Lausitz fand schon zur Zeit Heinrichs I. und Ottos des Grossen<sup>93</sup> statt. Sie wurde im 13. Jahrhundert unter den Przemyslidenfürsten bedeutend verstärkt. Da wir über diese uneinheitliche deutsche Besiedelung nur unvollkommen unterrichtet sind und nichts über ihre Dialekte und Sprech Tendenzen wissen, können wir uns kein Urteil über ihre sprachliche Beeinflussung bilden. Mehr wissen wir über Art und Sprache der dortigen slavischen Bevölkerung. Wir haben es hier mit den Lausitzer Wenden zu tun. Der Name Oberlausitz tritt erst um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts auf und wird erst im 16. Jahrhundert verallgemeinert.<sup>94</sup> Sie wurden auch Serben, Sorben, Wenden und Milziener genannt und kamen schon vom 9. Jahrhundert an unter deutsche Herrschaft.<sup>95</sup> Im 13. Jahrhundert trennte sich das Niedersorbische vom Obersorbischen.<sup>96</sup> Als Unterschied in den beiden Dialekten gilt die Darstellung der Erweichung (Jotierung).<sup>97</sup> Sprachlich war dieser slavische Dialekt sehr wohl in der Lage, einen Einfluss in der Mouillierung auszuüben, denn wir finden hier eine Erweichung des l-

<sup>91</sup> Vgl. J. Müller, "Frankenkolonisationen auf dem Eichsfeld," *Forsch. zur sächs. und thür. Gesch.*, 1912-1913.

<sup>92</sup> Vgl. K. Hentrich, *Die Besiedelung des thür. Eichsfeldes auf Grund der Ortsnamen und der Mundart*, Duderstadt, 1919. *Idem*, Die Herkunft des velaren l im Westthüringischen, *ZfdMaa.*, 1919, p. 72.

<sup>93</sup> Vgl. O. Behagel, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>94</sup> Vgl. H. Knothe, "Zur Gesch. der Germanisierung in der Oberlausitz," *Archiv für die sächs. Geschichte*, N.F., II, 236.

<sup>95</sup> Vgl. J. P. Jordan, *Gram. der wend. serb. Sprache in der Oberlausitz* (Prag, 1841), p. 1.

<sup>96</sup> Vgl. G. Schwela, *Vergl. Gram. der ober- und niedersorb. Sprache* (Bautzen, 1926), p. 6.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6, und G. Schwela, *op. cit.*, p. 15.



Lautes. Wir finden sogar Beispiele, in denen sich ein ursprünglich hartes *l* (*l̥*) in ein weiches verwandelt,<sup>98</sup> das mehr oder minder deutlich wie *lj* klingt.<sup>99</sup> Wie im Keltischen haben wir im Altkirchenslavischen bei idg. *l* die helle Entsprechung *li* und *il* anzusetzen,<sup>100</sup> wie ja auch bei den sonantischen Nasalen *i* plus *n* für *ɲ*.<sup>101</sup> Es ist deshalb kein Zweifel, dass wir auch bei der Erweichung im dortigen deutschen Dialekt als Beeinflussung das Slavische, bzw. Wendische zugrunde legen müssen.

### E. Das Frankische

In grösseren Teilen des fränkischen Dialekts zeigt sich ebenfalls unsere Erscheinung, wenn auch nicht die höchste Stufe, die der Vokalisierung, erreicht wurde. Die Beispiele mehren sich der wallonischen Grenze zu und nehmen in der Richtung gegen den Rhein ab.<sup>102</sup> Auch in diesen Gegenden finden wir, sogar am rechten Rheinufer, viele keltische Flussbenennungen, wie Lippe, Ruhr, Sieg, Lahn. Auch Ortsnamen wie Bonn und Mainz sollen keltischen Ursprungs sein.<sup>103</sup> Die Möglichkeit einer Vermischung der Franken mit Keltoromanen liegt auch hier vor, da die Franken um 450 auf dem linken Rheinufer Fuss fassten und in romanisiertes Gebiet eindrangen.<sup>104</sup> So kam es, dass noch bis ins 10. Jahrhundert hinein sich innerhalb des germanisierten Gebietes beträchtliche Reste einer keltoromanischen Bevölkerung erhielten, namentlich im Gebiete der unteren Mosel, der Eifel, im Hunsrück und in der Ortenau.<sup>105</sup> Dass die Palatalisierung des *l* dort schon in frühen Zeiten auftrat, wissen wir daher, dass auch die aus den fränkisch-rheinischen Gebieten ausgewanderten Siebenbürger Sachsen dieselbe Erscheinung noch aufweisen und diese somit schon zur Zeit ihrer Auswanderung im 12. Jahrhundert in irgend einer Form kannten.<sup>106</sup> Da wir es also auch hier infolge der Mischbevölkerung mit Sprachvermischung zu tun haben, muss die Palatalisie-

<sup>98</sup> Vgl. E. Muka, *Wb. der Niederwend. Spr. und ihrer Dial.* (Prag, 1926), p. 767 und J. P. Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>99</sup> Vgl. D. Pfuhl, *Lausitzisch-Wendisches Wb.* (Budissin 1866): „*l* ist stets weich. Es klang früher wie *lj* (so noch jetzt in anderen slavischen Dialekten), daher man auch *khwalja*, *ljaw* etc. statt des jetzigen *khwala*, *law* schrieb.“ Vgl. auch E. Muka, *op. cit.*, p. 798: „*l* (altsl. *lj*, poln. und čech. *l*) . . . klingt in den meisten Gegenden des N. L. mehr oder minder deutlich wie *lj* (weiches, palatalisiertes *l*).“

<sup>100</sup> Vgl. K. Brugmann, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>101</sup> *Idem*, p. 206.

<sup>102</sup> Vgl. R. Huss, *Vergleich. Lautlehre des Siebenburg. Moselfrk. Ripuarischen mit den moselfranz. und wall. Mundarten* (1908), p. 45.

<sup>103</sup> Das Stromgebiet des Oberrheins war ursprünglich von Kelten besetzt, vgl. T. E. Karsten, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>104</sup> Vgl. O. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>105</sup> *Idem*, p. 104.

<sup>106</sup> Siehe R. Huss, „Die Besiedelung des Sachsenlandes in Siebenbürgen,“ *ZfdMaa.*, 1923, p. 258. Auch A. Scheiner, „Die Mundart der Burzenlander Sachsen,“ *Dt. Dialektgeogr.*, xviii, 80. Ferner O. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 120.

rung keltoromanischer Einfluss sein.<sup>107</sup> Es gibt im Fränkischen ja auch noch andere Erscheinungen, die auf keltoromanischen Einfluss zurückzuführen sein sollen, so z.B. der diesen Dialekten eigene Dreiton und Satzakkzent.<sup>108</sup> Interessant dürfte es ferner sein, dass in den benachbarten romanischen Dialekten sich dieselbe Erscheinung wie im Fränkischen zeigt. Für uns ist dies ganz natürlich, da ja die Wallonen wegen ihrer Abstammung keltische Eigentümlichkeiten zeigen müssen.<sup>109</sup> Auffallend sind folgende Beispiele, die unsere Annahme bestätigen: Wallon. *džay* < gallicam (Walnuss); Moselfrz. *fiyo* < filiolum (Söhnchen). Sogar die Kombinationen *pl*, *cl*, *fl* werden vokalisiert: *pyer* < placere (Trençey)<sup>110</sup>; *kyos* < colca (Meurtte); *byā* < blancus (Meurtte). Eine andere, dem Deutschen und Romanischen gemeinsam eigentümliche Erscheinung dieser Nachbargebiete sind die von alten e- und o-Lauten abgeleiteten Diphthonge.<sup>111</sup> Wir haben somit auch im Fränkischen bei Palatalisierung und Mouillierung an keltoromanischen Einfluss zu denken.

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<sup>107</sup> Dazu sagt O. Weise, "Zu den Palatalisierungserscheinungen im Fränkischen," *ZfdMaa.*, 1910, p. 372: "Da die Siebenbürger schon im 12. Jahrhundert von der Mosel und deren Nachbarländern in ihre östliche Heimat ausgewandert sind, so muss die Palatalisierung, sofern sie romanischen Ursprungs ist, mindestens bis in diese Zeit zurückgehen." Huss (*op. cit.*) spricht auch von einer Rivalisierung von Palatalisierung und Velarisierung. Er erkennt zwar richtig, dass die erstere nicht deutschen Ursprungs sein kann, schiebt ihr Erscheinen aber dem Französischen zu, was wegen unseres bayrischen Gegenstückes nicht richtig sein kann. Auch seine Behauptung, dass auf Palatalisierung immer Velarisierung folgen müsse, ist zu bezweifeln; denn die Palatalisierung ist eben ein fremder Eindringling, während die Velarisierung germanischer Natur ist. Wenn er die Palatalisierung zur Velarisierung ihre Zuflucht nehmen lässt, bedeutet das doch nichts anderes, als dass die deutsche Tendenz die fremde verdrängt.

<sup>108</sup> Vgl. darüber A. Scheiner, *Arch. des Vereins für siebenburg. Landeskunde*, xxxiv, 398.

<sup>109</sup> Über den keltogermanischen Namen "Wallonen," siehe T. E. Karsten, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Ferner Th. Frings, "Die rhein. Akzentuierung," *Dt. Dial. Geogr.*, xiv, 87: "Frankische Mundarten geraten unter roman. oder keltorom. Einfluss. Der fremde Akzent greift zuerst die Sprache an, in zweiter Reihe zersetzt der gall. Akzent das Sprachmaterial, . . . endlich verschiebt der fremde Akzent auch die kurzen Stammvokale." Der alte keltische expiratorische Akzent soll jetzt noch in fränkischen Dialekten fühlbar sein.

<sup>110</sup> Dass im benachbarten romanischen Gebiet die Mouillierung durch Erfassung der Anlautskombination weiter fortgeschritten ist als im Fränkischen, hat seinen Grund darin, dass sie sich eben im Keltoromanischen ungehinderter entwickeln konnte als in der Widerstand bietenden deutschen Sprache. Mouillierung in dieser Anlautsgruppe tritt in keinem deutschen Dialekte, selbst nicht im Bayrischen auf.

<sup>111</sup> Vergl. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gram. der Frz. Sprache* (1908), p. 56: "Sollte es endlich ein Zufall sein, dass im Nordfranz. wie im nördlichen Rheinischen die gemeingerm., bezw. die altfränk. *a-*, *e-*, *o*-Laute verändert, die *i-*, *u*-Laute jedoch bis heute unverändert geblieben sind?"

## A CHARACTERISTIC OF RIME

IT HAS long been suspected that melody plays a more important part in the structure of a poem than the broken and irregular contours of verbal pitch-patterns would seem to indicate. The fact that the voice almost never settles for more than one-twentieth of a second on one pitch, the constant and rapid movements of the melody of speech, the impossibility of representing a verbal melody in musical notation—all have tended to obscure the relation of melody to rhythmical structure. It has been observed, however, that poetic melodies tend to arrange themselves roughly in patterns which coincide with the line or the phrase, and that these patterns are often repetitive. It has also been noticed that the comma-rise and period-fall tend to emphasize the rhythm and to prepare a sort of cadence for the end of a poetic passage. To these functions of melody in verse form may now be added a third: riming words tend to be pronounced on the same pitch.

During the course of the objective study of verse being conducted at the University of Iowa under the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies, a minute analysis has been made of a reading which all impartial judges considered one of the best they had ever heard. The poem was Herrick's "To Dianeme"—"Sweet, be not proud of those two eyes, etc." The reader was a nationally known poet who has for a long time been connected with a university and who has a deep knowledge and appreciation of Herrick's poetry. His reading was admirable; there was complete agreement as to that. A phonograph record of the reading was made, and the record was minutely studied by means of the various electrical measuring devices in the Iowa laboratories<sup>1</sup> to determine the precise relations of melody, time, and intensity to the rhythm of the poem—to see "what happens" when a poem is read. Among the many interesting things observable when the physical evidence was brought together was the fact that each pair of riming words was pronounced on approximately the same pitch. "Eyes" and "skies" were in the neighborhood of A-sharp; "see" and "free" near C-sharp, etc. The table below gives the mean frequency of each riming word.<sup>2</sup> The table is in frequencies

<sup>1</sup> The instruments used were the oscillograph, the phoneloscope (equipped with electrical pick-up and amplifier), the high-speed output-level recorder, and the strobophotographic camera. The readers were seated before a microphone and asked to read the poem as well as they could. They were given no idea of the purpose of the experiment.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that the characteristic of a sound which enables the ear to place it in a musical scale is the number of vibrations per second of the sound wave. The faster the vibration, the higher the pitch.



service, the author of several books of verse, and a graduate of Cambridge. He read "To Dianeme" twice, at an interval of about one hour. The mean frequencies of his rimes are given in the following table:

	<i>first</i>	<i>second</i>		<i>first</i>	<i>second</i>
eyes	230	240	wear	240	225
skies	225	238	ear	245	228
see	235	250	stone	220	215
free	235	250	gone	210	205
hair	250	222			
air	254	225			

Not only were the correspondences of frequencies fully as marked in the reading of the young graduate of Cambridge as they had been in the reading of the American poet, but the patterns were in many cases similar. "Stone" and "gone" were glides; "wear" and "ear" had the same double humps; "see" and "free" had a wavy motion downward.

That evidence appeared to indicate that the characteristic of rimes was not individual to the one reader. The question then remained: is the characteristic individual to Herrick's poem? In order to test this, a young man who graduated from the University of Mississippi, and has for some time been writing and studying, was asked to read the first thirteen lines of Coleridge's "Christabel." Herrick's poem is fairly regular in its tetrameter couplets; "Christabel," written nearly two centuries later, is more irregular in its rime-scheme and is considerably more irregular in the syllabic arrangement of its metre. Yet, these were the mean frequencies of the riming words:

clock	160	rich	220	hour	167
cock	177	bitch	217	shower	167
cock	177				
		rock	158	loud	162
whoo	167	clock	160	shroud	162
crew	158				

In order to make a further test, a young woman who had graduated from the Oregon State College, and had since done a considerable amount of work in dramatics, was asked to read three stanzas of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (Section cvi). The stanzas from *In Memoriam* separate the rimes by two lines, *abba*. These were the mean frequencies:

sky	340	new	400	mind	360
light	342	snow	357	more	360
night	346	go	342	poor	360
die	345	true	395	kind	368

Out of all these readings the greatest difference in the mean frequencies of any pair of rimes was seventeen vibrations, which in that range was a little over one half tone, while the average difference was only five vibrations.<sup>4</sup>

What may we make of this evidence? Here we have four readers, from England to Oregon, none of whom heard any of the others read. We have three poems, covering more than two centuries of English literature and greatly different in form and style. The same characteristic of riming words was observed in every reading of every poem. The evidence is certainly a fair sampling, and the results are enough to indicate a tendency. We need now to study five thousand good readings. In matters such as this, in which the proof must be inductive, it is well to let the evidence, as it accumulates, write the law. But we may say, by way of summary, that there has been observed in good reading of verse a tendency to set off riming words by similar intonations.

The implications of this tendency are so many and so important that full consideration must await further evidence. Let me merely indicate a few. This information indicates the contribution of melody to rime and another of its contributions to rhythm. Rime "rings the bell" for rhythm. *The Physical Basis of Rime*, according to Henry Lanz, in the book of that name, is, as far as melody goes, a sort of cadence of the characteristic frequencies (the central harmonic compositions) of the vowels, but—he explains—"the melody contained in the vowels has nothing in common with the so-called 'intonation,' change of the fundamental of our voice as we speak."<sup>5</sup> Verrier, Scripture, Morris,<sup>6</sup> and others have found patterns of intonation which have a tendency to duplicate each others' form and hence, by implication, to return toward the same point. If, now, it

<sup>4</sup> Another interesting feature of the frequencies observed was that in about three-fourths of the cases the riming sound passed through or very near submultiples of the characteristic frequency of the vowel. The characteristic frequency is explained by Dayton C. Miller (*The Science of Musical Sound*, 1916) as the "characteristic region of resonance which remains the same for all voices." It is this that is supposed to give the vowel its peculiar quality. It has nothing to do with the fundamental pitch of the sound—only with the quality of the sound. Professor Miller's results were rechecked and restated by I. B. Crandall, "The Sounds of Speech," *Bell System Technical Journal* (1925), pp. 25 ff., and by M. H. Liddell, *The Physical Characteristics of Speech Sounds*, published by Purdue University (1924–27).—The characteristic and its related frequencies are those on which the vowel may be pronounced most easily and most effectively. Does the tendency of the voice to seek this frequency mean that the good reader unconsciously seeks the convenient key, the natural frequency of the vowel he wishes to emphasize?

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Verrier, *Essai sur les Principes de la Métrique Anglaise*. Scripture, *Grundzüge der Englische Verswissenschaft* (Marburg, 1929), which sums up his monumental researches into English verse. Morris, *The Orchestration of the Metrical Line*, (Ann Arbor, 1923). From

is shown that good reading habitually sets off rimes by identical, or nearly identical intonations, as well as by characteristic frequencies of overtones, the nature of poetic melody will be better understood. If it is known that each melodic phrase has a definite goal, it will be easier to study the variations around that goal, and it may even be possible to work out a crude theory of keys and tonal relationship for verse to correspond to the elaborate one we have for music. All in all, the tendency points convincingly to the close analogy of music and verse. Investigation is leading us more and more to see the truth of Samuel Johnson's statement that all versification is the "joining of music with reason."

WILBUR LANG SCHRAMM

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Mr. Morris' tables of pitches, it is possible to quote the following mean frequencies for riming words:

swing	120	140	lie	138	141 (134)	203
thing	123	177	rye	133	129	210
blue	133	130	sky			218
do	120	127				

Mr. Morris, unfortunately, does not describe his readers nor does he indicate the precise nature of the melodic pattern.

## ACTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

I. Under date of February 5, 1935, the Advisory Committee asked for a vote by the Executive Council to fill the vacancies on the five Standing Committees due to arise on July 1. As a result of the ballot vote the following persons were elected as members of the *Standing Committees* for the term ending July 1, 1940.

*Editorial Committee*, H. W. Nordmeyer, Univ. of Michigan  
*Monograph Series*, J. H. Hanford, Western Reserve Univ  
*Revolving Fund Series*, Henning Larsen, Univ. of Iowa  
*Rotograph Fund*, W. L. Bullock, Univ. of Chicago  
*Program Committee*, Ernst Feise, The Johns Hopkins Univ.

II. At the same time authorization was given to President Searles' proposal to dedicate the 1935 volume of *PMLA* to Professor Carleton Brown, and to include in it his photograph, a bibliography of his writings and a record of his services to the Association. The first Vice-President was not informed—by vote of the Advisory Committee.

III. Under date of March 26 the Secretary transmitted to the Council recommendations made by the *Committee on Research Activities*:

1. The following books are recommended for application to the American Council of Learned Societies in aid of publication:

I (arranged alphabetically)

Keniston, Hayward: *The Syntax of Castilian Prose: Sixteenth Century* \$2100  
(Banta)

Lancaster, H. Carrington: *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century* (not for publication by the Association) \$1000

Ia (different in kind)

Malone, Kemp: *Widsith* (for joint publication by the Association and Methuen) \$375

II (less distinguished)

Jackson, George Pullen: *Early American Spiritual Folk-Songs* \$1200

Raysor, Thomas M. (ed.) *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism* £410

Parsons, Coleman T.: *Scott and the Supernatural* \$700

Clement, Nemours Honoré. *Romanticism: France* \$2500

2. It is recommended that books so subsidized for publication by the Modern Language Association form a new unnumbered series. The provisional title *Research Committee Publications* is suggested.

3. It is recommended that S. H. Monk's "Theories of the Sublime in the Eighteenth Century," for which the American Council of Learned Societies has granted a subsidy, be published by the Modern Language Association and not (as originally provided) elsewhere. The profits from sales will revert to the Association.

4. It is recommended that the American Council of Learned Societies be requested to endeavor to provide some means for aiding publication of bibliographies and indices. Six meritorious works of this nature have been submitted.

5. It is recommended that publication of the *Arthurian Bibliography II* be aided from the income of our Research Fund. This was done for the *Arthurian Bibliography I*. The expense to the Association should not exceed \$100, and may be much less.



The Council approved Recommendations 1, 3, and 5, but not 4. Under 2 the Council approved the series, but not the name. Under 1 pursuant to a further recommendation of the Committee it added, between Jackson and Raysor, Alfred Harbage's *Cavalier Drama*.

IV. Under date of April 29 the Advisory Committee asked for a vote by the Council on the following topics. The results of the vote are listed under each topic.

1. Nominations to the Council

T. Moody Campbell, Northwestern University	German
Frank W. Chandler, University of Cincinnati	English
George R. Coffman, University of North Carolina	English
Joseph E. Gillet, Bryn Mawr College	Romance
W. W. Lawrence, Columbia University	English
Casimir D. Zdanowicz, University of Wisconsin	Romance

2. Invitations for the 1936 meeting

A joint invitation from the College of William and Mary and the University of Richmond was accepted.

3. Appointment of three committees, as follows.

(a) *Committee for Publicity*

(To handle reports of meetings with such other occasions for publicity as may arise. The proposal is for a committee of three members distributed geographically, to be appointed by the President in consultation with the Secretary, one to retire each year; and of two local members each year to be similarly chosen from nominations made by the Local Committee.)

(b) *Committee on Requirement of Courses in Education for Teachers in High Schools*

(Proposed by Professor G. H. Gerould to combat present apparently excessive requirements. To be appointed by the President and report to the Council.)

(c) *Committee on Public Service Personnel*

(To cooperate with other associations in investigating possibilities of creating a career service in public employment,—a movement initiated by the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, L. D. Coffman, Chairman. To be appointed by the President and to report to the Council.)

Appointment of these committees was approved.

4. Appointment of a Co-Chairman of the *Rotograph Committee* (vice W. L. Bullock resigned).

Norman L. Torrey of Swarthmore College was appointed.

5. A name for the new unnumbered series.

The name "General Series" was approved.

V. Under date of May 22 the Secretary transmitted to the Council a request from the Chairman of the *Supervisory Committee of the New Variorum Shakespeare* for the following actions:

1. "That they vote their thanks to the American Philosophical Society for its kind and continued help.
2. That they empower the Secretary of the Association, in conjunction with the editor and Supervisory Committee of the Furness Variorum, to apply to one of the educational foundations for funds to publish the first part of *Henry IV* and other volumes as prepared."

These actions were approved by the Council.

VI. Under date of October 7 the Advisory Committee asked for a vote of the Council on the following topics.

1. That Professor Charles H. Grandgent, who is wintering in Tennessee, be especially invited to be present at Cincinnati
2. That the South Atlantic Modern Language Association be invited to meet with us in 1936 at the College of William and Mary and the University of Richmond
3. That an estimate of the cost of publishing the "*PMLA* Index, Vols. I-L" be presented in the Treasurer's budget for 1936
4. That the date (July 1) of expiration of the term of members of the Standing Committees be made to apply to the Publicity Committee and the Supervisory Committee of the New Variorum Shakespeare.
5. That the Association ratifies the following amendment to the Constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies, adopted at its meeting February 1, 1935.

"To add to Article 3 the following paragraph:

"(d) Any member of a constituent society not otherwise a member of the Corporation who may be elected to a constitutional office of the Council, but such *ex-officio* membership shall be only for the duration of the term of office."

These actions were approved by the Council.

PERCY W. LONG, *Secretary*

# Rotographs of Manuscripts and Rare Printed Books

The following additions have been made to the Short Title List, published in the Supplement of Volume XLIX of the *PMLA*.

Users of our rotographs are requested by the Library of Congress to send to the European library of origin a copy of anything which they have printed from or concerning them, marked "material from or concerning MS.—."

Forms to be filled out by those who desire to make requests or suggestions for the procuring of new rotographs, may be obtained by applying to the chairman of the Committee on Selection, Professor Norman L. Torrey, *Swarthmore College*, Swarthmore, Pa.

301. Brit Mus, 8008 a 4: Andres Davila y Heredia, *Tienda de anteojos políticos*, Valencia, 1673. (119 sheets)
302. Vienna, Nazionalbibl., MS Cod lat. 9970 Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, in Span. trans (122 sheets)
303. Vienna, Nazionalbibl., MS. Cod. lat. 10514: Boccalini, *Pietra del Paragone Politico*, in Span. trans. (202 sheets)
304. London, Univ. Coll Lib., MS. Germ. 12· A middle high German translation of the Benedictine Rule of the 14th century, fols 1-104. (98 sheets)
305. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, MS. H. I. inf. 5: Tasso, *Aminta*, fols. 212-258. (94 sheets)
306. Brit. Mus., MS Royal 19. c. ii. Frère Lorens, *La Somme des Vices et des Vertus*, fols. 1-107. (107 sheets)
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 Paris, Bibl. Nat., MSS. lat 12596, nouv acq. lat 2178 vol. 1.  
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 Cambridge, Corpus Christi, MS. 292 vol. 1.  
 Cambridge, Trinity Coll., MSS. 770, 744 vols 2-3.  
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 Aberystwyth, Nat Lib., MSS. Peniarth 42, 43 vols. 7-8.  
 (Vol. 1 contains also *Historia Turpin Remensis*.)
- Add. 11. Thomas Watson: *Sophoclis Antigone*, London, 1581; *Amyntas*, London, 1585.  
 British Museum, printed books.
- Add. 12. Peter of Poitiers, *Allegoria* 3 vol.  
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28 DECEMBER 1930

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THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

*Issued Quarterly*

VOLUME L

SUPPLEMENT

1935

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The year of publication is 1935 unless otherwise noted. Italics indicate book titles, quotation marks, articles. Periodicals are referred to by the following abbreviations:

<i>ABC</i>	American Book Collector	<i>LTLS</i>	(London) Times Literary Suppl.
<i>AJP</i>	American Journal of Philology	<i>MA</i>	Medium Aevum
<i>AmLit</i>	American Literature	<i>MFDU</i>	Monatshefte für d. Unterricht
<i>AnglB</i>	Beiblatt zur Anglia	<i>MLJ</i>	Modern Language Journal
<i>APS</i>	Acta Philologica Scandinavica	<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>Archiv</i>	Archiv für das Stud. der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen	<i>MLR</i>	Modern Language Review
<i>AS</i>	American Speech	<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>BHi</i>	Bulletin Hispanique	<i>N&amp;Q</i>	Notes and Queries
<i>ELH</i>	Jour. of Eng. Literary History	<i>OC</i>	Open Court
<i>Est</i>	Englische Studien	<i>PMLA</i>	Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass'n. of Am.
<i>FQ</i>	French Quarterly	<i>PQ</i>	Philological Quarterly
<i>FR</i>	French Review	<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies
<i>GQ</i>	German Quarterly	<i>RFE</i>	Revista de Filología Española
<i>GR</i>	Germanic Review	<i>RHL</i>	Revue d'Histoire Lit. de la France
<i>Hisph</i>	Hispania	<i>RLC</i>	Revue de Littérature Comparée
<i>HR</i>	Hispanic Review	<i>RR</i>	Romanic Review
<i>Ital</i>	Italica	<i>SAB</i>	Shakespeare Assoc. Bulletin
<i>JAFLL</i>	Jour. of American Folk-Lore	<i>SP</i>	Studies in Philology
<i>JEGP</i>	Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Philol.	<i>SS</i>	Scandinavian Studies and Notes
<i>Lang</i>	Language	<i>ZRP</i>	Zeitschrift für Rom. Philologie

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**Computus.** Henel, Heinrich. *Studien zum altenglischen Computus*. Leipzig, 1934. (*Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, 26.)

**Franks Casket.** Souers, Philip W. "The Top of the Franks Casket." *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, xvi. 163-179.

A survey of previous interpretations preparatory to a full study of the casket.

——— "The Franks Casket: Left Side." *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, xviii. 199-209.

**Vercelli Book.** Herben, Stephen J., Jr. "The Vercelli Book: A New Hypothesis." *Speculum*, x. 91-94.

Suggests that the MS was taken to the Council of Vercelli by Ulf, the Norman bishop of Dorchester appointed by Edward the Confessor, and was possibly used as a bribe when Ulf was threatened with ecclesiastical discipline.

**Widsith.** Malone, Kemp. "Alliteration in *Widsith*." *ELH*, II. 291-293.

## VI. MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE

**Miscellaneous.** Arrowood, Chas. F. "Sir John Fortescue on the Education of Rulers." *Speculum*, x. 404-410.

Brentano, Sister Mary Theresa. *Relationship of the Latin Facetus Literature to the Medieval English Courtesy Poems*. Lawrence. (*Bull. of the Univ. of Kansas: Humanistic Studies*, Vol. v, No. 2.)

Bressie, Ramona. "The Leicester Abbey Catalogue." *LTLS*, Oct. 24, p. 671.  
Identifications of medieval MSS from the library of the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis at Leicester.

Flynn, Vincent. "Englishmen in Rome, 1450-1510." *LTLS*, Sept. 12, p. 565.  
Calls attention to a MS recording the names of Englishmen in Rome, including Lily the grammarian, Bainbridge, Colet, etc.

Hooper, A. G. See **GENERAL, Arthurian Cycle**.

Karpinski, L. C. and Stanbach, C. W. "An Anglo-Norman Algorism of the Fourteenth Century." *Isis*, xxiii, 121-152.

Lenhart, John M. *Pre-Reformation Printed Books: A Study in Statistical and Applied Bibliography*. Washington, D. C. (*Franciscan Studies*, No. 14).

McKeehan, Irene P. "Contemporary Life in Two Twelfth-Century Saints' Legends." *Univ. of Colorado Studies*, xxii, 289-305.

Meech, Sanford B. "An Early Treatise in English Concerning Latin Grammar." *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature by Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan* (*Univ. of Michigan Publications, Lang. & Lit.*, xiii), pp. 81-125.

——— "Early Application of Latin Grammar to English." *PMLA*, L, 1012-1032.

Prints four fifteenth-century treatises on Latin Grammar in English.

——— "Three Musical Treatises in English from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript." *Speculum*, x, 235-269.

Painter, Sidney. "The Ideas of Chivalry." *Johns Hopkins Alumni Mag.*, xxiii, 218-232.

Slover, Clark H. "Glastonbury Abbey and the Fusing of English Literary Culture." *Speculum*, x, 147-160.

Evidence of Glastonbury's relations with Irish, Welsh, and other cultural currents and the possibility of her influence through the transfer of Glastonbury monks to other centers.

Smith, Sister Mary F. *Wisdom and Personification of Wisdom Occurring in Middle English Literature before 1500*. Washington, D. C. (Catholic Univ. of Amer. diss.)

Tatlock, J. S. P. "Early English in the Universities." *Eng. Jour.*, College Ed., xxiv, 555-564.

Thompson, Daniel V. "Medieval Parchment-making." *Library*, n.s. xvi, 113-117.

Wells, John E. *Sixth Supplement to a Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400: Additions and Modifications to July, 1935*. New Haven.

Ancren Riwe. Allen, Hope E. "The Tortington Chartulary." *LTLS*, Feb. 14, 1935, p. 92.

Seeks information about a lost chartulary for light it would throw on Deorman of London, whose three daughters, with the consent of their brother Ordgar, gave London land to Westminster Abbey in return for "plenam . . . ejusdem ecclesie societatem" and whom she now believes identical with the Emma, Christina, and Gunhilda to whom the abbot of Westminster gave the hermitage of Kilburn, circa 1134 and for whom she holds the *Ancren Riwe* was originally written.

——— "The Three Daughters of Deorman." *PMLA*, L, 899-902.

Further discussion of the facts noted in the preceding entry.

Whiting, B. J. "Proverbs in the *Ancren Riwe* and the *Recluse*." *MLR*, xxx, 502-505.

Ballad. Elmquist, Karl E. "Robin Hood: Bibliography." *N&Q*, clxviii, 369.

Gresham, Foster B. "The Jew's Daughter: An Example of Ballad Variation." *JAF*, xlvii (1934), 358-361.

Hustvedt, Sigurd B. "Grundtvig's *Index B* of English and Scottish Ballads." *PMLA*, L. 595-605.

Carol. Greene, Richard L. *The Early English Carols*. Oxford.

Castle of Perseverance. Withington, Robert. "*The Castle of Perseverance*, line 695." *PQ*, xiv. 270.

Caxton. See below, s.v. Rivers, Earl of.

Chaucer. Aiken, Pauline. "Vincent of Beauvais and Dame Pertalote's Knowledge of Medicine." *Speculum*, x. 281-287.

Finds all of Chaucer's ideas of physic in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* in Vincent of Beauvais.

Atkinson, Dorothy F. "Chaucer Allusions." *N&Q*, CLXIX. 116; 205.

—— "References to Chaucer." *N&Q*, CLXVIII. 313.

Braddy, Haldeen. "The Historical Background of the *Parlement of Foules*." *RES*, xi. 204-209.

Answers Professor Manly's criticism. Manly replies, pp. 209-213.

—— "The Two Petros in the *Monkes Tale*." *PMLA*, L. 69-80.

Suggests that Chaucer got his information about Pedro of Castile from his friend Sir Guichard d'Angle (died 1380). Establishes the source of Chaucer's account of Pierre of Cyprus as Machaut's *Prise d'Alexandrie* (c. 1369). Concludes that the *Monk's Tale* should be dated in the neighborhood of 1374 or 1375.

—— "Sir Peter and the *Envoy to Bukton*." *PQ*, xiv. 368-370.

Bronson, Bertrand H. *In Appreciation of Chaucer's Parlement of Foules*. Berkeley, Calif. (*Univ. of Calif. Pub. in English*, Vol. III, No. 5, pp. 193-224.)

Brown, Carleton (ed.). *Chaucer: The Pardoner's Tale*. Oxford.

The introduction suggests that the tale was transferred from the Parson, that the exemplum originally intended was one illustrating the sins of the tavern, that the story of the three rioters was substituted when the tale was given to the Pardoner, and that the quest for death, which is peculiar to Chaucer's version of the exemplum, owes something to the legend of the Wandering Jew.

—— "Chaucer's *Wretched Engendring*." *PMLA*, L. 997-1011.

Advances arresting reasons for identifying the poem printed by MacCracken (*Minor Poems of Lydgate*, I. 43-48) under the title "An Holy Meditacion" with Chaucer's lost work. The source is shown to be the *De Contemptu Mundi* of Innocent III.

Camden, Carroll, Jr. "The Physiognomy of Thopas." *RES*, xi. 326-330.

"It is the purpose of this paper to attempt to show that Chaucer also conceived of his knight as a very effeminate creature who conformed to the physiognomical conception of the timid and cowardly man, and that he thus burlesqued the typical knightly hero."

Chappell, Louis W. "Another 'Canterbury Tale'." *MLN*, L. 87-88.

An allusion in Col. William Byrd's account of the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina.

Coffman, George R. "A Note on the Miller's Prologue." *MLN*, L. 311-312.

Crow, Martin M. "Corrections in the Paris Manuscript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*." *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, xv. 5-18.

Gerould, Gordon H. (ed.) *The Prologue and Four Canterbury Tales*. N. Y.

Harrison, Benjamin S. "The Rhetorical Inconsistency of Chaucer's Franklin." *SP*, xxxii. 55-61.

Harvey, S. W. "Chaucer's Debt to Sacrobosco." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 34-38.

The extent to which Messahala's treatise accounts for Chaucer's *Astrolabe* has been over-



stated. He filled in considerably from Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera* and in a way that indicates the same independence of mind that he showed in his verse appropriations.

Krauss, Russell. "John Heyron of Newton Plecy, Somerset." *Speculum*, x. 187-189.

Correction and comment on Manly's note, *Speculum*, ix. 86

Lawrence, William W. "Satire in *Sir Thopas*." *PMLA*, L. 81-91.

Attacks the theories of Miss Winstanley and Professor Manly that *Sir Thopas* was written as a satire on the Flemings.

Linthicum, M. Channing. "*Faldyng* and *Modlee*." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 39-41.

Notes on the character of these two cloths.

Loomis, Laure H. "Chaucer's 'Jewes wek' and *Guy of Warwick*." *PQ*, xiv. 371-373.

Lyons, Clifford P. "The Marriage Debate in the *Canterbury Tales*." *ELH*, II. 252-262.

Calls attention to the absence of any indication in the links pointing to an intention on Chaucer's part to make dramatic use of a debate on marriage.

Martin, Willard E., Jr. *A Chaucer Bibliography, 1925-1933*. Durham, N. C.

Patch, Howard R. "Precious Stones in *The House of Fame*." *MLN*, L. 312-317.

Plimpton, George A. *The Education of Chaucer Illustrated from the School-books in Use in his Time*. London and N. Y.

Pratt, Robert A. "Chaucer and Boccaccio." *LTLS*, Feb. 28, 1935, p. 124.

Ross, Woodburn O. "Another Analogue to *The Prioresses Tale*." *MLN*, L. 307-310.

An analogue from Bromyard's *Summa Predicantium* which combines characteristics of all three types (A, B, and C) distinguished by Brown.

Severs, J. Burke. "The Source of Chaucer's *Melibeus*." *PMLA*, L. 92-99.

Over 150 passages demonstrate Chaucer's dependence upon a text of the OF *Mélibée* represented by B.N. MS 1165 rather than *Le Menagier de Paris*.

Stevenson, Hazel A. "A Possible Relation Between Chaucer's Long Lease and the Date of his Birth." *MLN*, L. 318-322.

A somewhat fanciful suggestion that since the rent of the Westminster house was 53s. and Chaucer may have been 53 at the time, he fixed on 53 years for the duration of the lease.

Tatlock, J. S. P. "The *Canterbury Tales* in 1400." *PMLA*, L. 100-139.

Considers the various questions involved in visualizing the physical form in which Chaucer left the *Canterbury Tales* at his death, stresses the importance of the desire of commercial producers of MSS to avoid as many signs of incompleteness as they could, favors the use exclusively of internal evidence in determining the order of the tales, denies any significance to the evidence of the MSS on this point, and returns to the arrangement of the groups proposed by Furnivall. Appended is an extensive "Note on the Hengwrt MS."

——— "The Date of the *Troilus*: and Minor Chauceriana." *MLN*, L. 277-296.

Argues against a late date for *Troilus*, opposing Root's planetary evidence. Considers the friar in the *Summoner's Tale* a Carmelite and Chaucer's friar not particularized.

Thompson, C. R. "A Note on Nicholas Chaucer." *PQ*, xiv. 275-278.

Train, Lilla. "Chaucer's *Ladyes Foure and Twenty*." *MLN*, L. 85-87.

A parallel from Walter Map to the passage in the Wife of Bath's Tale.

Wager, Willis J. "The So-Called Prologue to the *Knigh's Tale*." *MLN*, L. 296-307.

Considers lines 875-892 a late interpolation and that "the tempest at hir hoom-comynge" is not a reference to Queen Anne's arrival in England.

Walcutt, Charles C. "The Pronoun of Address in *Troilus and Criseyde*." *PQ*, xiv. 282-287.

Weatherly, Edward H. "A Note on Chaucer's Pardoner's Prologue." *MLN*, L. 310-311.

Whitford, Harold C. "A New Document concerning Robert Chaucer." *PQ*, xiv. 278-282.

Young, Karl. "A Note on Chaucer's Friar." *MLN*, L. 83-85.

Cites a record of 1321 from the register of the Bishop of Bath and Wells in which a vicar who had had two children by a certain young woman was compelled to pay six marks as an aid in securing for her an appropriate marriage.

Degare, Sir. Faust, George P. *Sir Degare: A Study of the Texts and Narrative Structure*. Princeton. (*Princeton Studies in English* No. 11.)

Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers. See below, s.v. Rivers, Earl of.

Everyman. Eliason, Norman E. "'I take my cap in my lappe . . .'" *PQ*, xiv. 271-274.

Firumbras. O'Sullivan, Mary I. *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland*. London. (*EETS*, No. 198.)

The texts of the Fillingham MS.

Gower. Daniels, R. Balfour. "Rhetoric in Gower's *To King Henry the Fourth in Praise of Peace*." *SP*, xxxii. 62-73.

Halsam. South, Helen P. "'The Question of Halsam'." *PMLA*, L. 362-371. Proposes to identify the author of the verses beginning "The worlde so wide, thaire so remuable" with a John Halsam, armiger, who was several times a member of parliament between 1351 and 1372.

Idley, Peter. D'Evelyn, Charlotte (ed.). *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*. N. Y. (*MLA Monograph Series*, vi.)

Katherine Group. Bethurum, Dorothy. "The Connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 553-564.

Distinguishes between the style of the three saints' legends and that of the *Ancren Riwele*, *Sawles Warde*, and *Hali Meidenhad*, and traces the former to the influence of Ælfric's *Saints Lives*.

Kempe, Margery. Meech, Sanford B. "Margery Kempe." *LTLS*, June 20, 1935, p. 399.

Lydgate. Bergen, Henry (ed.). *Lydgate's Troy Book, A.D. 1412-1420*. Part iv. Bibliographical Introduction, Extracts from Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Troiana*, Notes, Glossary and Index to Lydgate's Text. London. (*EETS*, Ex.S. CXXVI.)

Lyric. Malone, Kemp. "Notes on Middle English Lyrics." *ELH*, II. 58-65. Textual notes on certain lyrics in Carleton Brown's *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*.

Thompson, S. Harrison. "The Date of the Early English Translation of the *Candet nudatum pectus*." *MA*, iv. 100-105.

Evidence dating the lyric early in the thirteenth century.

Malory. Stewart, George R., Jr. "English Geography in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*." *MLR*, xxx. 204-209.

Ormulum. Hinckley, Henry B. "The Riddle of the *Ormulum*." *PQ*, xiv. 193-216.

Argues, mainly on paleographic and linguistic grounds, for a date before 1150, or even before 1140, and looks favorably upon the connection, proposed many years ago, with Carlisle.

Otuel. See above, *s v.* Firumbras.

Piers Plowman. Cargill, Oscar. "The Langland Myth." *PMLA*, L. 36-56.

Connects the note that Stacy de Rokayle was the father of William Langland in the Dublin MS with the "mansed prest of þe march in yrlonde" (B xx 220-221) and proposes to identify the priest with Walter de Brugge, parson of St. Patrick's Trim, in Ireland, and prebendary of Houthe in the cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin. Brugge bequeathed a copy of *Piers Plowman* in his will. The poet's scorn of illegitimacy is an objection to considering him an illegitimate son of Stacy de Rokayle. If a son of Stacy de Rokayle wrote the poem he was possibly not Langland. The author treats Langland as a myth and tries to account for the growth of such a myth. The paper concludes with an investigation of the Rokayle family and a selection from many hundred records relating to this family, particularly forty-three entries concerning William Rokayle in the fourteenth century sufficient "to lead to speculation."

Haselden, R. B., and Schulz, H. C. "Note on the Inscription in HM. 128." *Huntington Library Bull.*, No. 8, pp. 26-27.

Evidence that the inscription "Robert or william langland made pers ploughman" was written after the rebinding of the MS about 1540. Fair reason exists for thinking that it may have been written by William Sparke. The present "Note" is appended to a report by R. W. Chambers on "The Manuscripts of *Piers Plowman* in the Huntington Library, and Their Value for Fixing the Text of the Poem" (pp. 1-25).

Kellogg, Eleanor H. "Bishop Brunton and the Fable of the Rats." *PMLA*, L. 57-68.

Study of the MS of Brunton's collection of sermons makes it possible to fix the date of delivery of the "rat" sermon as May 18, 1376, a *terminus a quo* for the allusion in the B-text of *Piers Plowman*.

Rivers, Earl of. Buhler, Curt F. "The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers." *Library*, 4th Ser., xv (1934). 316-329.

Evidence that the supposed second edition of Caxton is the first, and the first is the second.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. Savage, Henry. "A Note on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, l. 1700." *MA*, rv. 199-202.

Towneley Plays. Frampton, Mendal G. "The Date of the Flourishing of the 'Wakefield Master'." *PMLA*, L. 631-660.

On the basis of allusions to costume dates the later stages of the Wakefield cycle in the early part of the reign of Henry VI and confirms this date by evidence of the economic growth of Wakefield.

Smyser, H. M. "Analogues to the Mak Story." *JAF*, XLVII (1934). 378-380. A Spanish analogue and one from the *Congressional Record*.

Stroup, Thos. B. "Analogues to the Mak Story." *JAF*, XLVII (1934). 380- A folk-tale from North Carolina, making more certain the folk origin of the story in Towneley.

Trusler, Margaret. "Some Textual Notes Based on Examination of the Towneley Manuscript." *PQ*, xiv. 301-306.

Withington, Robert. "‘Water Fastand’." *MLN*, L. 95-96.

Wyclif. Reeves, Wm. P. "A Second MS of Wyclif's *De Dominio Civili*." *MLN*, L. 96-98.

York Plays. Mills, Anna J. "The York Bakers' Play of the Last Supper." *MLR*, xxx. 145-158.

Records from the Bakers' accounts (1543-80) preserved in a British Museum manuscript

## VII. RENAISSANCE AND ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE

Miscellaneous. Ball, Lewis F. *Studies in the Structure of the Minor English Renaissance Epics*. Baltimore, 1934. (Johns Hopkins diss.)

Baroway, Israel. "The Hebrew Hexameter: A Study in Renaissance Sources and Interpretation." *ELH*, II. 66-91.

Campbell, Lily B. "The Christian Muse." *Huntington Library Bull.*, No. 8, pp. 29-70.

Notes as one aspect of the Renaissance the effort to exalt Christian poetry over pagan and secular literature and traces the influence of Du Bartas's *Urania* on Sidney, Spenser, and others. The development here recorded is necessary to an understanding of Milton as Urania's poet.

Craig, Hardin, and Patrick, David. "Recent Literature of the English Renaissance." *SP*, xxxii. 259-409.

Green, Zaidee E. "Theophrastus and Hall: A Correction." *PMLA*, L. 902-903.

Hinton, Edward M. *Ireland through Tudor Eyes*. Philadelphia. (Univ. of Penna. diss.)

Judge, Cyril B. *Specimens of Sixteenth-Century English Handwriting*. Cambridge, Mass.

Kahl, George M. "Robert Tofte's Annotations in *The Blazon of Jealousie*." *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, xviii. 47-67.

Kirk, Rudolf. "Jane Bell: Printer at the East End of Christ-Church." *Parrott Presentation Volume*, pp. 443-454.

Richter, Traugott L. "Anti-feminism in English Literature from 1500 to 1660." *Summaries of Ph.D. Dissertations . . . Northwestern Univ.*, II (1934). 20-26.

Schelling, Felix E. "Shakespeare Books in the Library of the Furness Memorial." *Univ. of Penna. Library Chronicle*, III. 33-41.

Wagner, Bernard M. "New Songs of the Reign of Henry VIII." *MLN*, L. 452-455.

Watson, Sara R. "An Elizabethan Tournament." *PMLA*, L. 920-922.

Remnants of an Elizabethan masque spoken at a Queen's Day Tournament sometime after 1590.

Weitzmann, Francis W. "Notes on the Elizabethan *Elegie*." *PMLA*, L. 435-443.

White, Harold O. *Plagiarism and Imitation during the English Renaissance: A Study in Critical Distinctions*. Cambridge, Mass. (*Harvard Studies in English*, Vol. XII.)

Williams, F. B., Jr. "Corrections to *The Short-Title Catalogue*." *LTLS*, Sept. 12, 1935, p. 565.

Wilson, Elkin C. "The Idealization of Queen Elizabeth in the Poetry of her Age." *Harvard Univ. . . . Summaries of Theses . . . 1934*, pp. 346-349.

Wright, Louis B. *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England*. Chapel Hill, N. C. (*Huntington Library Publications*.)

Arden of Feversham. Grubb, Marion. "A Brace of Villains." *MLN*, L. 168-169.

Bale. Harris, Jesse W. *The Life and Works of John Bale, 1495-1563*. Urbana. (Univ. of Illinois abstract of diss.)

Beaumont and Fletcher. McKeitham, D. M. "Bullen's Beaumont and Fletcher." *LTLS*, Feb. 7, 1935, p. 76.

Chapman. Bartlett, Phyllis. "Chapman's Revisions in His *Iliads*." *ELH*, II. 92-119.

A study of Chapman's method of translation as revealed by his revisions.

Craig, Hardin. "Ethics in the Jacobean Drama: The Case of Chapman." *Parrott Presentation Volume*, pp. 25-46.

Kennedy, Charles W. "Political Theory in the Plays of George Chapman." *Parrott Presentation Volume*, pp. 73-86.

Kreider, Paul V. *Elizabethan Comic Character Conventions as Revealed in the Comedies of George Chapman*. Ann Arbor. (Univ. of Michigan Pub.: Lang. and Lit., Vol. xvii.)

Christmas Prince, The. Harbage, Alfred. "The Authorship of *The Christmas Prince*." *MLN*, L. 501-505.

Identifies a MS in Folger Shakespeare Library as part of *The Christmas Prince*. This MS bears on its title-page the statement "made bye Mr. John Sansburye." Other evidence connects Sansbury with *The Christmas Prince*.

Churchyard. Chester, Allan G. "Thomas Churchyard's Pension." *PMLA*, L. 902.

An unnoted grant (1597) by Queen Elizabeth of 20d. a day for life.

Coverdale. Camerson, Kenneth W. "Coverdale's Bible of 1535 and the Theory of Translation." *Living Church*, xciii. 323-326.

Goodspeed, Edgar J. "Miles Coverdale and the English Bible." *Publisher's Weekly*, cxxviii. 805-808.

Dekker. Spencer, Hazelton. "The Undated Quarto of *1 Honest Whore*." *Library*, n.s. vi. 241-242.

Deloney. Rollins, Hyder E. "Thomas Deloney's Euphuistic Learning and *The Forest*." *PMLA*, L. 679-686.

Deloney's heavy indebtedness to Thomas Fortescue's *The Forest or Collection of Histories* (1571) for much of his apparent learning.

Drama. Bowers, Fredson T. "A History of Elizabethan Revengeful Tragedy." *Harvard Univ. . . . Summaries of Theses . . . 1934*, pp. 304-308.

Bowers, R. H. "Notes on the 'Parnassus' Plays." *N&Q*, clxviii. 368.

Browner, James P. *The Warres of Cyrus, A Tragedy edited with an introduction and notes*. Urbana. (Univ. of Illinois abstract of diss.)

Dawson, Giles E. "An Early List of Elizabethan Plays." *Library*, n.s. 445-456. A MS commonplace book by Henry Oxinden, now in the Folger Library, with a list of plays in his possession ca. 1663-65.

Gilbert, Allan H. "Logic in the Elizabethan Drama." *SP*, xxxii. 527-545.

Harbage, Alfred E. "Elizabethan and Seventeenth-Century Play Manuscripts." *PMLA*, L. 687-699.

A list of more than 200 plays in MS.

Hewett-Thayer, Harvey W. See GERMANIC, *Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century*.

McCabe, William H. "Fatum Vortigerni." *LTLS*, Aug. 15, 1935, p. 513.

The author of this Latin play is shown to be Thomas Carleton.

Sharpe, Robert B. *The Real War of the Theatres: Shakespeare's Fellows in Rivalry with the Admiral's Men, 1594-1603: Repertories, Devices, and Types*. Boston. (*MLA Monograph Series*, v.)

——— "Title-page Mottoes in the Poetomachia." *SP*, xxxii. 210-220.

Small, Samuel A. "The Influence of Seneca." *SAB*, x. 137-150.

Thomas, Sidney. "Wolsey and French Farces." *LTLS*, Dec. 7, 1935, p. 838.

Vandiver, E. P., Jr. "The Elizabethan Dramatic Parasite." *SP*, xxxii. 411-427.

Wagner, Bernard M. "A Lost Volume of Plays." *LTLS*, July 11, p. 448.

——— "A Licence by Sir George Buc." *N&Q*, clxix. 97-98.

Walker, Andrew J. "Popular Songs and Broadside Ballads in the English Drama, 1559-1642." *Harvard Univ. . . . Summaries of Theses . . . 1934*, pp. 341-343.

Drayton. Noyes, Russell. "Drayton's Literary Vogue since 1631." Bloomington, Ind. (*Indiana Univ. Studies*, No. 107.)

Dyer. Sargent, Ralph M. *At the Court of Queen Elizabeth: The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer*. London and N. Y.

Wagner, Bernard M. "New Poems by Sir Edward Dyer." *RES*, xi. 466-471. Three unpublished poems (not in Sargent) from an Elizabethan miscellany (Harl. MS 7392).

England's Helicon. Rollins, Hyder E. (ed.). *England's Helicon, 1600, 1614*. 2v., Cambridge, Mass.

Famous Victories. Wells, William S. "*The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth: A Critical Edition*." *Abstracts of Diss., Stanford Univ.*, x. 46-48.

Fletcher. Maxwell, Baldwin. "*The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed*." *MP*, xxxii. 353-363.

Disposes of the topical allusions on which the play has been dated ca. 1604 and argues on the basis of other allusions for a date early in 1611.

——— "The Date of Fletcher's *The Night-walker*." *MLN*, L. 487-493.

Ford. Sensabaugh, George F. "John Ford—An Historical and Interpretative Study: With Special Reference to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and to the Court of Henrietta Maria." *Univ. of No. Carolina Record: Research in Progress*, No. 292 (Oct., 1934), pp. 51-52.

Greene. Jenkins, Harold. "On the Authenticity of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* and *The Repentance of Robert Greene*." *RES*, xi. 28-41.

Endeavors to refute the arguments of C. E. Sanders (*PMLA*, XLVIII).

Grim the Collier of Croyden. Thompson, D. W. "Belphegor in *Grim the Collier* and Riche's *Farewell*." *MLN*, L. 99-102.

The play is indebted to Machiavelli directly, not through Riche.

Harington, Sir John. Hughey, Ruth. "The Harington Manuscript at Arundel Castle and Related Documents." *Library*, n.s. xv. 388-444.

Records the discovery of an important miscellany of sixteenth-century verse which has been lost track of since the end of the eighteenth century. It contains 324 poems, about a third of which have never been printed. Incidentally it contains the earliest evidence for Sidney's having written his sonnets to "Y<sup>e</sup> Lady Ritch."

Harvey. Purcell, J. M. "Gabriel Harvey's Vocabulary." *LTLS*, May 23, 1935, p. 331.

Holinshed. See below, s.v. Shakespeare, Hotson.

Jonson. Allen, Hope E. "'Dicing fly' and *The Alchemist*." *LTLS*, June 27, 1935, p. 416; Aug. 1, 1935, p. 489.

Chester, Allan G. "Thomas Walkley and the 1640 *Works* of Ben Jonson." *LTLS*, March 14, 1935, p. 160.

Johnston, George B. "Notes on Ben Jonson." *LTLS*, Feb. 14, 1935, p. 92.

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#### VIII. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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— "Crashaw's *Apologie*." *LTLS*, Nov. 16, 1935, p. 746.

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Ferguson, J. DeLancey. "American Humor: Roots or Flowers?" *Amer. Scholar*, iv. 380-382.

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——— "The Roots of American Humor." *Amer. Scholar*, iv. 41-48.

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Long, Orie W. *Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.

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McKay, George L. (comp.). "American Book Auction Catalogues 1713-1934: A Union List." *Bull. N. Y. Pub. Libr.*, xxxix. 141-166; 388-410; 461-478; 561-576; 638-661; 724-744.

A list of some nine thousand American auction catalogues

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Mott, F. L. "One Hundred and Twenty Years." *North Amer. Rev.*, ccxl. 144-174.

A history of the *North American Review*, which will form a chapter of the forthcoming *History of American Magazines: 1850-1885* This informative article lacks the illuminating footnotes of the *History*, which I have had the privilege of reading in MS

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A general, historical study of various Americans who have visited England during three centuries.

Orians, G. Harrison. "The Cult of the Vanishing American." *Univ. of Toledo Bull.*, xiii. 3-15.

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Pattee, Fred L. *The First Century of American Literature: 1770-1870*. N. Y. Ignoring the colonial productions, to which Tyler devoted two long volumes, Professor Pattee portrays the writers and analyzes the literary products of the Revolutionary and Romantic periods.

Pennington, Edgar L. "The Beginnings of the Library in Charles Town, South Carolina." *Proceedings Amer. Antiquarian Soc.*, N S, XLIV. 159-187.

"The lending library of colonial America owes most to the industry and example of an English clergyman, the Reverend Doctor Thomas Bray," who collected funds for lending libraries to fourteen British colonies, including five American colonies. We have a complete list of the

books sent to Charles Town, South Carolina, in 1698. This list is appended, with an identification of titles

Read, Allen W. "The Membership in Proposed American Academies." *Am Lit*, vii. 145-165.

An examination of the membership of several proposed American academies and that of the organized National Institute of Arts and Letters aids in the study of literary history

Rourke, Constance. "Examining the Roots of American Humor." *Amer. Scholar*, iv. 249-252, 254.

A reply to Mr. Ferguson's article

Sabin, Joseph (comp.). *Bibliotheca Americana: A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time*. Vol. xxv. Part 150; Vol. xxvi. Parts 151-156; Vol. xxvii. Part 157 (To Virginia).

Begun by Joseph Sabin, continued by Wilberforce Eames, and completed by R. W. G. Vail for the Bibliographical Society of America

Shipton, Clifford K. "A Plea for Puritanism." *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, xl. 460-467.

Spiller, Robert E. "The Task of the Historian of American Literature." *Sewanee Rev.*, xliii. 70-79.

American literary historians "must be philosophers and economists as well as critics." They must do for poetry, the essay, and the novel what has been done for the drama, and, to an even lesser extent, for the short story "Our first task as research investigators is not, at the present time, the writing of this new history, but the conservation and classification of the sources from which it is to be written, and the continued and intensive fact-finding in limited fields and on specific problems."

Weiss, Harry B. (comp.). "A Catalogue of the American, English, and Foreign Chapbooks in the New York Public Library." *Bull. N. Y. Pub. Libr.*, xxxix. 3-34; 105-126; 181-192; Supplement and index 789-810.

An annotated catalogue of nearly twelve hundred chapbooks, with a bibliography of general works.

Willard, James F. See ENGLISH, Section III.

Winterich, John T. *Early American Books and Printing*. Boston.

A popular history of printing, with expert comments on some pieces of rare Americana.

### III. SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

**Miscellaneous.** Adams, Randolph G. "America's First Bibles." *Colophon*, N S, i. 11-20.

Although Isaiah Thomas stated in his *History of Printing* (1810) that Kneeland and Green of Boston printed a Bible in English in 1752, later bibliographers believe that he was incorrect, since no copy or record of a copy has appeared. They maintain that the first Bible in English in America was printed by Robert Aitken in Philadelphia in 1782.

Brayton, Susan S. "The Library of an Eighteenth-Century Gentleman of Rhode Island." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii. 277-283.

Jones, Howard M. "American Prose Style: 1700-1770." *Huntington Libr. Bull.*, No. 6. 115-151 (1934).

This original study shows that Colonial sermons had a marked influence on literary style towards clarity and simplicity.

Lovely, N. W. "Notes on New England Almanacs." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii. 264-277.

Almanacs published before the Revolution.

Pattee, Fred L. "The British Theater in Philadelphia in 1778." *AmLit*, vi, 231-388.

Pollock, Thomas C. "Notes on Professor Pattee's 'The British Theater in Philadelphia in 1778'." *AmLit*, vii, 310-314.

Points out errors in fact and inference in Professor Pattee's article

Spruill, Julia C. "The Southern Lady's Library, 1700-1776." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, xxxiv, 23-41.

Ames, Nathaniel. Jorgenson, Chester E. "The New Science in the Almanacs of Ames and Franklin." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii, 555-561.

Barlow, Joel. Zunder, Theodore A. "Notes on the Friendship of Joel Barlow and Tom Paine." *ABC*, vi, 96-99.

Byrd, William. Murdock, Kenneth B. "William Byrd and the Virginian Author of *The Wanderer*." *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, xvii, 129-136.

Byrd wrote a letter, here reprinted, on the fly-leaf of John Fox's *Motto's of the Wanderer* (London, 1718). The life of Fox is sketched.

Edwards. Faust, Clarence H., and Johnson, Thomas H. (eds.) *Jonathan Edwards: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes*. N. Y.

A volume in the American Writers Series. The greater part of the Introduction, written by Dr. Faust, treats "Jonathan Edwards as a Thinker."

Johnson, Thomas. "Jonathan Edwards as a Man of Letters." *Harvard Summaries of Theses, 1934*, 332-327.

Evans, Nathaniel. Pennington, Edgar L. *Nathaniel Evans: A Poet of Colonial America*. Ocala, Fla.

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Franklin. Jorgenson, Chester E. "Benjamin Franklin and Rabelais," *Classical Jour.*, xxix, 538-540 (1934).

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Hopkins, Samuel. Elsbre, Oliver W. "Samuel Hopkins and His Doctrine of Benevolence." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii, 534-550.

Johnson, Samuel. Hornberger, Theodore. "Samuel Johnson of Yale and King's College: A Note on the Relation of Science and Religion in Provincial America." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii, 378-397.

Mather, Cotton. Hornberger, Theodore. "The Date, the Source, and the Significance of Cotton Mather's Interest in Science." *AmLit*, vi, 413-420.

Mather's "delight in the wonder and beauty of design in the external world" was expressed as early as 1693, which was many years before the fuller expression of this deistic attitude in *The Christian Philosopher* (1720).

Priestley. Browne, Charles A. "Joseph Priestley and the American 'Fathers'." *Amer. Scholar*, iv, 133-147.

Well known to his American contemporaries, this theologian and chemist was the friend of Franklin, Jefferson, and John Adams.

Smith, John. Morse, Jarvis M. "John Smith and His Critics: A Chapter in Colonial Historiography." *Jour. Southern Hist.*, i, 123-137.

Thomas, Isaiah. Marble, Annie M. *From 'Prentice to Patron: The Life Story of Isaiah Thomas* N. Y.

A very readable biography of this important publisher, editor, and bookseller—the founder of the American Antiquarian Society and the author of the *History of Printing in America*. Students of American publishing wish that the author had discussed Thomas's works with more antiquarian interest.

Williams, Roger. Wiener, F. B. "Roger Williams' Contribution to Modern Thought." *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxviii. 1–20.

#### IV. NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1800–1870

Miscellaneous. Brooks, Cleanth. *The Relation of the Alabama-Georgia Dialect to the Provincial Dialects of Great Britain*. Baton Rouge. (Louisiana State University Studies, No. xx)

Brown, Herbert R. "The Great American Novel." *Am Lit*, viii. 1–14.

Excerpts from critics of the nineteenth century who were not in agreement about the best American fiction

Jones, Howard M. "The Influence of European Ideas in Nineteenth-Century America." *Am Lit*, vii. 241–273.

"The British version of post-revolutionary rationalism" had "the most vogue in the New World" The Scotch "common-sense" school had the most striking influence upon American metaphysics. The "dynamic conception of nature" brought to a focus such subsidiary forces of European influence as literary romanticism, transcendentalism, and an affirmative optimism

Loewenberg, Bert J. "The Controversy over Evolution in New England, 1859–1873." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii. 232–257.

———"The Import of the Doctrine of Evolution on American Thought, 1859–1900." *Harvard Summaries of Theses*, 1934, 165–168.

McCloskey, John C. "The Campaign of Periodicals after the War of 1812 for National American Literature." *PMLA*, i. 262–273.

Enthusiastic over American naval victories in the War of 1812, Democratic periodicals attempted the establishment of a national American literature. The illustrative quotations are from *The Portico* (Baltimore, 1816–1818).

Macdonald, Allan. "A Sailor Among the Transcendentalists." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii. 307–319.

Father Edward Taylor stood by Emerson. Writings by Emerson, Dana, Whitman, Dickens (*American Notes*), and Melville (Father Mapple in *Moby-Dick*) contain references to Taylor.

O'Neill, Edward H. *A History of American Biography, 1800–1935*. Phila. A Univ. of Pa. dissertation, in which the author writes expository and critical comments on hundreds of biographies.

Sedgwick, William E. "The Problem of American Literature as Seen by Contemporary Critics, 1815–1850." *Harvard Summaries of Theses*, 1935, 333–334.

———"The Materials for an American Literature: A Critical Problem of the Early Nineteenth Century." *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, xvii. 141–162.

Wilson, Arthur H. *A History of the Philadelphia Theatre, 1835–1855*. Philadelphia.

The third volume in the series on the history of the Philadelphia theatre, written as a Univ of Pa. dissertation.

**Audubon.** Hopkins, Frederick M. "Audubon's *Birds of America*." *Publishers' Weekly*, cxxviii. 1545-1546.

Peattie, Donald C. *Singing in the Wilderness: A Salute to John James Audubon*. N. Y.

**Baldwin, J. G.** Parish, Hunter D. "An Overlooked Personality in Southern Life," *N. C. Hist Rev*, xii. 341-353.

An Alabama editor, Samuel Hale, is the original of a character in *Flush Times*

**Brown, C. B.** *Alcuin: A Dialogue. A Type-facsimile Reprint of the First Edition Printed in 1798*. With an Introduction by Leroy Elwood Kimball. New Haven.

Brown's first book, and the earliest championing of the rights of women by an American

**Bryant.** Glicksberg, Charles I. "Bryant, the Poet of Humor." *Americana*, xxix. 364-374.

——— "An Uncollected Poem by William Cullen Bryant." *ABC*, vi. 131-134.

A poetical translation from the Spanish.

——— See *s.v.* **Cooper**.

——— "William Cullen Bryant and Fanny Wright." *Am Lit*, vi. 427-432.

Herrick, Marvin T. "Rhetoric and Poetry in Bryant." *Am Lit*, vii. 188-194.

McDowell, Tremaine (ed). *William Cullen Bryant: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes*. N. Y.

This volume of the American Writers Series contains a carefully selected annotated bibliography, an extensive range of selections, and adequate notes. The choice of a large number of prose selections is wise. The editor's critical judgment is sound in his treatment of Bryant as a poet, critic, and Romantic writer. It is difficult to treat Bryant's politics in so short a space, but the discussion of Bryant's religion is excellent.

**Carey, Mathew.** Randall, David A. "Waverley in America." *Colophon*, N S, i. 39-55.

Carey secured advance sheets of the *Waverley Novels* from Ballantyne

**Channing, W. E.** Silver, Rollo G. "Ellery Channing's Collaboration with Emerson." *Am Lit*, vii. 84-86.

Letters by William Ellery Channing the younger to secure aid in publishing a book

**Cooper.** Glicksberg, Charles I. "Cooper & Bryant: A Literary Friendship." *Colophon*, Part 20. 12 pages.

The reprinting of editorials and reviews by Bryant and of letters by Cooper, from the *New York Evening Post*.

Marckwardt, Albert H. "The Chronology and Personnel of the Bread and Cheese Club." *Am Lit*, vi. 389-399.

The probable date of organization was 1822 instead of 1824, and the club roster included about thirty-five men of prominence.

Orians, G. Harrison. See above, *s.v.* **General**.

Spiller, Robert E. "Fenimore Cooper and Lafayette: Friends of Polish Freedom, 1830-1832." *Am Lit*, vii. 56-75.

**DeBow, J. D. B.** Nixon, H. C. "J. D. B. DeBow, Publicist." *Southwest Rev.*, xx. 217-219.



**Deering, Nathaniel.** Chaplin, Leola B. *The Life and Works of Nathaniel Deering, 1791-1881: With the Text of Deering's Plays Carabasset and The Clairvoyants.* Orono, Maine, 1934. (*Univ. of Maine Studies, Second Ser.*, No. 32.)

A Portland, Maine, poet and playwright

**Drake.** Johnson, Merle, and Birss, John H. (comps.). "American First Editions: Joseph Rodman Drake, 1795-1820." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXVII. 1926.

Pleadwell, F. L. *The Life and Works of Joseph Rodman Drake* Boston.

A biography by an officer of the U. S. Medical Corps

**Emerson.** Scudder, Townsend. "Emerson in Dundee." *Amer. Scholar*. iv. 331-344.

——— "Emerson's British Lecture Tour, 1847-1848. Part I. The Preparations for the Tour, and the Nature of Emerson's Audience; Part II. Emerson as a Lecturer in Britain and the Reception of the Lecturer." *Am Lit*, vii. 15-36; 166-180.

Scudder, Townsend, III. See ENGLISH, Section x, s.v. **Carlyle.**

Silver, Rollo G. "Mr. Emerson Appeals to Boston." *ABC*, vi. 209-219.

Anti-slavery lecture printed in the *Daily Evening Traveller*, Boston, Jan. 26, 1855.

Warfel, Harry R. See s.v. **Margaret Fuller.**

Zink, Harriet R. *Emerson's Use of the Bible* (*Univ. of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism*. No. 14.)

**Foster, Stephen.** Bowman, John G. "A Singer to Pioneers." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLVI. 83-88.

The character and achievement of Stephen Foster

Fletcher, Edward G. "Stephen Collins Foster, Dramatic Collaborator." *Colophon*, N S, i. 33-37.

**Fuller, Margaret.** Warfel, Harry R. "Margaret Fuller and Ralph Waldo Emerson." *PMLA*, L. 576-594.

**Griffith, Mary.** Adkins, Nelson F. "An Early American Story of Utopia." *Colophon*, N S, i. 123-132.

Mrs. Mary Griffith wrote "Three Hundred Years Hence," published in a volume of tales, *Camperdown; or, News from our Neighborhood* (1836).

**Halleck, Fitz-Greene.** Johnson, Merle, and Birss, John H. (comps.). "American First Editions: Fitz-Greene Halleck, 1790-1867." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXVII. 2306.

**Hawthorne.** Cherry, Fannye N. "A Note on the Source of Hawthorne's 'Lady Eleanore's Mantle'." *Am Lit*, vi. 437-439.

Stewart, Randall. "Hawthorne in England: The Patriotic Motive in the Note-Books." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii. 3-13.

Turner, Arlin. "Autobiographical Elements in Hawthorne's 'The Blithedale Romance'." *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, No. 15. Pp. 39-62.

Warren, Austin. "Hawthorne's Reading." *New Eng. Quar.* viii. 480-497.

**Irving.** Osterweis, Rollin G. *Rebecca Gratz: A Study in Charm.* Introduction by A. S. W. Rosenbach. Foreword by David Philipson. N. Y.

"Rebecca Gratz survives in American literary history . . . as the putative original of the Rebecca in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and as the friend of Washington Irving."

Parsons, Coleman O. "Washington Irving Writes from Granada." *AmLit*, vi. 439-443.

Reichart, Walter A. "Washington Irving, the Fosters, and the Forsters." *MLN*, L. 35-39.

The confusion by biographers of the family of Mrs John Foster and her daughters, Emily and Flora, of Bedford, England, with another English family, that of Edward Forster

Starke, Aubrey. "Irving's 'Haunted Ship'—A Correction." *AmLit*, vi. 444-445.

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Williams, Stanley T. *The Life of Washington Irving*. 2 vols. N. Y.

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James, Henry. Warren, Austin. *The Elder Henry James*. N. Y., 1934.

Key, F. S. Weybright, Victor. *Spangled Banner: The Story of Francis Scott Key*. N. Y.

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Thompson, Lawrance R. "Longfellow's Original Sin of Imitation." *Colophon*, N S, I. 97-106.

Melville. Aaron, Daniel. "Melville and the Missionaries." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii. 404-408.

Anderson, Charles R. "A Reply to Herman Melville's *White-Jacket* by Rear-Admiral Thomas O. Selfridge, Sr." *AmLit*, vii. 123-144.

Selfridge states his objections to Melville's pictures of life on a man-of-war, in a newly discovered manuscript.

Fagin, N. Bryllion. "Herman Melville and the Interior Monologue." *AmLit*, vi. 433-434.

Forsythe, Robert S. "Herman Melville in Honolulu." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii. 99-105.

——— "Herman Melville's 'The Town-Ho's Story'." *N&Q*, CLXVIII. 314

This story, later published as Chapter 54 in *Moby-Duck*, first appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, for Oct., 1851, from which it was printed in the *Baltimore Weekly Sun* for Nov. 8, 1851.

*Journal up the Straits: October 11, 1856-May 5, 1857*. Edited with an Introduction by Raymond Weaver. N. Y.

The transcription and editing of two hundred pages of manuscript from three journals, which gives the record of Melville's trip to the Far East, and furnished him background for his poem *Clarel*.

Wegelin, Oscar. "Herman Melville as I Recall Him." *Colophon*, N S, I. 21-24.

Paulding. Davidson, Frank. "Paulding's Treatment of the Angel of Hadley." *AmLit*, vii. 330-332.

Paulding's *The Puritan* and *His Daughter* should be added to G. H. Orians' list of literary treatments of the regicide theme. See article in *AmLit*, iv. 227-269.

Poe. Allen, Mozelle S. "Poe's Debt to Voltaire." *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, No. 15. Pp. 63-75.

Alterton, Margaret, and Craig, Hardin. (eds.). *Edgar Allan Poe: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes*. N. Y.

The choice of selections, the critical bibliographies, and the detailed notes form a rich collection. The Introduction contains Miss Alterton's theory of the effect upon Poe's writings and critical dicta of his increasing grasp of unity—a theory which is one of several in interpreting Poe. Dr Craig's admirably written sections of the Introduction stress, almost overstress, Poe's literary skill and genius

Belden, H. M. "Poe's 'The City in the Sea' and Dante's City of Dis." *AmLit*, vii. 332-334.

Jackson, D. K. "Four of Poe's Critiques in Baltimore Newspapers." *MLN*, l. 251-256.

Lloyd, J. A. T. "Who Wrote 'English Notes'?" *Colophon*, N S, i. 107-118.  
An unconvincing argument, upon internal evidence, that Poe wrote *English Notes*

Mabbott, Thomas O. "Allusion to a Spanish Joke in Poe's 'A Valentine'." *N&Q*, CLXIX. 189.

——— "Joel Chandler Harris: A Debt to Poe." *N&Q*, CLXVI. 151-152 (1934).

McLean, Sydney R. "A Valentine." *Colophon*, N S, i. 183-187.  
A poem to a girl who gave poetic promise.

Silver, Rollo G. See below, *s.v.* Whitman.

Varner, J. G. "Poe's *Tale of Jerusalem* and *The Talmud*." *ABC*, vi. 56-57.

Whitty, J. H. "A Parrot." *Colophon*, N S, i. 188-190.

A French-speaking parrot in the home of the Misses Dubourg, Poe's first school abroad.

Zunder, Theodore A. See above, *s.v.* Barlow.

Simms. Hoole, William S. "William Gilmore Simms's Career as Editor." *Georgia Hist. Quar.*, xix. 47-54.

Tabb. Starke, Aubrey. "Father John B. Tabb: A Checklist." *ABC*, vi. 101-104.

Thoreau. Flanagan, John T. "Thoreau in Minnesota." *Minnesota Hist.*, xvi. 35-46.

Stewart, Charles D. "A Word for Thoreau." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLVI. 110-116.  
Nature facts which discredit Burroughs' criticisms of Thoreau.

White, Viola C. "Thoreau's Opinion of Whitman." *New Eng. Quar.*, viii. 262-264.

Thoreau's letter to Harrison Blake about Whitman.

Timrod. Cardwell, G. R. "The Date of Henry Timrod's Birth." *AmLit*, vii. 207-208.

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Allen, Gay W. (comp.). "Walt Whitman Bibliography, 1918-1934." *Bull. of Bibliography*, xv. 84-85; 106-109.

Baker, Portia. "Walt Whitman's Relations with Some New York Magazines." *AmLit*, vii. 274-301.

Cooke, Alice L. "Whitman's Background in the Industrial Movements of His Time" *Univ of Texas Studies in English*, No. 15. Pp 76-91.

Glicksberg, Charles I. "A Friend of Walt Whitman." *ABC*, vi. 91-94

——— "A Whitman Discovery." *Colophon*, N S, I. 227-234.

Mr Glicksberg supports Emory Holloway in attributing the authorship of a *Harper's* article to Whitman

——— "A Walt Whitman Parody" *AmLit*, v. 436-437.

Gohdes, Clarence. "The 1876 English Subscription for Whitman." *MLN*, L. 252-258

The astonishing financial success of the Centennial Edition of *Leaves of Grass* and *Two Rivulets* (1876).

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By J. E. SHAW

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BY EDWIN B. WILLIAMS

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## GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

BY HENRY W. NORDMEYER

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Valk, Melvin. "Die Entwicklung der deutschen Fussballsprache." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 567-571.

Sketches the gradual elimination of English terms after 1900 (Deutscher Sprachverein!).

Walz, John A. "*Harmlos*, *Harm*: A Supposed Anglicism in German." *GR*, x. 98-113.

Refutes the common view by abundant quotations from eighteenth-century writers, contributing to dialect geography and semasiology.

## II. LITERATURE

Miscellaneous. Jockers, Ernst. "Philosophie und Literaturwissenschaft." *GR*, x. 73-97; 166-186.

Competent and thoroughly integrated plea, leaning chiefly on Dilthey and Gestalt-psychology, in favor of philosophy (Weltanschauung) as the pivot of literary research and interpretation; incidentally a critical bibliography on methods of approach.

Wenger, Christian N. See GENERAL, *Æsthetics*.

Wolff, Max I. See GENERAL, *Æsthetics*.

## SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

*Old Norse*

Hermannsson, Halldór. See below, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

Jeffrey, Margaret. *The Discourse in Seven Icelandic Sagas*. Bryn Mawr College diss. Bryn Mawr, 1934.

Kelchner, Georgia D. *Dreams in Old Norse Literature and Their Affinities in Folklore*. Cambridge (England).

Inventories the material with a view to tracing the transition from heathendom to Christianity in the dream-occurrence of symbolic images and of living or dead persons. An indexed appendix (pp. 77-146) furnishes "Texts and Translations."

Larson, Laurence M. (tr.). *The Earliest Norwegian Laws: Being the Gulathing Law and the Frostathing Law*. N. Y.

With Introduction (pp. 3-34), Glossary (pp. 409-430), Bibliography and Index (pp. 433-451).

Litzenberg, Karl. See ENGLISH, Section x, s.v. **Morris, William**.

Malone, Kemp. "The Votaries of Nerthus." *Namn och Bygd*, xxii. 26-51.

Mezger, Fritz. "Aisl. þunngæðr." *APS*, ix. 313-314.

Suggests þunngæðr, "depressed and irritated, unreconciled," for this hapax legomenon.

*Modern Scandinavian Literatures*

Beck, Richard. "Jón Þorláksson—Icelandic Translator of Pope and Milton." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 74-100.

Appreciative account of the poet's individual productions and translations (apart from *Paradise Lost*), complex character, and place in Icelandic literature.

———. "Matthías Jochumsson—Icelandic Poet and Translator (1835-1935)." *SS*, xiii. 111-124.

Sympathetic account of the writer's achievements; copious bibliographical notes.

Eikeland, P. J. *Ibsen Studies*. Northfield, Minn. 1934.

Deals on 177 pages with *Peer Gynt*, *The Pretenders*, *Brand*, and *The Pillars of Society* from a Christian point of view.

Einarsson, Stefán. "Gamanbréf Jónasar Hallgrímssonar." *Skirnir*, cix. 145-156.

———. "Guðmundur Gíslason Hagalín." *Iðunn*, xviii. 64-88.

———. "Halldór Kiljan Laxness." *Island: Vierteljahrsschrift der Vereinigung der Islandfreunde*, xx. 19-24; 75-80.

Feise, Ernst. See below, s.v. **Hauptmann**.

Larsen, Hanna A. "Selma Lagerlöf." *ASR*, xxiii. 7-19; 113-128; 207-222; 309-326.

Litzenberg, Karl. "The Poet on the Stairs." [Hakon Holm.] *Michigan Quarterly Review*, xli. 452-455.

Springer, Otto. "The Nordic Renaissance in Scandinavia (1800-1825)." *GR*, x. 267-280.

An exposition of thought-currents leads up to a stylistic comparison of Tegnér's *Frithjofssaga* with its Old Icelandic model.

## GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS

### *Dutch and German to 1500*

Barnouw, A. J. "Semiramis in Treves" *GR*, x. 187-194.

Discusses the origin of a legend found in a fifteenth-century Story Bible in Middle Dutch

Breitenbucher, Jacques R. "Die Judasgestalt in den Passionsspielen." *Ohio State Univ. Abstracts of Doctors' Dissertations*, No. 16, pp. 47-54.

Fuchs, Edward A. H. (ed.). *Studies in the Dresdener Heldenbuch* (An edition of *Wolfdietrich K*). Chicago. [Private ed.]

Goetz, Sister Mary Paul. *The Concept of Nobility in German Didactic Literature of the Thirteenth Century*. (The Catholic University of America Studies in German, Vol. v.) Washington, D. C.

Summarizes, and ably enlarges upon, the research of the two decades, following the lead of Ehrisman. Bibliography (pp. 121-138).

Gudde, Erwin G. "The Swiss Struggle for Independence in Popular Poetry." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 530-552.

Some 50 quotations, chiefly from Rochus von Liliencron, with historical comments.

Kurtz, J. W. "An Interpretation of the Stage Plan of the Donaueschingen Passion Play." *GR*, x. 219-222.

Interprets the three barriers as indicating division into acts, each taking place in a different part of the stage.

Nock, Francis J. *The Parzival Manuscript G<sup>k</sup>*. (Ottendorfer Memorial Fellowship Series of Germanic Monographs, No. 22.) N. Y. [Lithographed ed.]

Minute palæographical and linguistic description shows that the MS (once owned by Bernhard Puttrich) was written by one scribe in a South Bavarian dialect about A.D. 1300, and exhibits striking similarities to the *Nibelungen* MS. A Bibliography (pp. 68 f.).

Sehrt, E. H., and Starck, Taylor. "Zum Text von Notkers Schriften." *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LXXI. 259-264. (Cf. *ibid.*, LXXII. 109-112.) Reply to Behaghel's and Jelinek's criticisms of their Boethius edition.

Sokol, Arthur E. "The Conception of a Calling in the German Literature of the Middle Ages." *PMLA*, l. 1-13.

Attempts to trace, in terms of history of thought, the causes of the disintegration of the mediæval social order, esp. as regards the value set upon work and its worldly reward.

Williams, Charles Allyn. *The German Legends of the Hairy Anchorite*. (Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit., Vol. xviii. Nos. 1-2.)

A fifteenth-century *Meisterlied* and a contemporary Latin prose version are here printed for the first time, accompanied by two other German and Latin versions (pp. 49-79) and two Old French texts edited by Louis Allen (pp. 81-140). The study proper (pp. 9-48) discusses editorial, folkloristic, and related problems succinctly and judiciously. There are seven plates.



*Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*

**Miscellaneous.** Stoughton, Marion W. "The Influence of the *Kirchenlied* of the Reformation (1524-1599) on Protestant Hymnody in England and America." *Northwestern Univ. Summaries of Ph.D. Dissertations*, II. 35-45.

Taylor, Archer. The "Überlange Tone" in *Meistergesang*. *MP*, XXXII. 225-231.

Sketches and interprets their development through two centuries.

**Gryphius.** Friederich, W. P. "From Ethos to Pathos: the Development from Gryphius to Lohenstein." *GR*, x. 223-236.

A contrasting study of G and L is followed by a sketch of the development from Æschylos to Euripides, stressing parallels and differences

**Lohenstein.** See **Gryphius**.

**Luther.** Kurrelmeyer, W. "Wes das Herz voll ist, des gehet der Mund über." *MLN*, L. 380-382.

Quotes practically the same rendering of Mt. XII. 34 from Geiler von Kaisersberg's *Evangelienbuch* (1515), implications.

**Spee.** Arlt, Gustave O. See below, **BIBLIOGRAPHICAL**.

*Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*

**Miscellaneous.** ten Hoor, G. J. "Ben Jonson's Reception in Germany." *PQ*, xiv. 327-343.

Lucid and instructive account of the sporadic interest manifested chiefly between 1750 and 1840 (Jonson as foil to Shakespeare).

Howard, William G. "Ungedruckte Nachträge Hayms zum Text seiner *Romantischen Schule*." *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, xvii. 105-112.

Some 80 marginalia from Haym's *Handexemplar*, with references to the 1870 and 1928 editions.

Nolte, Fred O. *The Early Middle Class Drama (1696-1774)*. (Ottendorfer Memorial Fellowship Series of Germanic Monographs, No. 19.) Lancaster, Pa. This book (213 pp.) attempts a *Wesensbestimmung*, primarily on the basis of contemporary theory and practice. Æsthetic failure of the movement is attributed to mistaken views concerning the nature of drama that were unavoidable in the Age of Enlightenment. There is no systematic bibliography, no index.

Shine, Hill. See **ENGLISH**, Section x, s.v. **Carlyle**.

**Arndt.** Pundt, A. G. *Arndt and the Nationalist Awakening in Germany*. N. Y. **Brentano.** See **Hensel**.

**Brockes.** Pfund, Harry W. *Studien zu Wort und Stil bei Brockes*. (Ottendorfer Memorial Fellowship Series of Germanic Monographs, No. 21.) N. Y.

Five chapters presenting, in a lucid and forceful style, a rich harvest of observations based on an intensive study of the whole age. A typical poet of a transition period is made to stand out in his intimate stylistic individuality. The bibliography (pp. 209-215) omits Pongs.

**Goethe.** Bluhm, H. S. "The Reception of Goethe's *Faust* in England after the Middle of the Nineteenth Century." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 201-212.

Brief but lucid and illuminating survey, hinging the problem on "growth of thought."

Feise, Ernst. "Der Hexameter in Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs* und *Hermann und Dorothea*." *MLN*, L. 230-237.

Discusses decisive differences with regard to rhythm and melody.

von Gruening, John Paul. "Goethe in American Periodicals, 1860-1900." *PMLA*, L. 1155-64.

Statistics, characterization, and significance presented in a rich and thorough survey.

Henel, Heinrich. "Ausländische Goethe-Kritik: Aus Anlass von Fairleys Buch." *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XII. 600-612.

Leuchs, Fritz, A. H. "Goethe on the German-American Stage." *GR*, x. 237-259. The New York City record from 1829 to 1914 extracted from (incomplete) newspaper files, confirming and occasionally modifying Zeydel.

Schreiber, Theodore. "Zum Begriff des jungen Goethe." *PMLA*, L. 1144-54. An analysis of Goethe's attitude toward landscape, the common people, love, and art points to June, 1775, to July, 1779, as a period of transition.

Schuchard, G. C. L. "Julirevolution, St. Simonismus und die Faustpartien von 1831." *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LX. 240-274. (To be continued.) Bold but well-reasoned attempt to refute the perfectibilists by (1) demonstrating Goethe's intense anti-revolutionary interest in European politics in 1830-31; (2) a general reinterpretation of the Conclusion of *Faust* (1800, 1816, 1825-26, 1831) in terms of a pronounced *Kulturpessimismus*; (3) an exposition of St. Simonistic doctrines accessible to Goethe with reference to the Fifth Act, which would thus assume an (implied) "satirischen Character."

Sommerfeld, Martin. *Goethe in Umwelt und Folgezeit: Gesammelte Studien*. Leiden.

Eight Goethe studies (283 pp.), three of them slightly revised reprints, treat of Rousseau, the contemporary public, Lenz, early impressions of the theater, roads to classicism, pre- and post-Goethean lyrics, and autobiography and *Wahlverwandschaften* in the 19th and 20th centuries. A wealth of minute, delicate, and penetrating observations merges into a thought-provoking presentation of the poet as an historical phenomenon.

Hensel. Spiecker, Frank. "Clemens Brentano und Luise Hensel: Eine Schicksalsstunde im Leben zweier Romantiker." *JEGP*, XXXIV. 59-73.

The tragic story ably retold and somewhat reinterpreted on the strength of the *Nachlass*

——— "Die Gartnerlieder Luise Hensels aus dem Singspiel 'Die schöne Müllerin'." *GR*, x. 1-16.

Seventeen poems published from the *Nachlass*, the history of which is traced in detail.

Jacobi, F. H. Lindsay, Julian Ira. See ENGLISH, Section x, s.v. Coleridge.

Jean Paul. Dunnington, G. W. "Jean Paul und Carl Friedrich Gauss." *MFDU*, XXVII. 268-272.

Kotzebue. Holzmänn, Albert W. *Family Relationships in the Dramas of August von Kotzebue*. Princeton.

Essentially a sociologist's spirited and by and large successful attempt (1) to disprove the "immorality" of Kotzebue's production; (2) to explain his hold on an international public. Of a grand total of 218 plays, 136, mainly comedies dealing with German domestic life, are methodically analysed as to types of characters, motifs, and plots. Bibliographies and indexes (pp. 161-179).

Coleman, A. P. "Kotzebue in tschechischer Übertragung." *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, XI. 54-72.

Lessing. Kaufmann, F. W. "Zu Lessings *Emilia Galotti*." *MFDU*, XXVII. 50-53.

Finds a new interpretation of Emilia's suicide on the basis of Heidegger, pointing out the tragic potentialities of an abrupt transition from heteronomy of faith to autonomy of reason

Kies, Paul P. "Lessing and Burnaby." *MLN*, I. 225-230.  
Detailed comparison of *Die aufgebrachte Tugend* (1753 ?) and *The Modish Husband* (1702).

Vail, Curtis C. D. "Lessing and Montiano." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 233-237.  
Lessing's source of information on Montiano's tragedy *Virginia*.

Tieck. Hewett-Thayer, H. W. "Tieck and the Elizabethan Drama: His Marginalia." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 377-407. (Cf. *Miscellaneous*, ten Hoor.)  
Reports critically on Tieck's copies, now in the British Museum, of Ben Jonson, Hazlitt's *Lectures*, and Collier's *History*; copious quotations, notes, and references.

Wiens, Abram G. "Tieck's *Novellen* from 1821 to 1840 as a Mirror of the Times." *Ohio State Univ. Abstracts of Doctor's Dissertations*, No. 16, pp. 267-274.

Zeydel, Edwin H. *Ludwig Tieck, the German Romanticist*. Princeton.  
The first truly exhaustive study since Kopke (1855), based on the most intimate knowledge of sources published and unpublished. In 18 chapters packed with detailed biographical information, the essential unity of Tieck's long literary career is set forth as determined by a dualistic native endowment and shifting sociological forces. There is a bibliography of bibliographies with pertinent supplements (pp. 343 f. and 391 f.) and an index of names (pp. 395-406).

—— "Tieck's Essay *Über das Erhabene*," *PMLA*, I. 537-549.  
Unfinished, dated 1792, published for the first time from the *Nachlass*; pertinent notes.

Wieland. Kurrelmeyer, W. *Wielands Werke*, Vol. XII: "Dichtungen," I. 1775-1779; Vol. XIII: "Dichtungen," II. 1780-1812.  
Includes the "Bericht des Herausgebers" (notes, variants) and "Register."

### Nineteenth Century

*Miscellaneous*. Hofacker, Erich. "Fatherless Writers." *GR*, x. 35-48.  
Reviews childhood and adolescence of 18 such writers from Jean Paul to Nietzsche in juxtaposition with their careers, suggesting an anthroposophic interpretation.

Jehle, Mimi I. *Das deutsche Kunstmärchen von der Romantik zum Naturalismus*. (Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit., Vol. XIX. Nos. 1-2.)  
Attempts an interpretation up to Poetic Realism, mainly in terms of *Motiv-* and *Stilgeschichte*, particularly expansive on Eichendorff, Immermann, Hauff, Morike, Ludwig, and Storm. Calls attention to a great deal of research yet to be done. Bibliography (pp. 186-191), Index.

Anzengruber. Blankenagel, John C. "Naturalistic Tendencies in Anzengruber's *Das vierte Gebot*." *GR*, x. 26-34.

Stresses the poet's didacticism as a force counteracting his naturalistic tendencies.

Fontane. Davis, Arthur L. "Fontane and the German Revolution of 1848." *MLN*, I. 1-9.

The poet's fleeting enthusiasm and quick disillusionment, briefly related to his general make-up.

Keller. Silz, Walter. "Motivation in Keller's *Romeo und Julia*." *GQ*, VIII. 1-11.

Penetrating exegesis of Keller's "Novelle" as a *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* in Hebbel's sense.

Zippermann, Charles C. See below, *BIBLIOGRAPHICAL*.

Ludwig. de Jong, Gerrit. "Elements of Musicality in the Literary and Critical Works of Otto Ludwig." *Stanford Univ. Abstracts of Dissertations 1933-34*, IX. 59-61.

**Wagner.** Park, Rosemary. *Das Bild von Richard Wagners Tristan und Isolde in der deutschen Literatur*. (Deutsche Arbeiten der Universität Köln, No. 9.) Compact and comprehensive study of the reaction to *Tristan* in ever-widening circles, beginning with the "Tagespresse" of the 1860's and ending with the "Erlebnis" of the present. The development, mainly attributed to a changing conception of the limits of æsthetic appreciation, is considered of relative significance. An abundance of pertinent and critically evaluated quotations, presented with taste and discrimination, documents the various aspects of the phenomenon. Bibliography (pp. 135-141).

*Recent and Contemporary Literature*

**Miscellaneous.** Dukes, Ashley. "The Scene in Europe: Nazi Theatre, Second Phase." *Theatre Arts Monthly*, xix. 177-184.

Funke, Erich. "Die Schallform des Expressionismus." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 408-413.

Insists that an evaluation of Expressionism as art presupposes an analysis of its sound-form. Koischwitz, Otto. *Germany*. Milwaukee.

Memming, G. H. R. *Niederdeutsche "Vörloopvertellsels" mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Ostfriesland*. Univ. of Illinois diss. (abstract).

Syring, Rudolf A. "Contemporary Authors in the New Germany." *MFDU*, xxvii. 311-316.

Presents statistics intended to prove the high quality of the literary output in spite of non-recognition of Th. Mann, Hauptmann, Rilke, Werfel, etc.

Tresidder, Argus J. "The Meininger and Their Influence." *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, xxi. 467-475.

Bonsels. Goedsche, C. R. "Bonsels' *Indienfahrt*: A Travel Book as a Work of Art." *MFDU*, xxvii. 81-87.

Grimm. Danton, George H. "Hans Grimm's *Volk ohne Raum*." *MFDU*, xxvii. 33-43; 177.

Trenchant analysis of thought-content and form, backed by a most useful tabulation of events, themes, artistic characteristics, and motifs.

Halbe. Root, Winthrop H. "New Light on Max Halbe's *Jugend*." *GR*, x. 17-25.

Conjectures autobiographical qualities in both Amandus and Schigorski, attempting to explain the superimposition of tragedy on a factual idyll.

Hauptmann. Feise, Ernst. "Hauptmanns *Einsame Menschen* und Ibsens *Rosmersholm*." *GR*, x. 145-165.

Suggests that, with its intermingling of deterministic and teleological thinking, *Einsame Menschen* conforms closely to Bölsche's theories of poetry; *Rosmersholm* used for contrast.

Steinhauer, H. "The Symbolism in Hauptmann's *Veland*." *MLN*, l. 258-264.

Reduced to terms of *Klassenkampf* and Christian pity, with added psychoanalytical explanations.

Hofmannsthal. von Bradish, Joseph A. *Der Briefwechsel Hofmannsthal-Wildgans*. Ergänzter und verbesserter Neudruck. Zurich-München-Paris.

The original number of letters increased from 27 to 42, of explanatory notes from 56 to 92.

Kafka. Neuse, Werner. "Franz Kafka." *Books Abroad*, ix. 266-268.

**Keyserling.** Reichart, Walter A. "Graf Eduard Keyserling: *Abendliche Hauser*." *MFD U*, xxvii. 44-49.

**Kolbenheyer.** Sepmeier, Kurt A. "Kolbenheyer's *Zeitdramen*." *MFD U*, xxvii. 226-232.

**Lucka.** Morgan, B. Q. "Emil Lucka—Austrian Poet and Thinker." *Books Abroad*, ix. 131-134.

**Mann.** Jacobson, Anna. "Thomas Mann: Zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 6. Juni 1935." *MFD U*, xxvii. 169-176.

**Morgenstern.** See **Rilke**.

**Nietzsche.** Bluhm, Heinz. "Nietzsche's Early Views on Literary Studies." *MFD U*, xxvii. 259-267.

Well-oriented presentation of extracts from *Briefe* and *Werke*

von Bradish, Joseph A. "Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, gestorben 8. November 1935." *MFD U*, xxvii. 321-325.

Reports also on the Nietzsche-Archiv.

**Fairley, Barker.** "Nietzsche and the Poetic Impulse." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xix. 344-361.

Subtle analysis delineating (1) the incompatibility of the poetic impulse in Nietzsche with the philosophical, and the resultant "vulnerability" of *Zarathustra*; (2) this cleavage in his work as a possible clue to his peculiar tension of character.

**Rosenberg, Ralph P.** "Nietzsche and George Sand." *GR*, x. 260-266.

Nietzsche's antagonism viewed in the light of his *Umwertung* philosophy, esp. anti-feminism and anti-romanticism.

See **Sudermann**.

**Rilke.** Hofacker, Erich. "R. M. Rilke und Christian Morgenstern." *PMLA*, l. 606-614.

Comparative study, particularly of reaction to the problems of solitude, love, and death.

**Schäfer.** Ehrlich, Godfrey. "Wilhelm Schäfer." *MFD U*, xxvii. 130-139.

**Schnitzler.** Ilmer, Frida. "Das Thema der künstlerischen Schöpferkraft bei Schnitzler." *MFD U*, xxvii. 73-80.

——— "Schnitzler's Attitude with Regard to the Transcendental." *GR*, x. 114-125.

Defines it largely as one of reverent skepticism.

**Seidel.** Jaeger, Hans. "Die Lebensgestaltung im Werk Ina Seidels." *Dichtung und Volkstum* (N.S. of *Euphorion*), xxxvi. 479-496.

Shows that womanhood in its mature aspect, and thus in polarity with the masculine urge for liberation and freedom, is the determining factor in Ina Seidel's epic work.

**Stehr.** Boeschstein, H. *Hermann Stehr*. (Sprache und Kultur der germanischen und romanischen Völker, Reihe B, xv.) Breslau.

**Kaufmann, F. W.** "Hermann Stehr: *Der Geigenmacher*." *MFD U*, xxvii. 317-320.

**Sudermann.** Bockstahler, O. L. "Nietzsche and Sudermann." *GQ*, viii. 177-191.

**Waggerl.** Kaufmann, F. W. "Karl Heinrich Waggerl: *Brot*." *MFD U*, xxvii. 183-186.

**Wildgans.** See **Hofmannsthal**.

*Germans in America*

Carlson, Harold G. "A Distinguished 48'er: Eduard Dorsch." *Michigan History Magazine*, xix. 425-437.

Dana, Julian. *Sutter of California*. N. Y.

Fife, Robert H. "To Camillo von Klenze." *GQ*, viii. 49.

Gribsch, Max. "Dr. H. H. Fick†." *MFDU*, xxvii. 191-194. (Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 147-148.)

von Klenze, Camillo. "The Teaching of German Literature and the Genteel Tradition." *GQ*, viii. 97-105.

Reflects the German contribution, actual and potential, to American culture.

Kubler, E. A. "Johann August Sutter in der deutschen Literatur." *MFDU*, xxvii. 121-129.

Well-informed critique of recent attempts to master a tantalizing theme (cf. *PMLA*, xlix. 1276).

Leuchs, Fritz A. H. "Die Geschichte des Vereins deutscher Lehrer von New York und Umgebung." *GQ*, viii. 50-59.

Mahr, August C. "A Pennsylvania Dutch 'Hexzettel'." *MFDU*, xxvii. 215-225.

Charms in Pennsylvania with parallels in German folk-lore; bibliography.

Metzenthin-Raunick, Selma. *Deutsche Schriften in Texas*. Bd. I: *Dichtung* San Antonio.

Reichart, Walter A. "Professor Tobias Diekhoff†." *MFDU*, xxvii. 237.

[Roeseler, R. O.] "Professor Max Gribsch†." *MFDU*, xxvii. 211-213; 213-214.

Zollinger, James P. "John Augustus Sutter's European Background." *California Historical Society Quarterly*, xiv. 28-46.

Sutter's prosy if turbulent life up to 1834. (From MS and other sources.)

## III. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Arlt, Gustave O. "Friedrich von Spee's *Trutznachtigall*: The Editions and a Bibliography." *MP*, xxiii. 159-168.

Lists ca. 30 editions (1649-1929) and ca. 60 items of research (1843-1928) with brief critical comments.

*Books Abroad*. Vol. ix. Univ. of Oklahoma.

A quarterly comment on foreign book publications topically arranged.

Bradley, Lyman R. "A Tentative Bibliography of Translations from the German, 1934." *Books Abroad*, ix. 229-231.

*Deutsches Haus Bulletin*, Vol. v. Columbia Univ.

Catalogues and briefly characterizes recent German books, including fiction and poetry; "Literature and Linguistics," pp. 64-73.

Gerig, John L. "Modern Philology: Germanic." *New Int. Year Book*, p. 561.

——— "Philology: Germanic." *Americana Annual*, p. 565.

Hermannsson, Halldór. *The Sagas of Icelanders (Íslendinga Sögur): A Supplement to Bibliography of the Icelandic Sagas and Minor Tales*. (Islandica, Vol. xxiv.) Ithaca, N. Y.

Covers the period from 1908 to date, adding "Collections and Selections of Texts and Translations," critical "Works on the Literature, History and Civilization of the Period," and a list of poetic treatments of Icelandic saga subjects.

Kaufmann, F. W. "Germanic Languages and Literatures." *American Year Book*, pp. 891-893.

Litzenburg, Karl. See ENGLISH, Section x, s.v. Morris.

Nolte, Fred O. "German Literature and the Classics: A Bibliographical Guide." *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, xviii. 125-163.

Intended as "a practical means of orientation," this judiciously arranged guide-book lists ca. 800 book and article titles.

Palmblad, H. V. E. "Scandinavian Literature." *New Int. Year Book*, pp. 639-640.

Pochmann, H. A ; Price, L. M.; Morgan, B. Q.; Harrold, C. F.; Chamberlin, W. A. "Anglo-German Bibliography for 1933 and 1934." *JEGP*, xxxiv. 294-306.

Lists (1) ca. 100 titles of books and articles, published in this country and abroad, that deal with linguistic, literary, theatrical, educational, and cultural relations between the German- and English-speaking worlds; (2) ca. 100 "projects" and items of "research in progress," mainly in the literary field.

Sharp, Stanley L. "A Critical Study of the German Literature Read in the United States." *Stanford Univ. Abstracts of Dissertations 1933-34*, ix. 63-68.

Shuster, G. N. "German Literature." *New Int. Year Book*, pp. 265-268.

Zippermann, Charles C. *Eine Gottfried Keller Bibliographie: 1844-1934*. Zurich.

Mainly based on printed bibliographical sources, this book (227 pp.) is intended to present the complete material, including translations, school and shorthand editions, in ca. 1900 titles. The standpoint is international and non-critical.

## WORDS

By COLBERT SEARLES, President of the Association

THE germ of that which follows came into being many years ago in the days of my youth as a university instructor and assistant professor. It was generated by the then quite outspoken attitude of colleagues in the "exact sciences"; the sciences of which the subject-matter can be exactly weighed and measured and the force of its movements mathematically demonstrated. They assured us that the study of languages and literature had little or nothing scientific about it because: "It had no domain of concrete fact in which to work." Ergo, the scientific spirit was theirs by a stroke of "efficacious grace" as it were. Ours was at best only a kind of "sufficient grace," pleasant and even necessary to have, but which could, by no means ensure a reception among the elected.

Times have changed. The Jansenists of science have been largely silenced if not dispersed. So many new techniques, claiming fidelity to scientific principles, have crowded into the picture that there has arisen a general impression, if not an actual state, of scientific irreligion. It is a misfortune from which we suffer no doubt like all the rest.

It was of course naive to have been overawed, some thirty years ago, by the pretensions of our colleagues in the exact sciences. We had a science, a domain of concrete fact; it was philology, pioneer among modern sciences, and it was being cultivated with all the rigorous exactitude of which the human mind is capable. It is an ominous sign that the neophytes in our fraternity of scholars are showing an inclination to make detours around this, our fundamental science. One meets more and more frequently the argument that one interested in the literature of the last two or three centuries will derive no benefit from a study of the old language. This is clearly to forget, or to ignore, that the most vociferated claim of modern literature from Romanticism on, is that it produces extraordinary effects by taking advantage of the evocative power of the words employed. How can one hope to be able to grasp the image, the sensation, and the thought which a word is supposed to evoke, if one does not know its genealogy and the vicissitudes of usage through which it has passed and which have given it its evocative powers? But to appreciate all that, one needs to have had at least some training in philology, especially in so far as it applies to the derivation of words.

But philology has become a very complicated science. In doing the first thing that was to be done, it developed as tools of research two subsidiary sciences, Morphology and Phonology, until they have become complete sciences in themselves. The latter particularly bristles with laws and by-laws. These laws and by-laws teem with exceptions and special cases. Our



graduate students are no doubt sincere when they claim that they are crushed before they start; that where they looked for guidance in their explorations they have encountered an avalanche.

Recognizing the magnitude and the quality of what has been achieved, stressing the necessity of maintaining the rigid technical discipline acquired, may it be permitted an amateur in this field to question whether the time has not arrived to shift some of the stress being given to phonology and morphology to semantics, which has been hitherto largely a by-product of the other philological processes.

Semantics, in its present stage of development, does hardly more than indicate the stages by which an etymon arrives at the meaning expressed by the word of which it is the parent. The period covered extends only from the birth of words to their appearance in ancient texts. For the rest we are limited to dictionary definitions substantiated by a number of detached phrases taken from standard authors. We need to know the lives of words more completely and more intimately.

There are few histories more interesting than the histories of words. They come into being and pass through many adventures. They take on the traits of those who use them. They have their social ratings, their periods of elevation, and their periods of decline and fall. The physician-author of one of the oldest etymological dictionaries in the English language justified his apparent straying from his particular field of scientific interest on the ground that he saw in words the same humors that he had observed in his patients. Semantics actuated by the rigorous technique which obtains in the other branches of philology and animated with something of the humanistic curiosity manifested by the pioneer etymologist of nearly two hundred years ago, might well lead to a quickening of interest in a study which is so fundamentally important; it might serve as an attractive portal to a science whose approaches have become, to say the least, formidable. It could not fail to furnish invaluable assistance to those who make literature the object of their special study.

For it was of the study of literature that our colleagues of other days were thinking when they condoled our lack of concrete, measurable material upon which to work. Rendered slightly fanatical by their splendid enthusiasm for what real science was accomplishing and for what it seemed destined to accomplish, they were distrustful of all that was not concrete fact. To many of them, all that was not concrete fact was literature: an inundation of words. They assumed that we were spending our time in writing essays on the sweetness and light wrapped up in the essays, novels, and poems which we had constrained ourselves to read and elucidate.

The truth was that we were being infected with this scientific enthusiasm, this thirst for concrete fact. We were spending our days and nights, not in

writing euphonious essays, but in plowing through literature in an attempt to turn up the sources of what had been written. We were striving to fix the geographical locations of places named or alluded to in the works of writers of olden times, we were running down historical allusions and trying to estimate their authenticity; we were prying into the private lives of authors, investigating their heredity, their environment, their relations, their psychoses, forcing every closet to see that no skeleton should remain hidden.

No one would think of disparaging this activity in factual research, which came as a result of very genuine though perhaps exaggerated enthusiasm for bald and even naked facts. It brought to light an enormous mass of interesting and very often illuminating information; it sharpened historical and critical acumen; it not only revealed more fully the technique and the type of genius which had made possible the creation of old masterpieces of literary art, but it brought together elements out of which new techniques could arise, leading to the production of new and more diversified masterpieces. At the same time it can hardly be gainsaid that the effectiveness, or, if you will, the appeal of literature taken in and for itself was thereby impaired.

When one reads, even in translation, what is left of ancient Greek literature one marvels at the sensation of directness which the words convey. These words are more than symbols of things, thoughts, and sentiments: they *are* things, thoughts, and sentiments. The sense emanates from them, much as the tone of a violin in the hands of a virtuoso seems to hover in space, quite detached from the instrument and the artist. Is it not perhaps because we know so little of the Greek poet and the conditions under which he wrote? Take, for example, the line and a half from the *Bacchæ* of Euripides where the poet, speaking of Dionysius, says:

He giveth night that sinks the fretful day  
In cool forgetting.

Would we have the same instantaneous and grateful recognition that we find here, luminously expressed, a sensation that comes often into the experience of all who live? and should we feel to the same extent the divine fitness of those adjectives, "the *fretful* day," "cool forgetting," if our memory made us read them or think of them through a barrage of more than prosaic details about the private life of Euripides, his troubles with his landlord, with the censors, the actors and his amours? if we had to read him for example as we can hardly escape reading *Le Misanthrope* of Molière?

The ancients indeed seem to have had very little curiosity in regard to the private life, the personality, or even the moral qualities of their poets.

Perhaps believing that the poet is privileged to hold intercourse with the gods, they fancied that such distinguished persons should be treated with discretion and respect. Perhaps they were satisfied with merely enjoying truth and beauty, cast in artistic word-patterns, and did not care to grub in the soil out of which these fine things came. The progress of modern civilization has, no doubt, made forever impossible the recurrence or even the imitation of such simplicity.

And yet the study of language and literature is still classified as one of the humanities, a term which, according to Webster, is used to designate the "branches of polite learning." It is at all events a study which deals with human phenomena, and it should be feasible to preserve one's scientific attitude and still treat human phenomena in a human way. Poets and writers in general are made of the same stuff that those who study them are made of; the only difference is that the former generally see things more quickly and more clearly, feel them more keenly and express them in words which are better chosen and more skilfully arranged. The fact that they become famous and die hardly abolishes the privilege of treating them as one gentleman treats another. It is significant as well as pathetic that a poet like Burns should feel called upon to plead for the tolerant consideration that most men spontaneously accord to each other:

One point must still be greatly 'dark  
 The moving why they do it,  
 And just as lamely can ye mark  
 How far perhaps they rue it.  
 . . . . .  
 Then at the balance let's be mute  
 We never can adjust it,  
 What's done we partly may compute  
 But know not what's resisted.

It is still more significant that so distinguished and judicious a man of letters as Wordsworth should have protested against indiscriminate prying with the lives of authors, not out of consideration for them, but in the interests of literature itself. A then recent biography of Burns which devoted much attention to the moral lapses of the poet was the occasion for Wordsworth's pronouncement upon this point. "Assuredly," he wrote, "there is no cause why the lives of that class of men should be pried into with the same diligent curiosity, and laid open with the same disregard of reserve, which may sometimes be expedient in composing the history of men who have borne an active part in the world." Speaking specifically of Burns, he goes on to say:

Neither the subjects of his poems, nor his manner of handling them, allow us long to forget their author. On the basis of his human character he has reared a poetic

one, which with more or less distinctness presents itself to view in almost every part of his earlier, and, in my estimation, his most valuable verses. This poetic fabric, dug out of the quarry of genuine humanity, is airy and spiritual.—and although the materials, in some parts, are coarse, and the disposition is often fantastic and irregular, yet the whole is agreeable and strikingly attractive. Plague, then, upon your remorseless hunters after matter of fact (who, after all, rank among the blindest of human beings) when they would convince you that the foundations of this admirable edifice are hollow, and that its frame is unsound! Granting that all which has been raked up to the prejudice of Burns were literally true; and that it added, which it does not, to our better understanding of human nature and human life . . . how poor would have been the deduction made by this extrinsic knowledge, from the intrinsic efficacy of his poetry—to please, and to instruct . . .

Then, by way of general conclusion Wordsworth adds:

Our business is with their books,—to understand and to enjoy them. And, of poets more especially, is it true—that if their works be good, they contain within themselves all that is necessary to their being comprehended and relished.<sup>1</sup>

It may be said that this contention of Wordsworth applies rather to readers than to students, teachers, historians, and interpreters of literature. But does it? Students of literature have only an incidental interest in what an author was, their principal concern is with what he has done, and the way in which he has done it. In so far as his work can be narrowed down to a presentation of thoughts and feelings peculiar to himself, it is a thing of very little importance. It appeals only to the type of mind for which the recent “confession” magazines have been invented. For all except the pettily or morbidly curious, the real interest lies in the effectiveness with which the poet has portrayed in words human traits which are characteristic not only of himself but of his contemporaries and of all humanity.

Literature in sum is chosen reality: for fiction and the stuff dreams are made of, as well as matters of fact, are reality to him who writes literature. It is the element of choice which differentiates literature from the daily newspaper which prints everything fit to print and somewhat more. The student of literature is concerned with what his author has chosen to present. The public has decided or will decide, whether the choice be good or bad, whether it is, or is not, representative of humanity. The problem then is to determine to what extent and by what art of presentation this chosen reality has stirred the heart, kindled the imagination, and affected the thought and action of men at a given moment and during a more or less extended period. There would be little reason, for example, to occupy one's self with the ideas and personal details offered by Jean Jacques Rous-

<sup>1</sup> *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth* (London, 1876), II, 11 ff.

seau, if they merely served to justify his claim that he was "made like no one of those who exist." If the claim be true or false, what of it? It would be at best a problem for a pathologist. But that there should have been in what he chose to say, and in his way of saying it, a certain "vibration," as *Lemaitre* puts it, which enabled his books while he yet lived to "deflect the life of a people to which he did not belong," and to "transform a literature and a history" that came after him, that is a prodigious literary phenomenon worthy of almost endless investigation.

Literary art, the art of selecting and arranging words, is then often much more important than the subject-matter. It has many rules and precepts which may or may not be followed. But its efficacy depends upon the one fundamental principle so admirably suggested by *Montaigne* in his *Essay* "On some verses of *Virgil*": "When I see these brave forms of expressing one's self, so vivid, so profound, I do not say 'Tis fine speaking'; I say 'Tis fine thinking'." Now, the peculiar characteristic of this "fine thinking" is that it is a perfectly normal, human process, for it is thinking in terms of common sense, upon matters of universal experience, by men who were not at all professional historians, nor systematic philosophers, nor trained psychologists. Creators of literature have, to be sure, sometimes penetrated by sheer force of intuition more deeply than the specially trained into scientific phases of the subject matter being treated. *Doestoevsky*, for example, is credited by *Dr. Collins* with having seen more clearly in abnormal psychology than the abnormal psychologists of his time. Nevertheless, *Doestoevsky* was preëminently a man of letters, a novelist, perhaps unconscious that he was even an amateur in a field of research which his novels exemplified and illuminated. Students, teachers, and interpreters of literature are, like those whose works they investigate, laymen in all that does not pertain to the understanding or the creation of literature. It is obviously dangerous to try to introduce a smattering, or an impression, of the technique which is requisite in other sciences into a type of research, which in the long run must succeed or fail in producing enduring results as a consequence of procedures more or less peculiar to itself.

It is of course indispensable to have the authentic text of an author's work and extremely desirable to know the essential facts of his life in so far as they affect his right to be considered a representative of a race, of a time, and of a social milieu. It is essential to know the order in which the author's works appeared, and something of the reception accorded them by the public of his time, if one would trace the evolution in the "fine thinking" by which the author transformed his sense of reality into accepted literature. When a literary work owes its genesis to some special event or to some special motive, one needs to know that special event and that special motive but always with reference to the work produced. For the work

of an author, taken in its entirety, *is* the author as far as we are concerned. The object of our researches is to discover whether the material which he presents comes from the quarry of universal humanity and how it is made into the poetic fabric of which Wordsworth speaks.

To exhume non-essential elements, to seek sources of inconsequential details, merely to find sources; to exhume even essential elements without reference to the structure to which they belong, is hardly more than an effort of well-intentioned *Sammelleiß*. It serves, as often as not, to clutter up rather than make clear that which is being investigated. To project one's self by the exercise of amateurish psychiatry into the life of a writer or into the work which he has created is one of the most vicious of modern pseudoscientific vices. The study of a source or of an "influence," to use a much abused term, has its *raison d'être* only when it is undertaken in the reasonable hope of discovering some persistent thought or feeling which forms a part of the mental and spiritual life of an individual, a society, a nation, or a race, and which endures and changes as does life itself.<sup>2</sup>

The professor of language and literature is not merely a student and interpreter of literature. He is, in most cases by his personal tastes, in all cases by his self interest, a promoter of literature. He is striving to create a demand for the object of his labors. Many literary works have held a high place in the minds and hearts of men in spite of academic promoters. Their assistance alone has never been able to give a long existence to a work of art. Their function then is to facilitate the appreciation of that which they investigate. Dr. Schutze, in his recent book entitled *Academic Illusions*,<sup>3</sup> has made a statement which would have brought us no little comfort some thirty years ago:

It is no more essential, to agree in "liking" or "disliking" a poem or a picture than in liking or disliking a chemical experiment or a mathematical demonstration. It is necessary in the first place only to know specifically in each case the essential elements of the structure and the directions, proportions and weights or degrees of force of their integral values. It matters, in other words, to understand. The proper understanding of poetry and art requires the highest mental powers of discernment, generalization and order.

That is to say, I take it, that if fine thinking dominates in one who creates what is accepted as literature, then fine thinking is necessary on the part of one who would understand it and still more on the part of one who would explain it. It is neither scientific nor reasonable to treat a piece of literature as if it were a chemical compound. The one is an inert mass, the

<sup>2</sup> Cf., Ellsworth Barnard, *Shelley's Religion*, an unpublished Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1935, Introduction, p. xx.

<sup>3</sup> The University of Chicago Press, 1933, p. 215.

other a product into which have entered the thoughts, the ideas, the sentiments, and the sensations of very human beings. It is the peculiarity of our type of research that, in it, matters of fact may be very treacherous things. Because of their connection with personalities, they carry with them a nimbus which blurs their outline, distorts their shape, and magnifies or diminishes their stature. We can rarely say that one and one make two, for we rarely have one and one. We deal with almost constant variables as far as thoughts and feelings are concerned and they are major components of the substance which we treat. These thoughts and feelings are as complicated and mysterious as the ultimate laws of chemistry and physics. But we have, to study them, units which are perhaps as tangible as the atoms and ions of the chemist and physicist. The words which enter into the composition of ideas are our atoms and ions. A patient study of usage can come very near to establishing their "integral value" at a given moment. Grammar and rhetoric, directed by clear thinking, enable us to calculate their "directions, proportions and weights or degrees of force." The most essential object of the study of literature is to make clear the power of words put in their place.

The year upon which we are about to enter marks the tercentenary of the founding of the French Academy. No one can deny that the French Academy, by insisting upon the quality of words, by holding up a standard of literary art and literary discipline, has contributed greatly to the intellectual culture of France. No American corps of scholars is better placed than the Modern Language Association of America to realize a similar destiny.

## REPORTS

### SECRETARY'S REPORT

The Secretary submits as his formal report the following seven items:

1. The Supplement of 1934 and the four quarterly issues of *PMLA*, 1935, including the Acts of the Executive Council.
2. Three books published by the Association in 1935:

Monograph No. V. *The Real War of the Theaters*. By Robert Boies Sharpe;  
Monograph No. VI. *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*. By Charlotte D'Evelyn;  
General Series. *The Sublime: a Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England*. By Samuel Holt Monk.

3. Three books to be published by the Association in 1936:

General Series. *Volkssprache und Wortschatz des badischen Frankenlandes*. By Edwin Carl Roedder;

Revolving Fund Series No. VI. *Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England*. By Robert A. Aubin;

*An Index to PMLA*, Vols. I-L.

4. Aid extended toward the publication of three other books:

*The Syntax of Castilian Prose, XVI Century*. By Hayward Keniston;

*The History of French Dramatic Literature, Part III*. By H. Carrington Lancaster;

*Widsith*. By Kemp Malone.

5. Grants from the Research Fund to print *The Arthurian Bibliography*, Part II, and to assist in preparation of *The Originals and Analogues of the "Canterbury Tales."*

6. Membership in the Association totalling 3,714 (in 1934, 3,828). Of these 392 are life members.

7. Grants received by the Association, totaling \$9,975, as follows:

From the American Philosophical Society, \$3,000 to aid in preparation of the *Variorum Shakespeare*.

From the American Council of Learned Societies, \$200 toward the expenses of the Committee on Research Activities, \$5,275 in aid of publication, and \$1,500 for the extension of the M.L.A. Rotograph Service.

Certain events of the year call for particular mention.

During 1935 the Association has sustained the loss by death of 26 members, and of one honorary member, Antoine Thomas of the University of Paris. Among the members two, T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, and Hermann Collitz, of the Johns Hopkins University, had been presidents of the Association. Others whose services to the Association had been of especial distinction are Earle Brownell Babcock and B. Sprague



Allen, of New York University, Charles Sears Baldwin, of Columbia University, Charles Read Baskervill and Starr W. Cutting, of the University of Chicago, and R. E. Neil Dodge, of the University of Wisconsin.

Our losses in other respects have been less severe. The resignations in 1934 totalled 147; this year there were only 79. On January 1, 1935, the number dropped for arrears was 241; tomorrow it cannot exceed 169. The number of new memberships was then 151; today it is 279. The prospective membership tomorrow is therefore 3,814, as against 3,722 last year.

The geographical distribution of the 1935 membership is displayed in the following table.

(27 December)	1929	1932	1935
New England States	569	639	580
Middle Atlantic States	1086	1307	1211
Southern States	522	627	533
Middle Western States	951	1179	983
Far Western States	427	332	312
Island Possessions	3	3	6
Dominion of Canada	61	54	42
Central and South America	2	1	1
Europe	34	26	37
Asia	6	6	8
Africa	—	—	1
	3661	4174	3714

The Association has been represented at the following occasions:

At the centenary of Marietta College, by Professor John W. Draper of West Virginia University.

At the Fiftieth Anniversary of Bryn Mawr College, by Professor E. C. Armstrong of Princeton University.

At the inauguration of President William S. A. Pott of Elmira College, by Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell University.

At the inauguration of President J. Hillis Miller of Keuka College, by Professor Clark S. Northup of Cornell University.

At the inauguration of President Alan Valentine of the University of Rochester, by Professor Horace A. Eaton of Syracuse University.

At the inauguration of President John A. Schaeffer of Franklin and Marshall College, by Professor Norman L. Torrey of Swarthmore College.

As Chairman of the Program Committee, the Secretary reports that the Executive Council has accepted for our meeting in 1936 a joint invitation by the College of William and Mary and the University of Richmond. The South Atlantic Modern Language Association has accepted our invitation to meet there with us.

As Chairman of the Editorial Committee, the Secretary reports that the March number has gone to the printers and that all accepted papers have been prepared for printing. The departmental distribution of the *PMLA* for 1935 is: Germanic, 8 articles, 103 pages, Romance, 12 articles, 272 pages; English, 57 articles, 822 pages—closely corresponding to the percentage of papers submitted. At the Executive Offices or undergoing revision there remains a stock of 71 accepted articles: German 9, Romance 14, English 48—somewhat more than enough to fill *PMLA* for 1936. In 1935 the rejections total 81 articles and notes: Germanic 12; Romance 19; English 50. Under revision for reconsideration are 19 other articles—chiefly English. Received too recently for report by the Editorial Committee there are also 42 articles: Germanic 6; Romance 11, English 25. Though two-thirds of the 213 articles here recorded are in the field of English, the Editor has made in the March number a distribution of three articles in Germanic, six in Romance, and nine in English. A questionnaire sent to life members revealed that all the articles printed in 1934 were widely read and that these members have a reading average of 15 articles. The Style Sheet has been revised and enlarged, it is now available. An index to Volumes I-L has been prepared by a staff of 33 specialists covering their respective fields. The copy has been assembled and is ready for editing.

The administrative work of 1935 has been greatly benefited by the active coöperation of the various Committees and the officers of Sections and Groups, by the labors of our Index staff, and by the ever helpful guidance of our First Vice-President, Professor Carlton Brown.

### TREASURER'S REPORT

#### SUMMARY OF FUNDS FOR 1935

	Dec. 26, 1935	Dec. 26, 1934	Increase
General Funds			
Permanent Fund:			
Investments . . . . .	\$44,775.50	\$44,338.00	\$ 437.50
Cash . . . . .	620.37	565.74	54 63
Current Account—Cash . . . . .	1,321.49	15.76	1,305.73
Total . . . . .	\$46,717.36	\$44,919.50	\$1,797.86
Monograph Funds:			
Endowment Fund:			
Investments . . . . .	\$20,952.38	\$21,252.38	\$ 300.00*
Cash . . . . .	387.33	87.33	300.00
Current Account—Cash.. . . .	2,949.52	3,950.12	1,000.60*
Total . . . . .	\$24,289.23	\$25,289.83	\$1,000.60*

Research Funds:

Endowment Fund Investments	\$ 9,943.61	\$ 9,943.61	
Current Account—Cash	418.60	329.66	\$ 88.94
Total	\$10,362.21	\$10,273.27	\$ 88.94
Emergency Fund—Cash	\$ 52.04	\$ 1,116.42	\$1,064.38*
Revolving Book Fund—Cash	45.78	19.92	25.86
Rotograph Fund—Cash	6,293.15	6,450.68	157.53*
Variorum Shakespeare—Cash	3,946.11	1,147.56	2,798.55
Joint Photostat Service—Cash	180.28	339.08	158.80*
Committee on Research Activities—Cash	69.81		69.81
General Book Fund—Cash	4,047.80		4,047.80
Total	\$96,003.77	\$89,556.26	\$6,447.51

\* Decrease

A. CURRENT ACCOUNT

BALANCE, December 27, 1934 \$ 15.76

RECEIPTS:

Membership dues.

Life memberships	\$ 549.38	
Prior years . .	1,414.73	
The year 1935	13,177.49	
Paid in advance	1,498.98	\$16,640.58

Library subscriptions:

Volume XLIX	\$ 157.50	
Volume L	838.49	
Volume LI	832.49	1,828.48

Sale of Advertising Space 1,085.98

Interest from Investments:

Permanent Fund (less service charges \$76.48)	\$ 1,617.94	
Monograph Endowment Fund	1,078.57	
Research Fund.	276.12	2,972.63

Sales:

PMLA.	\$ 612.70	
Reprints . .	75.87	
Arthurian Bibliography	4.29	
Monographs.	8.40	
General Series Books.	35.45	736.71

## Collections for others:

Societies .	\$ 603.75	
University Presses—sales	7.25	611.00

## Miscellaneous:

Contribution to Rotograph Fund	\$ 25.00	
Excess corrections	32.66	
Administration of Joint Photostat Fund	200.00	
Sundry...	278.37	536.03

Total Receipts \$24,411.41

Total.. \$24,427.17

*DISBURSEMENTS:*

## Administrative expenses:

## Salaries:

Secretary and Editor .	\$ 4,000.00
Treasurer... .	2,000.00
Clerical staff. .	2,731.00

Total salaries \$ 8,731.00

Printing... .	459.21	
Postage and Telegraph	1,264.57	
Supplies and Express...	252.18	\$10,706.96

Quarterly *PMLA* (four numbers and Supplement) 8,292.95

## Miscellaneous expenses:

Annual meeting—circular and program .	\$ 611.32	
Committee expenses	186.91	
Auditing .	185.00	
Insurance and bonding. .	40.15	
American Council of Learned Societies .	75.00	
American Council on Education. .	20.00	
Refunds and exchange.	19.37	
Sundry.. .	191.98	1,329.73

## Collections remitted to others:

Societies.. . . .	\$ 603.75	
University Presses. . . . .	7.25	611.00

## Funds transferred:

Life Memberships to LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee .... .	\$ 492.13
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## Interest from investments:

Monograph Fund...	1,078.57
Research Fund..... .	276.12

Sales:

Emergency Fund—40% of sales of <i>PMLA</i>	245.08	
Research Current Account — Arthurian Bibliography . . . .	4.29	
Monograph Account—Monographs . . .	8.40	
General Book Fund—General Series Books	35.45	
Contribution to Rotograph Fund . . . . .	25.00	2,165 04

Total disbursements. . . . . \$23,105.68

*BALANCE*, December 26, 1935 . . . . . \$ 1,321.49

Notes Balance due from Revolving Book Fund for advances made in prior years remaining uncollected 12/26/1935—\$1,350 00.

Charges for advertising space amounting to \$161 00 and other receivables amounting to \$204 04 remained uncollected at December 26, 1935.

Bills amounting to \$1,639.21 remain unpaid at December 26, 1935.

B. MONOGRAPH ACCOUNT

*BALANCE*, December 27, 1934. . . . . \$ 3,950.12

*RECEIPTS*:

Interest on investments—Transferred from Current Account..	\$ 1,078.57	
Interest on bank balance. . . . .	83.21	
Sales of monographs. . . . .	146.64	
Excess corrections. . . . .	104.71	1,413.13

Total. . . . . \$ 5,363.25

*DISBURSEMENTS*:

Cost of producing Sharpe's "Real War" . . . . .	\$ 1,021.13	
Cost of producing D'Evelyn's "Peter Idley". . . . .	1,392.60	2,413.73

*BALANCE*, Under control of Treasurer, December 26, 1935 . . . . . \$ 2,949.52

Note: Receivables amounting to \$29.37 remain uncollected at December 26, 1935.

C. RESEARCH CURRENT ACCOUNT

*BALANCE*, December 27, 1934. . . . . \$ 329.66

*RECEIPTS*:

Interest on investments—Transferred from Current Account..	\$ 276.12	
Interest on bank balance. . . . .	4.50	
Sales of "Arthurian Bibliography". . . . .	4.29	284.91

Total. . . . . \$ 614.57

*DISBURSEMENTS*:

Printing of questionnaire. . . . .	\$ 132.28	
Purchase of rotographs. . . . .	63.69	195.97

*BALANCE*, Under control of Treasurer, December 26, 1935. . . . . \$ 418.60

Note: Receivables amounting to \$1.34 remain uncollected at December 26, 1935.

## D EMERGENCY FUND

*BALANCE*, December 27, 1934 \$ 1,116.42

*RECEIPTS:*

Interest on bank balance	\$ 15.39	
40% of office sales of <i>PMLA</i> —Transferred from Current Account	245.08	260 47
Total		\$ 1,376.89

*DISBURSEMENTS:*

Cost of reproducing seven numbers of <i>PMLA</i>	\$ 1,324.85
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*BALANCE*, Under control of Treasurer, December 26, 1935 \$ 52 04

## E. REVOLVING BOOK FUND

*BALANCE*, December 27, 1934 \$ 19.92

*RECEIPTS:*

Interest on bank balance.	\$ .56	
Sales of books.	25.30	25.86

*BALANCE*, Under control of Treasurer, December 26, 1935 \$ 45.78

Note: Advances by the Current Account made in prior years amounting to \$1,350.00 remain unpaid at December 26, 1935.

## F. ROTOGRAPH FUND

*BALANCE*, December 27, 1934 \$ 6,450.68

*RECEIPTS*

Contributions .	\$ 1,425 00	
Interest on bank balance	90 36	1,515.36
Total .		\$ 7,966.04

*DISBURSEMENTS:*

Purchase of rotographs .	\$ 1,329.21	
Joint Photostat Service	160 88	
Postage, printing and clerical	182.80	1,672.89

*BALANCE*, Under control of Treasurer, December 26, 1935 \$ 6,293.15

## G. VARIORUM SHAKESPEARE

*BALANCE*, December 27, 1934 \$ 1,147.56

*RECEIPTS:*

Interest on bank balance.	\$ 45.50	
Grants from the Philosophical Society	4,750.00	4,795.50
Total.....		\$ 5,943.06

*DISBURSEMENTS:*

Nine installments to editors	\$ 1,636.80	
Editorial assistance	221.00	
Purchase of rotographs	139.15	1,996.95

*BALANCE*, Under control of Treasurer, December 26, 1935. . . . . \$ 3,946.11

H. JOINT PHOTOSTAT SERVICE

*BALANCE*, December 27, 1934. . . . . \$ 339 08

*RECEIPTS:*

Grants from A.C.L.S.	\$ 1,500 00	
Interest on bank balance	4.07	
Refund from Rotograph Fund	160.88	1,664.95
Total.		\$ 2,004.03

*DISBURSEMENTS:*

Purchase	\$ 1,623.75	
Administration of Fund.	200.00	1,823.75

*BALANCE*, Under control of Treasurer, December 26, 1935 . . . . . \$ 180.28

I. COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

*RECEIPTS:*

Grant from the A.C.L.S. . . . .	\$ 200.00	
Interest on bank balance	.80	
Total. .		\$ 200.85

*DISBURSEMENTS:*

Expenses of committee meeting. . .		131.04
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*BALANCE*, Under control of Treasurer, December 26, 1935. . . . . \$ 69.81

J. GENERAL BOOK FUND

*RECEIPTS:*

Grants from the A.C.L.S. . . . .	\$ 4,900.00	
Interest on bank balance. .	13.80	
Sales of books. . . . .	47.95	
Total. . . . .		\$ 4,961.75

*DISBURSEMENTS:*

Cost of producing Monk's "Sublime" . . . . .		913.94
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*BALANCE*, Under control of Treasurer, December 26, 1935 . . . . . \$ 4,047.80

ACCOUNTANTS' CERTIFICATE

*Executive Council of The Modern Language Association of America.*

We have made an examination of the records of cash receipts and disbursements of your Treasurer in charge of current funds of the Association for the period from December 27, 1934, to December 26, 1935, inclusive, and in our opinion the accompanying Exhibits A to J, inclusive, set forth the Treasurer's cash receipts during the period as recorded, his disbursements during the period, and the cash balances in the respective funds under his control at December 26, 1935.

New York, January 17, 1936

HASKINS & SELLS  
Certified Public Accountants

## TRUSTEES' REPORT

## K. PERMANENT FUND

## SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK

Par Value		Book Value
\$ 9,000.	National Dairy Products Corporation 5½% Gold Debenture Bonds, due February 1, 1948, int. payable Feb. 1 and Aug. 1.	\$ 8,797.50
8,000.	Western Pacific Railroad Company 5% Gold Bonds, Series A, due March 1, 1946, int. payable March 1 and Sept. 1.	7,976.00
7,000.	Purity Bakeries Corporation Sinking Fund 5% Gold Debenture Bonds, due Jan. 1, 1948, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1.	6,576.50
4,000.	Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corporation Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds, Series A, due July 1, 1968, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1.	4,034.75
3,000.	Municipal Service Real Estate Company, Inc., 5½% Bonds, due April 1, 1938, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1.	3,000.00
3,000.	Shell Union Oil Corporation Sinking Fund 5% Gold Debenture Bonds, due May 1, 1947, int. payable May 1 and Nov. 1.	2,904.75
2,300.	United States of America 1½% Treasury Notes, due March 15, 1940, int. payable March 15 and Sept. 15 (Taken in exchange for United States of America First Liberty Loan 3½% Bonds, due June 15, 1947).	2,291.00
2,000.	Equitable Office Building Corporation 35-Year Debenture Sinking Fund 5% Bonds, due May 1, 1952, int. payable May 1 and Nov. 1.	1,720.00
2,000.	Missouri Pacific Railroad Company General Mortgage 4% Gold Bonds, due March 1, 1975, int. payable March 1 and Sept. 1.	1,575.00
1,400.	Prudence Company 5½% Gold Bonds, due May 1, 1961, int. payable May 1 and Nov. 1.	1,065.00
1,000.	International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation 25-Year 5% Gold Debenture Bond, due Feb. 1, 1955, int. payable Feb. 1 and Aug. 1.	972.50
1,000.	Socony-Vacuum Company Debenture 3½% Bond, due 1950, int. payable April 15 and Oct. 15.	1,037.50
1,000.	Prudence First Mortgage Certificate 5½%, due Oct. 1, 1932, being participation in Bond and Mortgage made by Langham Hotel Corporation, being premises on west side of Central Park West from 73rd Street to West 74th Street, New York, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1.	1,000.00
1,000.	United States of America Treasury 3½% Bond, due June 15, 1949/46, int. payable June 15 and Dec. 15.	982.50
875.	Realty Associates Securities Corporation guaranteed Sinking Fund 5% Gold Bond, due Oct. 1, 1943, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1.	842.50
<u>\$46,575.</u>		<u>\$44,775.50</u>

## RECEIPTS:

	Principal	Income
Balance carried forward from 1934 report.....	\$ 565.74	
From the Treasurer—Life Membership payments.....	492.13	
From the United States Trust Co. of New York:		
Payment of \$250 per \$1,000 principal of Prudence Co. 5½% Gold Bonds.....	500.00	



Payment of \$50 per \$1,000 principal of Prudence Co. 5½% Gold Bonds.....	100.00
Income on Investments (1935)—\$1,626.45—	
National Dairy Products 5½% Bonds.	\$ 472.50
Purity Bakeries Corp 5% Debenture Bonds	350.00
Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. 6% Gold Bonds	240.00
Municipal Service Real Estate Co. 5½% Bonds...	165.00
Shell Union Oil Sinking Fund 5% Bonds ..	150.00
Equitable Office Building Debenture 5% Bonds.	100.00
International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. 5% Bond	50.00
United States of America 1½% Treasury Notes. .	49.59
United States of America 3½% Treasury Notes	31.25
Realty Associates Securities 5% Bond..	18.11
1934 income received during 1935—\$74	
Prudence Company 5½% Bonds	74.00

<u>\$1,657.87</u>	<u>\$1,700.45</u>
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DISBURSEMENTS:

	Principal	Income
To the Treasurer:		
Income on investments....		\$1,617.94
To the United States Trust Company of New York:		
For the purchase of \$1,000 Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, Inc., 3½% Debenture Bond, due Oct. 15, 1950, at 103½ net...	\$1,037.50	
Accrued interest on above.. . . . .		6.03
For services rendered in safekeeping of securities, collection of income, etc., for Permanent Fund, Monograph Endowment Fund and Research Fund (their charge being 2½% of the income collected)...		76.48
	<u>\$1,037.50</u>	<u>\$1,700.45</u>
Total Receipts....	\$1,657.87	\$1,700.45
Total Disbursements.. . . . .	<u>1,037.50</u>	<u>1,700.45</u>
Cash balance on deposit with United States Trust Company of New York.....	\$ 620.37	

L. MONOGRAPH ENDOWMENT FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK

Par Value		Book Value
\$11,000.	National Dairy Products Corporation 5½% Gold Debenture Bonds, due Feb. 1, 1948, int. payable Feb. 1 and Aug. 1.	\$10,677.50
2,000.	United States of American Treasury 3½% Bonds, due 1947/43, int. payable June 15 and Dec. 15.	1,990.00
2,000.	Electric Power and Light Corporation 5% Debenture Bonds, due Feb. 1, 2030, int. payable Feb. 1 and Aug. 1.	1,855.00
1,400.	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Company 5½% Mortgage Certificate participating in \$45,000 Bond and Mortgage of Wolcott Holding Corp., secured by property 36-06-31st Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y., due Dec. 1, 1932, int. payable June 1 and Dec. 1.	1,400.00

1,000.	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 4½% Mortgage Certificate participating in \$100,000 Bond and Mortgage of Krim-Far Realty Corp., secured by property on S. W. corner of Ave. Y and East 19th St., Brooklyn, N. Y., due August 15, 1938, int. payable Feb., May, Aug. and Nov.	1,000.00
1,000.	International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. 25-Year 5% Gold Debenture Bond, due Feb. 1, 1955, int. payable Feb. 1 and Aug. 1.	972.50
1,000.	Purity Bakeries Corp. Sinking Fund 5% Gold Debenture Bond, due Jan. 1, 1948, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1.	952.50
1,000.	Equitable Office Building Corp. 35-Year Debenture Sinking Fund 5% Bond, due May 1, 1952, int. payable May 1 and Nov. 1.	865.00
700.	Prudence Co. 5½% Gold Bond, due May 1, 1961, int. payable May 1, 1961, int. payable May 1 and Nov. 1.	545.00
600.	Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds, Series A, due July 1, 1968, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1.	596.00
100.	United States of America 1½% Treasury Note, due March 15, 1940, int. payable March 15 and Sept. 15 (Taken in exchange for United States of America First Liberty 3½% Bond, due June 15, 1947).	98.88
<u>\$21,800.</u>		<u>\$20,952.38</u>

**RECEIPTS:**

	Principal	Income
Balance carried forward from 1934 report	.. \$ 87.33	
From the United States Trust Company of New York:		
Payment of \$250 per \$1,000 principal of Prudence Co. 5½% Gold Bond.	250.00	
Payment of \$50 per \$1,000 principal of Prudence Co. 5½% Gold Bond.	50.00	
Income on investments—\$974.39—		
National Dairy Products Corp. 5½% Bonds		\$ 577.50
Electric Power and Light 5% Debenture Bonds		100.00
United States of America 3½% Bonds		67.50
Equitable Office Building Corp. Debenture 5% Bond		50.00
International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. 5% Bond		50.00
Purity Bakeries Corp. 5% Gold Debenture Bond		50.00
Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 4½% Mortgage of Krim-Far Realty Corp.		41.24
Brooklyn Manhattan Transit 6% Gold Bonds		36.00
United States of America 1½% Treasury Notes		2.15
1934 income received during 1935—\$69.48—		
Prudence Company 5½% Bonds		37.00
Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 4½% Mortgage of Krim-Far Realty Corp.		32.48
1933 income received during 1935—\$34.70—		
Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% Mortgage of Wolcott Holding Corp.		34.70
	<u>\$ 387.33</u>	<u>\$1,078.57</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

	Principal	Income
To the Treasurer, income on investments... ..		\$1,078.57
Total Receipts..	\$ 387.33	\$1,078.57
Total Disbursements		1,078 57
Cash balance on deposit with United States Trust Company of New York.. . . . .	\$ 387.33	

M. RESEARCH FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSITS WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK

Par Value		Book Value
\$ 4,000.	United States of America Treasury 3½% Bonds, due June 15, 1949/46, int. payable June 15 and Dec. 15.	\$ 3,912 50
3,700.	United States of America 1½% Treasury Notes, due March 15, 1940, int. payable March 15 and Sept 15 (Taken in exchange for United States of America First Liberty Loan 3½% Bonds, due June 15, 1947).	3,683.69
2,000.	United States of America Treasury 3% Bonds, due 1951/55, int. payable March 15 and Sept 15	1,934.38
400.	United States of America 2½% Treasury Notes, due March 15, 1960, int. payable March 15 and Sept. 15 (Taken in exchange for United States of America First Liberty Loan 4½% Bonds, due June 15, 1947/32).	413.04
<u>\$10,100.</u>		<u>\$ 9,943.61</u>

RECEIPTS:

	Principal	Income
From the United States Trust Company of New York:		
Income on investments—\$276 12—		
United States of America 3½% Treasury Bonds.....		\$ 125.00
United States of America 1½% Treasury Notes.		79.78
United States of America Treasury 3% Bonds		60 00
United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds. .		11.34
		<u>\$ 276 12</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

To the Treasurer, income on investments.....	\$ 275.12
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Respectfully submitted,

LEROY E. KIMBALL

GEORGE H. NETTLETON

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

Trustees

ACCOUNTANTS' CERTIFICATE

Executive Council of The Modern Language Association of America

We have made an examination of the accounts of the Trustees in charge of the permanent funds of your Association for the period from December 27, 1934, to December 26, 1935, inclusive, and in our opinion the accompanying Exhibits K to M, inclusive, set forth the Trustees' cash receipts during the period as recorded, their disbursements during the period, and the securities and cash in the respective funds under their control at December 26, 1935.

New York, January 17, 1936

HASKINS & SELLS  
Certified Public Accountants

## REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The Auditing Committee met in the office of the Treasurer at New York University on the afternoon of Friday, December 27th, 1935. The accounts and reports of the Treasurer were examined by the Committee and were found correct and so certified. We take pleasure in adding that the work of the Committee was facilitated by the thorough and capable manner in which the accounts of the Treasurer have been kept and presented.

Respectfully submitted by the Committee.

E. H. WRIGHT, *Chairman*

FELIX WEILL

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ROTOGRAPHS OF  
MANUSCRIPTS AND RARE PRINTED BOOKS

By Professor COLBERT SEARLES *Co-Chairman*

Fifty-eight Colleges, Public Libraries, and Universities have contributed to the support of the Rotograph Service of the Modern Language Association of America during the past year, 1935.

Amherst College	University of New Mexico
Brooklyn College	College of the City of New York
Brown University	New York Public Library
Bryn Mawr College	New York University
University of Buffalo	Northwestern University
University of California (Berkeley)	University of Notre Dame
University of Chicago	Oberlin College Library
University of Cincinnati	Ohio State University
Columbia University	University of Oklahoma
Connecticut College for Women	University of Pennsylvania
Cornell University	Princeton University
Dartmouth College	University of Rochester
University of Delaware	Rosary College
Duke University	Saint Louis University
Fordham University	Smith College
Gettysburg College	Stanford University
Goucher College	Swarthmore College
Harvard University	Syracuse University
Haverford College	Texas Technological Institute
Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery	University of Texas
Howard University	University of Toronto
Indiana University	University of Vermont
State University of Iowa	University of Virginia
University of Kansas	University of Washington
University of Michigan	Wesleyan University
University of Minnesota	Western Reserve University
University of Montreal	Williams College
Mount Holyoke College	University of Wisconsin
Newberry Library	Yale University

We have been able to grant all well-grounded requests for reproductions during the last three years by drawing, not heavily, but steadily, upon the surplus which was accumulated in more prosperous times. In order to meet the constantly increasing demands made upon us we shall need in the near future to acquire at least twenty or thirty more subscribers to this enterprise.

## REPORT ON THE PURCHASE OF ROTOGRAPHS

By Professor NORMAN L. TORREY, *Co-Chairman*

The reports of this committee have been traditionally sad, which is not entirely explainable by the well-known melancholia of my Co-Chairman. This year we have one unmitigated tragedy to report; namely, the loss of Professor Bullock, who served your committee most competently and tactfully and patiently over a period of years. The crowning achievement of his régime was the publication of the corrected Short Title List, with its two indispensable indices.

Since the printing of that list, twenty-two items have been added; also twelve additional titles, purchased in conjunction with the Mediaeval Academy and the Philological Society, and paid for from funds generously provided by the A.C.L.S. The 4,163 sheets chargeable this year to our own fund shows a considerable falling off from last year's figures. However, the large number of orders outstanding and a recent deluge of applications prove this decrease to be a fluctuation and not a tendency.

Your committee is deeply indebted to the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress: to its chief, Dr. J. F. Jameson, who carefully checks the items and prepares the catalogue cards, and to Mr. J. P. Martin, whose technical skill and knowledge of the markets considerably reduce the cost of reproductions. [Saving is obtained, for example, through the purchasing, wherever possible, of master negatives on films, from which enlargements may be readily made. Material from Spain is thus usually procured on films, and the enlargements made in France where the rate is cheapest.] The Library of Congress purchases for many other organizations and is able to secure rates which I believe no individual society or library could hope to obtain. It is unfortunate, too, but true, that the authority of the Library of Congress is becoming of greater and greater importance in dealing with the libraries of several European governments.

It is therefore natural that your committee should be impressed by the Library of Congress's opposition at the present moment to the suggested substitution of films for rotographs. It is very possible that the film process may solve the problem of preserving newspaper material; but our problem is different. We are endeavoring to collect and preserve for the use of scholars rare manuscripts and books, mostly from European libraries. By no means all European libraries are equipped to supply film reproductions. Also the rag paper on which our reproductions are made is of proved durability. Uniformity and durability are highly desirable qualities in a permanent collection.

Once our rotographs have been obtained, they may be readily and cheaply filmed at any time. Mr. Martin, who is especially interested in the utilization of films, is perfecting a reproducing machine, which he hopes will be of great use to scholars,

and which should perhaps be brought here to their attention. Any rotograph in our collection (any book in the Library of Congress, for that matter) may this coming year be reproduced on film for the low price of two cents a frame (normally two pages to a frame). A rotograph of 200 sheets could thus be reproduced, and purchased by the requester for two dollars, hardly more than the cost of shipping and insuring the original. It is expected that individual scholars and libraries will make increasing use of this service.

While there appear then to be great possibilities in making research materials more available through the film process, there would seem to be obvious advantages in continuing the purchase of rotographs for the present, using the film process as a welcome auxiliary. It make take a new generation, too, to entirely "uncondition" the essentially humanistic association of a pipe, a book, and a log fire.

### REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

By Professor WILLIAM A. NITZE

In the absence of the senior delegate, Professor Karl Young (Yale), Professor William A. Nitze (Chicago) reported on the American Council of Learned Societies. He dwelt on two aspects of the Council; one of which is the fact that, owing to the recent action of the Rockefeller Board, the Council can no longer look forward to active support from that quarter for encouragement in research. To be sure, the Board is financing the continuance of the offices of the Council during a period of three years. But the money for new research projects will presumably have to come from other sources—a circumstance that places an added responsibility of providing such funds on organizations like the Modern Language Association. Professor Nitze then gave an account of the 1935 meeting at Copenhagen of the Union académique internationale, which he attended (together with Mr. Leland) as a delegate of the A.C.L.S. He described the type of international research that the Union is now engaged in, and also reported the gratifying fact that the German and Austrian academies have been admitted to the Union by a formal vote.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The fifty-second meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held, on the invitation of the University of Cincinnati, at Cincinnati, Ohio, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, December 30 and 31, 1935, and January 1, 1936. The Association headquarters were in the Netherland Plaza Hotel, where all meetings were held except those of Tuesday morning and afternoon. These took place at the University of Cincinnati. Registration cards at headquarters were signed by about 900, though a considerably larger number of members were in attendance. The Local Committee estimated the attendance at not less than 1400. This Committee consisted of Professor Frank W. Chandler, *Chairman*; Professor Edwin H. Zeydel; Professor Phillip Ogden; Mr. John J. Rowe (for the Directors); and Mr. Joseph S. Graydon (for the Alumni).

(Associated meetings were held by the American Dialect Society, and the American associations of teachers of French, German, and Italian.)

### MONDAY MORNING AND AFTERNOON

#### DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

The morning and afternoon of Monday were devoted to meetings of Discussion Groups, which were held in three divisions, the first beginning at 10:30 A.M., the second at 2:00 P.M., and the third at 4:00 P.M.

FIRST DIVISION: 10:30 A.M. ATTENDANCE: 525.

(*General Topics I*) Poetic Form and General Aesthetics. *Chairman*, A. E. ZUCKER, *Univ. of North Carolina*. *Attendance*: 147.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors R. P. Bond (chairman), C. N. Wenger, R. P. McCutcheon.

*Papers*: 1. "Portraiture of Transmuting Characters in Contemporary Literature." C. N. Wenger, *Univ. of Michigan*. Discussion led by C. E. W. L. Dahlström, *Univ. of Michigan*.

2. "Expression and Communication." Frank W. Chandler, *Univ. of Cincinnati*.

3. "Hobbes's Contribution to the Psychological Approach in Criticism." C. D. Thorpe, *Univ. of Michigan*. Discussion led by Roger P. McCutcheon, *Tulane Univ.*

*Discussion*: Professor Chandler's adverse criticism of the so-called "new" poetry and the theories of which it is an expression stimulated a number of vigorous rejoinders. Among those who took part were W. S. Knickerbocker, Mildred Boie, David Brown, T. C. Pollock, C. W. Thomas, Kate Tibbals. *Business*: None.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Oscar James Campbell, *Columbia Univ.*; *Secretary*, John Crowe Ransom, *Vanderbilt Univ.*

OSCAR J. CAMPBELL, *Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature IV*) The Renaissance. *Chairman*, J. C. LYONS, *Univ. of North Carolina*. *Attendance*: 75.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors John Van Horne, Jefferson B. Fletcher, Robert V. Merrill.

*Papers:* 1. "The Cyclic Theory in the Renaissance and After." Jefferson B. Fletcher, *Columbia Univ.*

2. "Hernán Cortés in the Renaissance." John Van Horne, *Univ. of Illinois.*

3. "A Bibliography of American Studies on the French Renaissance." Samuel F. Will, *Univ. of Illinois.*

4. "Elizabethan Memory Systems." Carroll Camden, Jr., *Rice Institute.*

5. "The Nature of Ferabosco's Service at Elizabeth's Court." Emma Marshall Denkinger, *Wesleyan College.*

*Discussion:* (1) by Hardin Craig; (4) by George B. Parks, James Holly Hanford, Don Cameron Allen. *Business:* none.

*Officers for 1936:* *Chairman,* Marcus Selden Goldman, *Univ. of Illinois;* *Secretary,* Joseph G. Fucilla, *Northwestern Univ.*

MARCUS S. GOLDMAN, *Secretary*

(*English II*) Middle English Language and Literature. *Chairman,* A. A. Hill, *Univ. of Virginia.* *Attendance:* 68.

*Nominating Committee:* Professors Howard R. Patch, C. C. Fries, P. F. Baum.

*Papers:* 1. Report on the Progress of the M. E. Dictionary. Thomas A. Knott, *Univ. of Michigan.*

2. Report of the Committee on M.E. Texts in need of editing or re-editing. Sir William A. Craigie, *Univ. of Chicago.*

3. "Some Characteristics of Norfolk Dialect as Illustrated in the Autobiography of Margery Kempe." S. M. Meech, *Univ. of Michigan.*

4. "A Projected Edition of the Northern Homily Collection." James E. Carver, *College of the City of New York.*

*Discussion:* (2) Various methods were suggested for keeping members of the group informed as to activity in editing M.E. texts. It was moved by Professor Knott and approved by the group that the secretary prepare and include in the minutes an abstract of Sir William Craigie's report.

*Abstract:* New editions of texts already available should be avoided unless needed for class use. Texts now being edited. All MSS of *Ancren Riwele*; *South English Legendary* (MS Harleian 2277 and others); *Northern Homilies*; the early metrical *Alexander*. Texts of primary importance that need editing:

1. The two earliest MSS of the Wycliffe Bible, MS Bodley 959 and Douce 368, containing the portion of the Old Testament translated by Nicholas of Hereford.

2. Trevisa's translation of Higden's Polychronicon in MS Cotton Tiberius D. VII.

3. The Tollemache MS of Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus *De proprietatibus rerum*.

4. Robert of Brunne's version of Langtoft's Chronicle.

5. The North. version of Maudeville, already edited for Roxburgh Club, but difficult to obtain or use.

6. Various Wycliffe texts showing unusual dialectic peculiarities.

7. Harding's *Chronicle*, taking account of dialect variants in MSS.

It was suggested by Professor Meech to add the translations by Shirley.

*Business:* By recommendation of the nominating committee the Group adopted the practice of a two-year tenure for officers with one change each year.



*Officers for 1936: Chairman, Archibald A. Hill, Univ. of Virginia; Secretary, Henning Larsen, Univ. of Iowa.*

HENNING LARSEN, *Secretary*

(*English VIII*) Literary Tendencies During the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century. *Chairman, FREDERICK H. HEIDBRINK, Northwestern Univ. Attendance: 43.*

*Nominating Committee: Professors J. D. Ferguson, R. W. Frantz, R. T. Fitzhugh.*

*Papers: 1. "Some Aspects of the Problem Drama of the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century." Stewart S. Morgan, The Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.*

*2. "William Godwin's Herald of Literature." A Dayle Wallace, Municipal University of Omaha.*

*3. "The Irish Background of Goldsmith's Political and Social Philosophy." Robert W. Seitz, Univ. of Buffalo.*

*Discussion: none. Business: none.*

*Officers for 1936: Chairman, Margery Bailey, Stanford Univ.; Secretary, Robert W. Seitz, Univ. of Buffalo.*

MARGERY BAILEY, *Secretary*

(*French I*) Mediæval Literature and Linguistics. *Chairman, RAPHAEL LEVY, Univ. of Baltimore. Attendance: 130.*

*Nominating Committee: Professors Albert D. Menut, Ephraim Cross, Ed. B. Ham.*

*Papers: 1. "The Basis for Mediæval Emotionalism." Stephen Hays Bush, State Univ. of Iowa.*

*2. "Provençal serpanic as used by Daude de Pradas." Alexander H. Schutz, Ohio State Univ.*

*3. "Martin le Franc and the Ancient Classics." H. R. Brush, Univ. of California at Los Angeles. Read by M. I. Barker of the same university.*

*4. "Le Recueil Trepperel (pièces inédites du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)." Louis Cons, Columbia Univ.*

*5. "An American School of Romance Philology." E. F. Parker, Cambridge, Mass.*

*Discussion: (1) by H. A. Smith; (2) by C. C. Rice; (3) by A. H. Schutz and C. A. Knudson; (4) by H. A. Smith; (5) by C. A. Knudson, A. H. Schutz, G. M. Fess.*

*The chairman of the group paid homage to the memory of T. Atkinson Jenkins and of Antoine Thomas. Business: none.*

*Officers for 1936: Chairman, Urban T. Holmes, Jr., Univ. of North Carolina; Secretary, Earl G. Mellor, Univ. of Virginia.*

ROBERT W. LINKER, *Secretary*

(*German II*) Early New High German Language and Literature. *Chairman, PHILIP M. PALMER, Univ. of Cincinnati. Attendance: 58.*

*Nominating Committee: Professors Albert W. Aron, Edwin C. Roedder.*

*Papers: 1. "The Proverbia Communia and the Early German Proverb." Richard Jente, Washington Univ.*

*2. "The Origins of Modern German Polite Sie-Plural with Particular Reference to the Works of Christian Weise." George J. Metcalf, Univ. of Alabama.*

3. "Lohenstein's Treatment of French Classical Topics." Werner P. Friederich, *Univ. of North Carolina*.

*Discussion*: (2) by Alfred Senn. *Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Neil C. Brooks, *Univ. of Illinois*; *Secretary*, George J. Metcalf, *Univ. of Alabama*.

OTTO SPRINGER, *Secretary*

(*Slavonic I*) Slavonic Languages and Literatures. *Chairman*, CLARENCE A. MANNING, *Columbia Univ.* In the absence of the *Chairman*, ARTHUR P. COLEMAN of *Columbia Univ.* presided. *Attendance*: 4.

As no program had been provided, the period was spent in discussion of the future of this group and in preparation for a meeting on Wednesday, at 9.00 A.M.

ARTHUR P. COLEMAN, *Acting Secretary*

SECOND DIVISION: 2:00 P.M. ATTENDANCE: 760.

(*General Topics II*) Critical Study of Romanticism. *Chairman*, ALICE D. SNYDER, *Vassar College*. *Attendance*: average 100.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Edwin H. Zeydel (chairman), Clarence D. Thorpe, David H. Carnahan.

*Topic of Discussion*: "Romantic Contributions to Theories of Genius and Imagination." Professor Fernand Baldensperger gave a most illuminating analysis of the genius conception in the last centuries, especially in France. Miss Margaret L. Wiley from the University of Texas ably presented new material on the subject; Professor Clarence DeWitt Thorpe, University of Michigan, gave a thorough and philosophical explanation of J. A. Richardson's new interpretation of Coleridge's imagination-fancy theory; and Ernst Jockers, University of Pennsylvania, closed the discussion by pointing out the different elements contained in the German romantic conception of genius and by asking an isolated investigation of these elements as a preamble for successful comprehensive study.

*Business*: The committee appointed to consider the compilation of a bibliography asked that it be allowed to continue its work and bring in its proposals at the 1936 meeting of the Association. Accepted.

The committee on the advisability of merging General Topics II and English IX proposed to continue with the coexistence of the two groups, with separate meetings under the same chairman and work done in more intimate connection. It was resolved not to make any changes for the time being.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Ernst Jockers, *Univ. of Pennsylvania*; *Secretary*, Margaret L. Wiley, *Univ. of Texas*.

ERNST JOCKERS, *Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature V*) Anglo-French Literary Relations. *Chairman*, IRA WADE, *Princeton Univ.* In the absence of the chairman EDWARD D. SEEGER of *The College of Charleston* presided. *Attendance*: c. 50.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Frances S. Miller (chairman), Edith Phillips, Franc Thenaud.

*Papers:* 1. "Two Unknown Eighteenth Century Adaptations from Shakespeare." Alfred Iacuzzi, *The College of the City of New York*.

2. "A Seventeenth-Century French Source for Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*." Victor M. Hamm, *College of Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio*.

3. "Buffon et deux académies américaines: rapports personnels de Buffon et de Benjamin Franklin." William F. Falls, *Univ. of Maryland*.

4. "L'Influence de Benjamin Franklin sur les origines du matérialisme français." Adrienne C. Gobert, *Sarah Lawrence College*.

5. "The First Continental Criticism of Contemporary American Literature (1824-1830)." Walter Wadepuhl, *West Virginia Univ.*

*Discussion:* none. *Business:* none.

*Officers for 1936:* Chairman, Ira Wade, *Princeton Univ.*; Secretary, Kerby Neill, *St. Louis Univ.*

KERBY NEILL, *Acting Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature VI*) Anglo-German Literary Relations. *Chairman*, WALTER A. REICHART, *Univ. of Michigan*. *Attendance:* 70.

*Nominating Committee:* Mrs. Bertha Reed Coffman (chairman), and Professors A. W. Aron, A. B. Faust.

*Papers:* 1. "The Baroque in English and German Literary Criticism." Ben B. Rosenberg, *The Johns Hopkins Univ.*

2. "Sealsfield as Interpreter of the American Spirit." William P. Dallmann, *Washington Univ.*

3. "Some Literary Contributions of German Immigrants to America." Carter Davidson, *Carleton College*.

*Discussion:* (2) by Professors Faust, Diez, and Heller.

*Business:* On motion by Professor Otto Heller, seconded by Professor Margareta Hochdoerfer, this group goes on record as favoring the publication of the Anglo-German Bibliography prepared by Professor Henry A. Pochmann and urges that a publisher soon undertake this work.

*Officers for 1936:* Chairman, Walter A. Reichart, *Univ. of Michigan*; Secretary, Ernest E. Leisy, *Southern Methodist Univ.*

WILLIS A. CHAMBERLIN, *Secretary*

(*English I*) Old English. *Chairman* CLAUDE M. LOTSPPEICH, *Univ. of Cincinnati*. *Attendance:* 45.

*Nominating Committee:* Professors Thomas A. Knott, Francis P. Magoun, Archibald A. Hill.

*Papers:* 1. "Lawrence Nowell and his Contributions to Old English Lexicography." Albert H. Marckwardt, *Univ. of Michigan*.

2. "Old English Elements in Old Norse." Henning Larsen, *Univ. of Iowa*.

3. "Old English *bestiran*." Luise Haessler, *Brooklyn College*.

4. "The Waegmundings—Swedes or Geats?" W. F. Bryan, *Northwestern Univ.*

*Discussion:* none.

*Business:* 1. Upon motion by Professor Charles Fries it was voted that a Committee, to be appointed by the Chair, survey the field of Old English publication

proposed and in progress, and report its findings at the next annual meeting. 2. Professor T. A. Knott announced that the project of an Old English Dictionary would continue dormant pending completion of other English dictionaries.

*Officers for 1936:* *Chairman*, Claude M. Lotspeich, *Univ. of Cincinnati*; *Secretary*, Stanley Rypins, *Brooklyn College*.

STANLEY RYPINS, *Secretary*

(*English VII*) Philosophy and Literature of the Classical Period. *Chairman*, A. W. SECORD, *Univ. of Illinois*. *Attendance*: 125.

*Nominating Committee*: Dean Robert K. Root and Professors R. F. Jones, George Sherburn.

*Papers*: 1. "Pope and Man." A. E. Case, *Northwestern Univ.*

2. "Pope and Neo-Classicism." Louis I. Bredvold, *Univ. of Michigan*.

3. "A Difficulty Stated." R. H. Griffith, *Univ. of Texas*.

4. "Work Now in Progress on Pope." George Sherburn, *Univ. of Chicago*.

*Discussion*: The general basis of discussion was the life and work of Alexander Pope, with special attention to Sherburn's *Early Career of Alexander Pope* (1934) and Ault's *Pope's Own Miscellany* (1935). Many members participated.

*Business*: 1. The chairman reported for Professor F. A. Patterson on the status of the project of the Facsimile Text Society to reprint Defoe's *Review*. 2. Professor A. E. Case was elected to succeed Dean Root on the Advisory and Nominating Committee. 3. The Committee recommended that Jonathan Swift be the topic of discussion at the next meeting.

*Officers for 1936:* *Chairman*, Richmond P. Bond, *Univ. of North Carolina*; *Secretary*, W. A. Eddy, *Dartmouth College*.

RICHMOND P. BOND, *Secretary*

(*English X*) Victorian Literature. *Chairman*, HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, *Univ. of Michigan*. *Attendance*: 57.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Thomas M. Parrott, Samuel C. Chew, Carl J. Weber.

*Papers*: 1. "The Early Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Geraldine Jewsbury, 1840-41." Waldo H. Dunn, *Scripps College*. Read by Charles Frederick Harold, *Michigan State Normal College*.

2. A Study of Arnold's 'Empedocles on Etna.' " Howard F. Lowry, *College of Wooster*.

*Discussion*: none.

*Business*: 1. The report of the Bibliography Committee announced the resignation of Miss Helen C. White, and the appointment of Miss Ruth C. Wallerstein, also of the University of Wisconsin. 2. The chairman urged the setting up of a continuing program, to extend over several years. Professor Parrott's motion was passed: That a special committee be appointed by the chairman to study the question of the development of a continuing program. 3. Howard F. Lowry, College of Wooster, was elected member of the Executive Committee, to serve for three years.

*Officers for 1936:* The present officers were reelected.

WILLIAM D. TEMPLEMAN, *Secretary*

(*French III*) French Literature of the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries. *Chairman*, C. D. ZDANOWICZ, *Univ. of Wisconsin*. *Attendance*: 200.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors A. Schinz, C. F. Zeek, S. F. Will.

*Papers*: The meeting was devoted to Calvin and to the Académie Française in commemoration of the fourth century of the *Institution Chrétienne*, and the third centenary of the founding of the Academy.

1. "1535." Marcel J. Brun, *Swarthmore College*.

2. "Le Classicisme de Calvin." Leon Wencelius, *Swarthmore College*.

3. "Chapelaine and the Genesis of the French Academy." Colbert Searles, *Univ. of Minnesota*.

4. "The French Academy of Today as Seen in Its Inner Working in 1934." Fernand Baldensperger, *The Sorbonne and Harvard University*.

*Discussion*: (1) and (2) by Louis Cons and Albert Schinz. *Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, H. Carrington Lancaster, *The Johns Hopkins Univ.*; *Secretary*, Lawrence M. Riddle, *Univ. of Southern California*.

JOSEPHINE DE BOER, *Secretary*

(*Spanish I*) Spanish Language and Mediæval Literature. *Chairman*, A. R. NYKL, *Univ. of Chicago*. In the absence of the chairman, the secretary R. S. BOGGS of the *Univ. of North Carolina* presided, and J. G. FUCILLA of *Northwestern Univ.* acted as Secretary. *Attendance*: about 70.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Hayward Keniston (chairman), Edwin B. Williams.

*Papers*: 1. "The Etymology of *halagar*, *nesga*, and *socarrar*." C. C. Rice, *Catawba College*.

2. "An Old French Source of the *General Estoria* of Alfonso X." Lawrence W. Kiddle, *Univ. of New Mexico*.

3. Report of the committee on an Old Spanish Dictionary. Hayward Keniston, *Univ. of Chicago*, Chairman.

*Discussion*: (2) by Professors Parker and C. P. Wagner.

*Business*: The following report was adopted:

The Committee recommends that:

1. The Group approve in principle of Solalinde's project and lend its official support to any applications for subsidies to defray the cost of publication.

2. The Group approve in principle Boggs' project for the publication of a manual dictionary of Old Spanish.

3. The Group authorize the appointment of a Standing Committee on Old Spanish Lexicography, to consist of five members, named by the Chairman of the Group. This Standing Committee should, in particular, undertake (a) to determine the scope and method of the manual dictionary of Old Spanish, proposed by Boggs; (b) to standardize the technique of preparing special vocabularies in Old Spanish; (c) to serve as a clearing house for all lexicographical work in Old Spanish which is being carried on in the United States and Canada.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, C. P. Wagner (for 2 years), *Univ. of Michigan*; *Secretary*, R. S. Boggs, *Univ. of North Carolina*.

R. S. BOGGS, *Secretary*

(*German I*) Historical Grammar. *Chairman*, HENRY W. NORDMEYER, *Univ. of Michigan*. *Attendance*: 70.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors D. B. Shumway, W. F. Twaddell.

*Papers*: 1. "Zeitstufe, Modi und Aktionsart in der platt-deutschen Mundart zu Williamsburg, Iowa." Alfred P. Kehlenbeck, *Iowa State College*.

2. "Modern Enclitics." B. Q. Morgan, *Stanford Univ.*

3. "Lautverschiebungserklärungen." George Nordmeyer, *West Virginia Univ.*

4. "Von den Aktionsarten des Verbums." Karl Reuning, *Swarthmore College*.

*Discussion*: none. *Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Eduard Prokosch, *Yale Univ.*; *Secretary*, A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Northwestern Univ.*

W. F. TWADDELL, *Acting Secretary*

### THIRD DIVISION: 4:00 P.M. ATTENDANCE: 866.

(*General Topics IV*) Practical Phonetics. *Chairman*, MILES L. HANLEY, *Univ. of Wisconsin*. *Attendance*: about 50.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Amos R. Morris (chairman), J. S. Kenyon, C. E. Parmenter.

*Papers*: 1. "The Diphthong *au* in Virginia." Guy S. Lowman, Jr., *The Linguistic Atlas*.

2. "The Program of the Prague Phonologists." R. M. S. Hefner, *Harvard Univ*  
Discussion led by W. F. Twaddell, *Univ. of Wisconsin*.

*Discussion*: (1) by Messrs. Dantzler, Morris, Kenyon, Reuning; (2) by Messrs. Hill, Hefner, Kurath, Hanley, Fries, Joos, Bloch. (3) Discussion of the topic "What Should be the Content of a Course in Phonetics?"

*Business*: The chairman was authorized by vote of the group to appoint a committee to investigate the content of courses now offered at various colleges and universities under the name of phonetics, and to submit a report of their findings before the next meeting of the Association.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Guy S. Lowman, Jr., *The Linguistic Atlas*; *Secretary*, R. M. S. Hefner, *Harvard Univ.*

BERNARD BLOCH, *Secretary*

(*English V*) Shakespere. *Chairman*, ALWIN THALER, *Univ. of Tennessee*. *Att.*: 200.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors R. A. Law, C. F. Tucker Brooke, T. W. Baldwin.

*Papers*: 1. "Shakspere and Gloucestershire." E. P. Kuhl, *Univ. of Iowa*.

2. "Hamlet: Dramatist." John F. Ross, *Univ. of California*.

3. "Plot Patterns in Elizabethan Drama." Hardin Craig, *Stanford Univ.*

4. "What Can We Believe Concerning the Sonnets?" C. F. Tucker Brooke, *Yale Univ.*

*Discussion*: none. *Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Hardin Craig, *Stanford Univ.*; *Secretary*, Madeleine Doran, *Univ. of Wisconsin*.

ATCHESON L. HENCH, *Acting Secretary*

(*English VI*) The Seventeenth Century. *Chairman*, R. F. JONES, *Washington Univ.* *Attendance*: 50.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors George B. Parks, Louis I. Bredvold, James Holly Hanford.

*Papers*: 1. "Milton's 'Advocatum nescio quem'." Samuel Lee Wolff, *Columbia Univ.*

2. "Milton's Use of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Maps." George W. Whiting, *Rice Institute*.

3. "*Paradise Lost* and the New Astronomy." Grant McColley, Washington, D.C.

4. "Remarks on the Plot of *Samson Agonistes*." William R. Parker, *Ohio State Univ.*

5. "The Rhetoric of Donne's Sermons." Herbert H. Umbach, *Valparaiso Univ.*

*Discussion*: (1) by J. H. Hanford and Don M. Wolfe. Discussion of William Haller's *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution*, led by James Holly Hanford, Western Reserve University.

*Business*: The members of the nominating committee were appointed to act as a committee on the program for next year together with the officers.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, William Haller, *Columbia Univ.*; *Secretary*, Hoyt H. Hudson, *Princeton Univ.*

WILLIAM HALLER, *Secretary*

(*English XI*) Contemporary Literature. *Chairman*. BENNETT WEAVER, *Univ. of Michigan.* *Attendance*: over 200

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Harlan Hatcher, Carter Davidson, Donald Davidson.

*Papers*: 1. "Literature: Living and Dead." John C. Ransom, *Vanderbilt Univ.*

2. "Scholarly Works in the Field of Contemporary Literature." Louis P. Waldo, *Michigan State College*.

3. "Creative Writing and Its Teachers in the Colleges: A Discussion." Bernard DeVoto, *Harvard Univ.*

*Discussion*: spontaneous and lively. Most of it centered around the question of the nature of scholarship and its relation to the contemporary field.

*Business*: The 1936 chairman was authorized to appoint a new member to the executive committee of the group.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, John T. Frederick, *Northwestern Univ.*; *Secretary*, Donald Davidson, *Vanderbilt Univ.*

HARLAN HATCHER, *Acting Secretary*

(*French VI*) French Literature of the XIXth and XXth Centuries. *Chairman*, ALBERT SCHINZ, *Univ. of Pennsylvania.* *Attendance*: about 110.

*Nominating Committee*: Dean Eunice Morgan Schenck, and Professors E. Preston Dargan, Harry Kurz.

*Papers*: 1. "The Vogue of Victor Hugo in the United States (1830-1900)." Emile Malakis, *Univ. of Pennsylvania.*

2. "V. Hugo and Ch. Baudelaire." Robert E. Turner, *College of the City of New York.*

3. "The Career of Barrès with the Action-Française." W. M. Frohock, *Brown Univ.*

4. "Le Nationalisme chez Barrès et Maurras." Alphonse V. Roche, *Univ. of Illinois.*

5. "A Minimum List of Critical Works on Proust." David C. Cabeen, *Vanderbilt Univ.*

6. "Vildrac, Outstanding Post-War Dramatist." Clifford H. Bissell, *Univ. of California.*

7. "Remarques sur le cimetière marin de Paul Valéry," Madelaine Soubeiran, *Bryn Mawr College.*

*Discussion:* On Victor Hugo's popularity and influence in New Orleans by C. I. Silin, Tulane University. (6) by Marc Denking, Hugh Smith, Helene Harvitt.

*Business:* Recommendation that next year or the year after French VI should be split into two groups—19th Century and 20th Century (if possible).

*Officers for 1936:* *Chairman*, Louis Cons, *Columbia Univ.*; *Secretary*, Armand Begue, *Columbia Univ.*

HELENE HARVITT, *Secretary*

(*Spanish II*) Spanish Literature of the Renaissance and Golden Age. *Chairman*, C. E. ANIBAL, *Ohio State Univ.* *Attendance:* 84.

*Nominating Committee:* Professors Edwin B. Place, J. P. W. Crawford, W. S. Hendrix.

*Papers:* 1. "Lope de Vega's Conception of the New World." Raymond L. Grismer, *Univ. of Minnesota.*

2. "The Pizarro Trilogy of Tirso de Molina." Otis H. Green, *Univ. of Pennsylvania.*

3. "Calderón's *Amor, honor y poder*, a reworked Lope play." Harry C. Heaton, *New York Univ.*

4. "The sovereign in the comedias of Calderón de la Barca." José M. de Osma, *Univ. of Kansas.*

*Discussion:* (1) by E. Neale-Silva, F. Callcott; (2) E. Neale-Silva, C. E. Anibal, H. C. Heaton. *Business:* None.

*Officers for 1936:* *Chairman*, Otis H. Green (also for 1937), *Univ. of Pennsylvania*; *Secretary*, E. Herman Hespelt, *New York Univ.*

E. HERMAN HESPELT, *Secretary*

(*German IV*) German Literature of the XIXth Century. *Chairman*, JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL, *Wesleyan Univ.* *Attendance:* 120.

*Nominating Committee:* Professors M. Blakemore Evans, F. W. J. Heuser, Friedrich Bruns.

*Papers:* 1. "On the Advantage of a Chronological Study of Lyric Poetry, with Illustrations from *Buch der Lieder*." T. M. Campbell, *Northwestern Univ.*

2. "The Monologue as Monodrama in Grillparzer's Hellenic Dramas." T. C. Dunham, *Ohio Wesleyan Univ.*

3. "The Solution of the Problem in Kleist's *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*." Walter Silz, *Harvard Univ.*



4. "Hettner's Influence on Ibsen's *Brand*." A. E. Zucker, *Univ. of North Carolina*.  
*Discussion*: (1) by Otto Heller; (2) by Edwin Zeydel, Martin Schutze, Friedrich  
Bruns, Max Diez, Ernst Feise, (3) by Friedrich Bruns. *Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: Chairman, A. E. Zucker, *Univ. of North Carolina*; Secretary,  
Gilbert J. Jordan, *Southern Methodist Univ.*

MIMI I. JEHL, *Secretary*

(*Scandinavian I*) Scandinavian Language and Literature. Chairman, JESS H. JACK-  
SON, *College of William and Mary*. *Attendance*: 15.

*Nominating Committee*: none.

*Papers*: 1. "Situation in Strindberg's *Damascus Trilogy*." Carl E. W. L. Dahl-  
ström, *Univ. of Michigan*.

2. "Style of the *Islandinga Sagas*." Otto Springer, *Wheaton College*.

3. "Verbal Litotes in Old Norse." Lee M. Hollander, *Univ. of Texas*. Abstract of  
this paper was read by the chairman.

*Discussion*: (1) by Jess H. Jackson, Margaret Schlauch; (2) by Jess H. Jackson,  
Margaret Schlauch, Carl E. W. Dahlström, Einar Haugen. *Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: Chairman, Jess H. Jackson, *College of William and Mary*; Secre-  
tary, Otto Springer, *Wheaton College*, Norton, Mass.

MARGARET SCHLAUCH, OTTO SPRINGER, *Acting Secretaries*

Celtic Languages and Literatures. Chairman, F. N. ROBINSON, *Harvard Univ.*

*Attendance*: 37.

*Nominating Committee*: none. *Business*: none.

*Papers*: 1. "The Irish Verb *For-innet*." Vernam Hull, *Univ. of Michigan*.

2. "The Penalty of Setting Adrift in Celtic Law and Germanic Saga." J. R.  
Reinhard, *Univ. of Michigan*.

3. "Some Welsh Material in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*." Arthur E. Hutson,  
*Univ. of California*.

4. "The Irish Smith Turbe in the Grail Romances." A. C. L. Brown, *Northwestern*  
*Univ.*

5. "Irish Poetry in English from the Conquest to the Seventeenth Century."  
Russell K. Alspach, *Univ. of Pennsylvania*.

*Discussion*: at an ensuing group dinner.

*Officers for 1936*: Chairman, Arthur C. L. Brown, *Northwestern Univ.*; Secretary,  
Roland M. Smith, *Wesleyan Univ.*

ROLAND M. SMITH, *Secretary*

## MONDAY EVENING

### SUBSCRIPTION DINNER AND ADDRESSES

A subscription dinner arranged by the Local Committee was held in the Hall of  
Mirrors of the Netherland Plaza Hotel on Monday evening at 7:30 P.M. Attendance  
486. For the addresses, which followed immediately in the same room, Mr. JOSEPH  
S. GRAYDON, acted as toastmaster.

## PROGRAM

1. Welcome to the University President RAYMOND WAITERS
2. Presidential Address: "Words," Professor COLBERT SEARLES, University of Minnesota
3. "The Doctor Looks at Life," Dr. MARTIN H. FISCHER, University of Cincinnati
4. "Linguistic Modernism," The Hon. RUSSELL WILSON, Mayor of Cincinnati.
5. Songs by the Diners

## TUESDAY MORNING

## DEPARTMENTAL SECTION MEETINGS

For the Tuesday morning session the Association met at 9:30 A.M. at the University of Cincinnati in three sections devoted respectively to English, Romance, and Germanic Philology.

## ENGLISH SECTION

*Chairman*, Professor RAYMOND D. HAVENS of *The Johns Hopkins Univ.* Att.. 425.

*Nominating Committee*: Professor Frank Chandler, Margery Bailey, J. S. P. Tatlock (chairman).

*Papers*: 1. "Wordsworth's Concept of the Spirit of Nature." By Professor JOSEPH WARREN BEACH of the *Univ. of Minnesota*. Discussed by NEWTON P. STALLKNECHT and R. D. HAVENS.

2. "American Literature and American Scholarship." By Professor HOWARD MUMFORD JONES of the *Univ. of Michigan*. Discussed by A. H. QUINN (by letter), Marjorie Nicolson, E. H. Wright.

3. "Tiedling's *Amelia*: An Interpretation." By Professor GEORGE W. SHERBURN of the *Univ. of Chicago*. Discussed by ERNEST BERNBAUM.

4. "Browning's Early Debt to Elizabeth Barrett." By Professor EDWARD D. SNYDER of *Haverford College*. Discussed by WILLIAM C. DEVANE and F. N. RAYMOND.

During the course of the meeting the Secretary of the Association presented the official record of the Association with respect to American Literature; and Professor Fries reported on the present status of the Early Modern English Dictionary.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Dr. Joseph Q. Adams, \* *Folger Shakespeare Library*; *Secretary*, Professor W. G. Rice, *Univ. of Michigan*. Having in mind the possibility that the Section might be divided next year, the Nominating Committee also presented the names of Professor T. M. Parrott, *Vanderbilt Univ.* for *Chairman*, and Dr. W. L. Ustick, San Marino, Calif., for *Secretary* of the second half of the Section; and they were unanimously elected.

FRANKLYN B. SNYDER, *Secretary*

## ROMANCE SECTION

*Chairman*, Professor HUGO P. THIEME of the *Univ. of Michigan*. Attendance: 250.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors H. Keniston (chairman), K. McKenzie, U. T. Holmes.

*Papers*: "Four Representative Critics":

5. "Gustave Larson." By Professor ANDRE MORIZE of *Harvard Univ.* Read by Professor STEPHEN A. FREEMAN.

\* Declined to Serve

6. "Benedetto Croce." By Professor RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI, *Univ. of California*.
7. "Remy de Gourmont." By Professor MARC DENKINGER, *Univ. of Michigan*.
8. "Ortega y Gasset." By Professor AUGUSTO CENTENO of *Princeton Univ.*

*Discussion:* (5) Reminiscences and comment by Professors Jamieson, Schinz, Baldensperger, Thieme; (7) reminiscences and comment by Professor Thieme.

*Business:* none.

*Officers for 1936:* Chairman, Professor Urban T. Holmes, *Univ. of North Carolina*; Secretary, Professor F. Courtney Tarr, *Princeton Univ.*

F. COURTNEY TARR, *Secretary*

#### GERMANIC SECTION

*Chairman,* Professor BERT J. VOS of *Indiana Univ.* *Attendance:* about 175.

*Nominating Committee:* Professors E. P. Appelt, Richard Jente, Walter Wadeuhl.

*Papers:* 9. "Ein dichterisches Selbstbekenntnis Lessings." By Professor MARTIN SOMMERFELD of *New York Univ.* Read in his absence by Professor JOHN WHYTE.

10. "Friedrich von Spee: A New Evaluation." By Professor GUSTAVE O. ARLT of the *Univ. of California at Los Angeles*.

11. "Herders Begriff der Humanitat." By Professor RUDOLF SYRING of the *Western College for Women*.

12. "The Theory of Tragedy Since Schiller." by Dr. J. B. FULLER of Chicago.

13. "A Biogram of German Literature." By Professor ERNST FEISE of *The Johns Hopkins Univ.*

*Discussion:* (10) by Professors Hohlfeld, Schütze, Fife, Feise, Bruns; (11) by Professors Baginsky, Schutze, Jockers.

*Business:* Professor Hohlfeld announced that the word list to Goethe's *Faust*, in preparation at the University of Wisconsin, had been completed, a prospectus for publication was distributed. An announcement by Professor P. W. Long was read regarding the increase of papers in Germanic published in the *PMLA*. Ten German papers, totalling 306 printed pages (25 per cent of the whole), will be published in 1936.

*Officers for 1936:* Chairman, Professor John C. Blankenagel, *Wesleyan Univ.*; Secretary, Professor Lilian L. Stroebe, *Vassar College*.

HAROLD S. JANTZ, *Secretary*

Following these meetings the members of the Association, and attending members of their families, were entertained by the University of Cincinnati at 1:00 P.M. with a buffet luncheon in the Commons, McMicken Hall. *Attendance:* 975.

#### TUESDAY AFTERNOON

##### GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

A general meeting of the Association was held in the Wilson Auditorium of the University of Cincinnati at 2:00 P.M.

*Business Meeting* (one hour):

The meeting was called to order by President COLBERT SEARLES.

1. The reports (printed on pages 1328-40) of the Secretary, Treasurer, Trustees, and Auditing Committees were read and accepted.

2. The reports (printed on pages 1340-42) of the Co-Chairmen of the Rotograph Committee and of the Delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies were read and approved.

3. The name of Professor MAX FÖRSTER was presented by the Secretary, as the Executive Council's nominee to our roll of Honorary Members, and he was duly elected an honorary member of the Modern Language Association.

4. The results of the ballot election were announced by the Secretary. The number of ballots cast was 551 (6 defective). The three members chosen in the order of the number of ballots they received were:

Frank W. Chandler, *University of Cincinnati*  
George R. Coffman, *University of North Carolina*  
T. Moody Campbell, *Northwestern University*

5. The Committee on Nominations, consisting of Professors E. C. Armstrong, A. R. Hohlfeld, A. C. Baugh, R. A. Law, and W. M. Hart, presented their report as follows:

*For President:* Professor CARLETON BROWN of *New York University*.

*For Vice-Presidents.* Professois EDUARD PROKOSCH of *Yale University*, and Professor SYLVANUS GRISWOLD MORLEY of the *University of California*.

It was *Voted*: that a ballot of the Association be cast for the officers as named; and they were declared elected.

6. The Committee on Resolutions, consisting of Professors Orie W. Long, Gordon Hall Gerould, and John Van Horne, then presented the following resolutions, which were successively adopted by vote of the Association.

1. The Modern Language Association of America regrets the lack of opportunity afforded young men and women with university training to pursue careers as teachers in the high schools of the country. Properly organized training, which coordinates the student's knowledge of his field with mastery of the technique of presentation, furnishes better preparation for teaching than work directed by schools and departments of Education. The Association, as an organized body of teachers, protests that, since teaching is an art and not a science, and since practical experience is preferable to theory, the training of teachers should be in the hands of those who combine mastery of subject and method.

2. The Modern Language Association of America wishes to express to President Raymond Walters and his colleagues of the Faculty of the University of Cincinnati, to the Local Committee, to the Queen City Club, and to all those who have contributed to the success of the meeting, its deep appreciation of their gracious hospitality.

7. The following resolution was offered from the floor by Professor George Havens and was adopted by vote of the Association:

Moved: That the Program Committee request Chairmen of Discussion Groups to limit the number of papers accepted in each group to three, or at the most four, papers of such length that they will not take up more than half of the total allotted time, the rest being given to discussion;

That not more than four papers be announced in the printed program for each group;

And that abstracts or complete copies of each paper be sent in advance to a member or members competent to lead the discussion.

(This is to be combined with provisions already in force, such as the one providing that

copies of the papers be submitted to the Chairmen for consideration not later than October 31, as reiterated by Professor Lancaster.)

8. The following resolution was offered from the floor by Professor O. J. Campbell:

Resolved: That the Executive Council be requested to appoint a committee of seven, broadly representative of all the interests of this Association, to study the purposes and objectives of scholarship in this Association, and the relation of the Modern Language Association, as reflected in its publications and programs, to the trends of scholarship and culture in this country; and that the committee be directed to make a preliminary report to the Executive Council not later than September 1, 1936, a syllabus of this report to be printed and distributed to the members of the Association before the formal report is presented at its next general meeting.

After brief discussion it was *Voted*: that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for action.

*Addresses by invitation* (two hours):

14. "A Report on the Historical Dictionary of American English." By Sir WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE of the *University of Chicago*.

15. "The Amsterdam Conference on Periods of Literary History." By Professor FERNAND BALDENSPERGER of *The Sorbonne* and *Harvard University*.

16. "The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada." By Professor HANS KURATH of *Brown University*.

## TUESDAY EVENING

On Tuesday evening the members of the Association, and attending members of their families, were entertained with a buffet supper at the Queen City Club at 7:30 P.M. at the invitation of Messrs. Joseph S. Graydon, John J. Rowe, and other Cincinnati friends of the Association. Following this supper an entertainment arranged by the Local Committee was presented in the Hall of the Western and Southern Life Insurance Company.

*Attendance*: about 900.

### *Program for New Year's Eve*

Songs. Members of the University Glee Club

Salutation. Frank W. Chandler

A Saber Duel. Arranged by Chesley M. Hutchings

Songs. Members of the University Glee Club

Doggerelliana. Rudolph Altrochi

English Broadside Ballads and Their Tunes. Roy Lamson, Jr. Accompanied by R. G. Noyes

Stephen C. Foster in Cincinnati. Raymond Walters

Foster Songs. James Moore

Songs from the Stage Version of Milton's "Comus," as adapted by Dr. John Dalton for Drury Lane Theater in 1738; the music composed by Dr. T. A. Arne, 1710-78. Arranged, Scored, and Introduced by Edwin S. Lindsey; Sung and played by students of The Cincinnati Conservatory of Music.

Scenes from "Comus" with the Original Incidental Songs by Henry Lawes, 1595-1662 and Instrumental Numbers arranged by Sir Frederick Bridge from the works of William Lawes, 1582-1645; John Bull, 1563-1628; William Byrd, 1538-1623. Presented through the courtesy of Edgar Friedlander by members of the Drama and Music departments of The Cincinnati Conservatory of Music.

## WEDNESDAY MORNING

## DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

The morning of Wednesday was devoted to meetings of Discussion Groups, which were held in two divisions, the first beginning at 9:00 A.M., and the second at 11:00 A.M.

FIRST DIVISION: 9:00 A.M. ATTENDANCE: 470.

(*General Topics V*) Experimental Phonetics. *Chairman*, S. N. TREVIÑO, *Univ. of Chicago*. *Attendance*: 45.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Agnes Blanc, Miles Hanley, A. R. Morris (chairman).

*Papers*: 1. "Eduard Sievers' and E. W. Scripture's Analysis of Poetry." Erich Funke, *State Univ. of Iowa*.

2. "A Comparative Study of the Pronunciation of Anglicisms in French and in the American-French of Hartford, Conn." Edward Pousland, *Trinity College*.

3. "X-Ray Study of Pharyngeal Changes in Consonant Articulations." Francis J. Carmody, *Univ. of California*.

4. "A Further Step Towards a New Theory of Vowel Formation." Gaston L. Malécot, New York City.

5. "Functional Nasal Vowels in Dialectical American English." Leon P. Smith, Jr., *Washington and Lee Univ.*

*Discussion*: by Miles L. Hanley, C. E. Parmenter, J. S. Kenyon, A. A. Hill, and others.

*Business*: The group accepted a report: (a) That officers be chosen for term of two years, to be elected alternately to secure continuity. (b) That the group urge upon the officers the desirability of close cooperation in planning the program (c) That the secretary render a prompt report of this meeting.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, S. N. Treviño, *Univ. of Chicago*; *Secretary*, W. L. Schramm, *Univ. of Iowa*.

FRANCIS J. CARMODY, *Acting Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature I*) Prose Fiction. *Chairman*, ALPHEUS SMITH, *Northwestern Univ.* *Attendance*: 30.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Alan D. McKillop (chairman), Frederic T. Blanchard, A. M. Turner.

The meeting was devoted to informal discussion of recent scholarship in Prose Fiction, and informal reports on research in progress. Special attention was paid to recent studies in German, Romance, and American prose fiction. Among those participating were: Ernest Bernbaum, H. G. Dirks, Lennox Grey, R. D. Havens, Eugene Joliat, Charles Knudson, G. H. Orians, and R. W. Seitz.

*Business*: The chairman reported progress on his bibliography of prose fiction in English, 1475-1740.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Arthur H. Quinn, *Univ. of Pennsylvania* [declined to serve]; *Secretary*, Helen Sard Hughes, *Wellesley College*.

ARTHUR SECORD, *Acting Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature II*) Popular Literature. *Chairman*, RALPH S. BOGGS, *Univ. of North Carolina*.  
*Attendance*: about 60.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Martha Beckwith, Stith Thompson, Louise Pound.

*Papers*: 1. "Popular French Literature of the Near East, Syrian and Lebanese Folklore in Modern French Verse and Prose." Basile G. D'Oukail, *Fordham Univ.*

2. "Wesselski's Recent Attacks upon the Finnish School." Ernst A. Philippon, *Univ. of Michigan*.

3. "Folksongs of Southern Indiana." Paul G. Brewster, Oakland City, Ind.

*Discussion*: none.

*Business*: 1. Report on the Conference for the Study of the Folktale, at Lund, Sweden, on Nov. 6, 1935, by Stith Thompson, *Indiana Univ.* 2. Report of the Group's Folksong Committee by its Chairman, Reed Smith, *Univ. of South Carolina*.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Arthur Kyle Davis, *Univ. of Virginia*; *Secretary*, Edwin C. Kirkland, *Univ. of Tennessee*.

EDWIN C. KIRKLAND, *Secretary*

(*English III*) Chaucer. *Chairman*, WILLIAM F. BRYAN, *Northwestern Univ.* *Att.*: 56.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Carleton Brown, Robert K. Root, H. S. V. Jones.

*Papers*: 1. "The Present State of the Work on the Text of the *Canterbury Tales*, and the Prospect of its Early Completion." J. M. Manly, *University of Chicago*. Read by W. F. Bryan, *Northwestern Univ.*

2. "Chaucer and an Italian Contemporary Bearing on the Framework of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Physician's Tale*." E. P. Kuhl, *Univ. of Iowa*.

3. "The Place of the *Franklin's Tale* in the Chaucer Chronology." L. F. Hawkins, *New York Univ.*

4. "Analogues to the Pardoner's Gaudes." C. P. Wagner, *Univ. of Michigan*.

5. "The Present Status of the New Edition of the *Originals and Analogues* of the *Canterbury Tales*." W. F. Bryan, *Northwestern Univ.*

*Discussion*: (3) by T. A. Knott, R. K. Root. *Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Walter Clyde Curry, *Vanderbilt Univ.*; *Secretary*, Haldeen Braddy, *Sul Ross State Teachers College*.

SANFORD B. MEECH, *Secretary*

(*English IV*) The Period of Spenser. *Chairman*, C. BOWIE MILLICAN, *New York Univ.* *Attendance*: 72.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Hoyt H. Hundson (chairman), C. F. Tucker Brooke, Percy W. Long.

*Papers*: 1. "Hakluyt's Authors." George B. Parks, *Washington Univ.*

2. "Spenser's Rosalind: a Conjecture." Theodore H. Banks, *Wesleyan Univ.*

3. "On the *Axiochus* Translated by 'Edw.' Spenser." Constance Miriam Syford, *Yale Univ.*

4. "Shakspeare and Spenser: the *Epithalamion*." Alwin Thaler, *Univ. of Tennessee*.

5. "Elizabethan Poets in France and Italy." Mark Eccles, *Univ. of Wisconsin*.

6. "Sir John Harington's Lost Treatise on Vergil, Recovered." Marcus S. Goldman, *Univ. of Illinois*.

*Discussion:* (2) by Richard Feuerstein; (3) by Frederick Hard, (4) by C. G. Osgood.

*Business:* 1. That ensuing programs may be more definitely unified, the Group, on motion of Hoyt H. Hudson, elected an Advisory Committee of three, one to retire each year. 2. On motion of Ray L. Heffner the Group again endorsed Miss Dorothy F. Atkinson's MS *Edmund Spenser: A Bibliographical Guide, 1923-1934*, and recommended that the Association be requested to sponsor its publication.

*Officers for 1936:* *Chairman*, Jefferson B. Fletcher, *Columbia Univ*; *Secretary*, Frederick M. Padelford, *Univ. of Washington*.

RAYMOND JENKINS, *Secretary*

(*French V*) French Literature of the XVIIIth Century. *Chairman*, EDITH PHILIPS, *Swarthmore College*. *Attendance*: 56.

*Nominating Committee:* Professor Albert Schinz, Norman L. Torrey, William F. Falls.

*Papers:* 1. "De Malesherbes et la censure du Traité de l'Esprit." Albert Bachman, *Gettysburg College*.

2. "Une Intégration des idées de Vauvenargues." Fernand Vial, *Fordham Univ*.

3. "Notes on Montesquieu's Reading with Reference to the *Lettres Persanes*." Alessandro Crisafulli, Columbus, Ohio.

4. "Some Comments of Voltaire on Montesquieu's Theories of Roman Greatness." E. H. Price, *Ohio State Univ*.

5. "Voltaire and Gracián; *Candide* and *El Criticon*." Dorothy McGhee, *Hamline Univ*.

*Discussion:* (1) by Albert Schinz, (2) by Louis Cons; (4) by George Havens and Albert Shinz. *Business:* none.

*Officers for 1936:* *Chairman*, Harry Kurz, *Univ. of Nebraska*; *Secretary*, William F. Falls, *Univ. of Maryland*.

HARRY KURZ, *Acting Secretary*

(*Spanish III*) Modern Spanish and Spanish-American Literature. *Chairman*, NICHOLSON B. ADAMS, *Univ. of North Carolina*. *Attendance:* 52.

*Nominating Committee:* Professors E. B. Price, R. H. Williams, S. A. Stoudemire.

*Papers:* 1. "The Influence of Whitman in Spanish America." J. E. Englekirk, *Univ. of New Mexico*.

2. "The Degeneration of Patricio Riguelta." James O. Swain, *Mich. State College*.

3. "Florencio Sánchez's Debt to Eugène Brieux." Karl E. Shedd, *Mary Baldwin College*.

4. "The Development of the Character of the *Raisonneur* in the Social Drama of Spain from Tamayo to Linares Rivas." C. B. Qualia, *Texas Technological College*.

5. "New Light on An Important Episode in Larra's Life." F. Courtney Tarr, *Princeton Univ*.

*Discussion:* (4) by L. E. Brett. *Business:* none.



Officers for 1936: Chairman, H. Chonon Berkowitz, *Univ. of Wisconsin* (two years), Secretary, J. R. Spell, *Univ. of Texas*.

J. R. SPELL, *Secretary*

(German V) Modern German Literature. Chairman, OTTO HELLER, *Washington Univ.*

In the absence of the chairman, the Secretary, WALTER WADEPUHL, presided. LUISE HAESSLER, *Brooklyn College*, acted as Secretary. Attendance: 90.

Nominating Committee: none.

Papers: 1. "Ostpreussen im Werke Agnes Miegels." E. P. Appelt, *Univ. of Rochester*.

2. "Zur geistesgeschichtlichen Deutung des Fruhnaturalismus." William R. Gaede, *Swarthmore College*.

3. "Ausseres und Inneres in Stehrs Geigenmacher." Erich P. Hofacker, *Washington Univ.*

4. "Das Ethos deutscher Krigsromane." Wilhelm K. Pfeiler, *Univ. of Nebraska*.

5. "Thomas Mann's Concept of Irony." Helmut Rehder, *Univ. of Missouri*.

Discussion: none. Business: none.

Officers for 1936: Chairman, W. R. Gaede, *Swarthmore College*; Secretary, Ruth Hofrichter, *Vassar College*.

WALTER WADEPUHL, *Acting Chairman*

(Slavonic I) Slavonic Languages and Literatures. (Second Meeting.) Attendance: 9.

The following papers were read and discussed:

1. "The Russian Theatre of the Revolution." Nikander Strelsky, *Vassar College*.

2. "Notes on Translating from Yugoslav Languages." Anthony Klančar, *The Slovene National Library*, Cleveland, Ohio.

3. "The Poetry of Kazimiera Iłłkiewicz." Arthur P. Coleman, *Columbia Univ.*

Business: A proposal to change the name of the group to *East European Languages and Literatures* was rejected.

Officers for 1936. The following were elected: Chairman, Alfred Senn, *Univ. of Wisconsin*; Secretary, Arthur P. Coleman, *Columbia Univ.* (for 1936 and 1937).

ARTHUR P. COLEMAN, *Acting Secretary*

SECOND DIVISION: 11:00 A.M. ATTENDANCE: 573.

(Comparative Literature III) Arthurian Romances. Chairman, ROLAND M. SMITH, *Wesleyan Univ.* Attendance: 90.

Nominating Committee: Professors A. C. Baugh (chairman), Wm. A. Nitze, John W. Spargo.

Papers: 1. "An Early Welsh Commentary on the Prophecy of Merlin." John J. Parry, *Univ. of Illinois*. Discussed by J. S. P. Tatlock and A. C. L. Brown.

2. "Is the Green Knight a Vegetation Myth?" William A. Nitze, *Univ. of Chicago*. Discussed by R. M. Smith, J. S. P. Tatlock, A. C. L. Brown, and G. H. Gerould.

3. "Further Evidence of Pictish Material in the Arthurian Romances." Roland M. Smith, *Wesleyan Univ.* Discussed by W. A. Nitze, M. Schlauch, J. S. P. Tatlock, M. S. Goldman, and J. J. Parry.

*Discussion:* of current bibliography in progress. (1) Additional copies of the bibliography for 1935 may be secured from either the chairman or the secretary by sending 25¢ (2) Professor Stith Thompson reported that one of his students was working on a "Motiv-Index to Malory."

*Business:* 1 Professor A. C. L. Brown reported that while awaiting arrangements for publication, Pennington is making another revision of his translation of the 1536 Prose Perceval. 2. Professor Baugh asked the members of the group to send to the secretary, for transmission to the nominating committee, suggestions to guide them in making nominations for 1937.

*Officers for 1936:* the present officers were reelected.

JOHN J. PARRY, *Secretary*

(*English IX*) Wordsworth and His Contemporaries *Chairman*, WALTER GRAHAM, *Univ. of Illinois* *Attendance:* 45.

*Nominating Committee:* Professors C. D. Thorpe (chairman), C. F. Harrold, Thomas M. Raysor.

*Discussion:* Topic: The Social Theories of Wordsworth and His Older Contemporaries. De Quincey, led by Horace A. Eaton; Wordsworth, led by Leslie N. Broughton; Coleridge led by Alice D. Snyder.

By the chairman's special invitation, Mr. R. C. Bald of London, England, commented briefly on his work with the Coleridge notebooks.

*Business:* 1. The Merger Committee reported to General Topics II, and the Group voted against the merger. 2. The Bibliography Committee was, by request, authorized to continue its work, now incomplete, and make its report to the 1936 meeting. The Committee agreed to prepare a sample bibliography showing what it proposes to do.

*Officers for 1936:* *Chairman*, Raymond D. Havens, *The Johns Hopkins Univ.*; *Secretary*, Horace Eaton, *Syracuse Univ.*

FLOYD STOVALL, *Secretary*

American Literature. *Chairman*, HOWARD M. JONES, *Univ. of Michigan*.

*Attendance:* 151.

*Nominating Committee:* Professors Tremaine McDowell, Theodore Hornberger, T. C. Pollock, Leonard Harley, Lyon Richardson (chairman).

*Papers:* 1. "Walt Whitman and Jules Michelet." Gay Allen, *Bowling Green State Univ.*

2. "New Holmes and Old." Mentor Williams, *Univ. of Michigan*.

3. "Fantasy and the Novel of the American City." Lennox Grey, *Univ. of Chicago*.

*Discussion.* Topic: *Mark Twain*. After papers by Bernard DeVoto and Franklin J. Meine, the discussion was led by Walter Blair, *Univ. of Chicago*.

*Business:* [report delayed]

*Officers for 1936:* the present officers were reelected.

SCULLEY BRADLEY, *Secretary*

(*English XIII*) Present-Day English. *Chairman*, ATCHESON L. HENCH, *Univ. of Virginia*  
*Attendance*: 40.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Louise Pound, Harold Wentworth, and Cabell Greet.

*Papers*: 1. "The Characteristics of British English as Noted by American Travelers in England before 1850." Allen Walker Read, *Univ. of Chicago*.

2. "American Euphemisms for Dying and Death" Louise Pound, *Univ. of Nebraska*.

3. "Early Loss of *r* before Dentals, and Later Regressions" Archibald A. Hill, *Univ. of Virginia*.

4. "The Linguistic Unconventionalities of O. Henry." Margaret Cannell, *Univ. of Nebraska*.

5. "Postvocalic *r* in New England: A Study in Linguistic Geography." Bernard Bloch, *Brown Univ.*

*Discussion*: by Professors Kenyon, Hanley, Knott, Kurath, Twaddell and others.  
*Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Thomas A. Knott, *Univ. of Michigan*; *Secretary*, Lee S. Hultzen, *Columbia Univ.*

ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT, *Secretary*

(*English XIV*) English Drama. *Chairman*, ROBERT A. LAW, *Univ. of Texas*.  
*Attendance*: 50.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors George P. Reynolds, Margery Bailey, Hazelton Spencer.

*Papers*: 1. "Manuscript and Printed Play." Madeleine Doran, *Univ. of Wisconsin*.

2. "The Love-and-Honor Theme in Davenport's Plays." James G. McManaway, *The Johns Hopkins Univ.*

3. "The 'Toasters' and the Theatre." Brice Harris, *Cornell Univ.*

4. "The Commonplace Book of Arthur Murphy." J. Homer Caskey, *Ohio Univ.*

*Discussion*: (1) by C. F. Tucker Brooke, G. R. Coffman, H. M. Price; (2) by Alwin Thaler, L. J. Mills; (3) by A. F. White; (4) by S. S. Morgan, Margery Bailey.

*Business*: Professor Margery Bailey gave a short notice concerning the course in Shakespearian production at Stanford during the summer of 1935.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, T. W. Baldwin, *Univ. of Illinois*; *Secretary*, Ralph de Someri Childs, *Bowdoin College*.

WILLIAM S. CLARK, *Secretary*

(*Italian I*) Italian Literature. *Chairman*, RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI, *Univ. of California*.  
*Attendance*: 60.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Camillo P. Merlino (chairman), John Van Horne, Hilda Norman.

*Papers*: 1. "Three Dante Notes." Herbert D. Austin, *Univ. of Southern California*.

2. "Certain Aspects of Pirandello's Dramatic Development." Domenico Vittorini, *Univ. of Pennsylvania*.

3. "The Genesis of Sercambi's *Novelle*." Robert A. Pratt, *Univ. of Rochester*.

4. "A Note on the Name D'Annuncio." James Geddes, *Boston Univ.*

*Discussion*: led by Rudolph Altrocchi.

*Business*: A request was made that the Chairman-elect request provision for two groups for the Richmond meeting.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, Angeline H. Lograsso, *Bryn Mawr College*; *Secretary*, Lewis H. Gordon, *Hamilton College*.

ANGELINE H. LOGRASSO, *Secretary*

(*German III*) Goethe. *Chairman*, ERNST FEISE, *The Johns Hopkins Univ. Att.*: 76.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Max Diez, George J. ten Hoor, Jane F. Goodloe.

*Papers*: 1. "Goethe und das Phänomen der Nacht." Paul H. Baginsky, *Brooklyn College*.

2. "The Union of the Arts in *Die Braut von Messina*." Robert T. Clark, Jr., *Louisiana State Univ.*

3. "Schönheit als ethische Idee bei Schiller und Goethe." Hans Jaeger, *Princeton Univ.*

4. "Grillparzers Auseinandersetzung mit dem Idealismus." Friedrich W. Kaufmann, *Oberlin College*.

*Discussion*: none. *Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: *Chairman*, George M. Priest, *Princeton Univ.*; *Secretary*, A. J. Prahl, *The Johns Hopkins Univ.*

J. P. VON GRUENINGEN, *Secretary*

Belgian Languages and Literatures. *Chairman*, G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK, *Columbia Univ.* *Attendance*: about 61.

*Nominating Committee*: Professors Barbara Matulka, F. Ernst, Mary E. Storer.

*Papers*: 1. "Michel Riz's Changement de Fortune en toute prospérité." Marcel Françon, *Harvard Univ.*

2. "Edmond Glesener, A Walloon Novelist." Benjamin M. Woodbridge, *Reed College*.

3. "The Don Carlos Theme in Verhaeren's *Philippe II*." Barbara Matulka, *New York Univ.*

4. "An Astrological Treatise in Mediaeval Belgium." Raphael Levy, *Univ. of Baltimore*.

5. "Commemoration of Henri Pirenne (1862-1935)." Gustave L. van Roosbroeck, *Columbia Univ.*

*Discussion*: (3) by L. E. Brett, C. E. Anibal, R. Levy; (4) by A. H. Schutz.

*Business*: none.

*Officers for 1936*: the present officers were reelected.

ROSE-MARIE DAELE, *Secretary*

## MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

### I

The Executive Council met in Parlor I of the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 30, 1935, at 1:00 P.M., with all the officers, the Managing Trustees, and Professors Craig, Lancaster, Nitze, Tatlock, Taylor, and Walz present.

The following actions were taken:

1. *Committee on Research Activities*.—The expiration of terms of members was changed from December 31 to the following July 1.

2. The Treasurer's Budget for 1936 was approved, with reservation for further consideration of the item allotting \$850 to a meeting of the Executive Council.

3. Professor Max Förster was chosen as the Council's nominee to fill in the roll of Honorary Members the vacancy created by the decease of Antoine Thomas.

Action on a resolution presented by Professor Hardin Craig was deferred. [This resolution was superseded by the one presented by Professor Oscar J. Campbell.]

### II

The Executive Council met in Parlor L of the same hotel on January 1, 1936, at 1:00 P.M., with all the officers (except the new vice-presidents), and Professors Chandler, Coffman, Lancaster, Nitze, Tatlock, and Walz present.

In default of a quorum the following actions were taken (subject to confirmation by a mail ballot of absentees):

1. *Advisory Committee of 1936*.—Professors Lancaster and Walz were continued as members and Professor Brown chosen temporarily to represent English.

2. *Committee on Research Activities*.—The following recommendations were approved:

a. That application to the A.C.L.S. be made for aid in publication of three books.

The Literary History of Meistergesang. By Archer Taylor.

John Dennis's Critical Works (edition). By Edward Niles Hooker.

The Unextinguished Hearth: Shelley and the Contemporary Reviewers. By Newman I. White

b. That these applications and those made in 1935 be presented in one group in the order: Taylor, Jackson, Harbage; Raysor, Hooker, White; Parsons, Clement, Miller.

c. That \$75 be granted for the editorial expenses of the *Originals and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales* together with the remainder of the \$150 previously granted for photostats.

d. That \$100 be granted for the preparation and circulation of a check-list of American ballads.

3. *Dates of the 1936 Annual Meeting*.—The choice of these dates was committed to the Program Committee.

4. *American Literature*.—The present subscription arrangement was continued for 1936.

5. *Next meeting of the Council*.—A spring meeting in Chicago was approved for a week end near (preferably after) the meeting of the Medieval Academy.

6. *Discussion Groups*.—The Council voted that the Program Committee be requested to enforce its recommendations upon the Discussion Groups.

7. *Resolution requesting a committee of seven*.—The Advisory Committee was requested to make nominations for such a committee.

[These actions were confirmed by the ballot vote.]

PERCY W. LONG, *Secretary*

## BUDGET FOR 1936

### ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURES

#### For Administration:

Secretary . . . . .	\$ 4,000.00
Treasurer . . . . .	2,000.00
Clerical Assistance . . . . .	2,808 00
Postage and Telegraph. . . . .	500.00
Printing . . . . .	300 00
Supplies and Express . . . . .	250.00

For Publishing *PMLA* . . . . . 11,000 00

For Publishing Index . . . . . 500 00

#### For Miscellaneous Purposes

American Council of Learned Societies . . . . .	75 00
American Council on Education . . . . .	
Committee Expenses . . . . .	185.00
Officers' Traveling Expenses . . . . .	150.00
Circulars and Programs . . . . .	25.00
Bond and Insurance . . . . .	40.15
Public Audit.. . . .	150.00
Executive Council Meeting . . . . .	850.00

#### For Mandatory Transfers:

To the Emergency Fund (40% Sales of *PMLA*) . . . . . 100.00

Total . . . . .	\$22,933.15
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### ESTIMATE OF RECEIPTS

From balance on hand . . . . .	\$ 1,300 00
From Membership Fees. . . . .	16,500 00
From Library Subscriptions to <i>PMLA</i> . . . . .	1,800 00
From Sales of Back Numbers of <i>PMLA</i> . . . . .	250 00
From Reprints & Corrections. . . . .	100 00
From Advertising . . . . .	1,500.00
From Income and Permanent Fund . . . . .	1,600.00
From Revolving Fund (return of advances from Current Account) . . . . .	

Total . . . . .	\$23,050.00
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## COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

### *Information concerning its services*

The Committee on Research Activities was constituted early in 1934 under By-Law VI, which defines its membership, duties, and permissive activities. The Acts of the Council (in *PMLA*, December, 1935) record its recommendations of grants in aid of research from the M.L.A. Research Fund, and of aid to publication, chiefly from the American Council of Learned Societies.

Thus far the Committee has secured aid for the publication of five books and one pamphlet (three by the Association), grants of aid for two group projects, and (informally) one fellowship. At present the Association by its recommendation is applying for aid in publication on behalf of nine books.

The Committee has held five meetings and considered nearly 250 projects of members of the Association. It does not ordinarily attempt assistance in the publication of dissertations, and has as yet not found means of aid for bibliographies, concordances, translations, and texts.

Every member of the Association has been invited by its questionnaire to give notice of projects of research which he is undertaking or knows to be in progress, and to suggest other profitable lines of investigation. This request applies even when the member is not in need of financial assistance.

The Committee has assembled lists of experts in nearly all the fields covered by the activities of the Association. To these experts scholars may be referred for specific assistance in their problems, and for appraisal of their results.

KARL YOUNG  
*Chairman*

## CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

[Adopted December 29, 1903. Amended December 29, 1915, March 31, 1920, December 29, 1923, 1925, 1927, and December 30, 1929.]

### I. NAME

The name of this Association shall be: THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

### II. PURPOSE

The object of the Association shall be the advancement of research in the modern languages and their literatures.

### III. MEMBERSHIP

1. Any person approved by an officer of the Association may become a member on the payment of five dollars and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Persons who for twenty-five years or more have been members in good standing may, on retiring from active service as teachers, be continued as members without further payment of dues.

2. Any person eligible to membership may become a life member and exempt from dues by a single payment of seventy-five dollars or by the payment of twenty-six dollars for three successive years. With each completed decade of membership in good and regular standing, the fee for life membership shall be diminished by one-fourth. Persons who have paid forty annual membership dues automatically become life members without further payment.

3. Foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on the nomination of the Executive Council, but the number of honorary members shall not at any time exceed forty.

### IV. OFFICERS

1. The Officers of the Association shall be: a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

2. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected by ballot for one year at the regular Annual Meeting. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be chosen by the Executive Council, and shall hold office for such term and under such conditions as the Council may specify.

### V. ADMINISTRATION

The administration of the Association shall be in the hands of the Executive Council consisting of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Association, *ex officio* the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Association (without votes), and twelve members, of whom three shall be elected by ballot at each Annual Meeting, for terms of four years in a manner described in the By-Laws. The Council shall administer the affairs of the Association and take such action as is necessary to carry out its purpose and promote its interests. It shall appoint such Boards and Committees as are specified in the By-Laws and such others as may be necessary from time to time. It shall make a report of its activities at each Annual Meeting,



and its policies and actions shall be subject to the direction and approval of the Association.

#### VI. MEETINGS

The Association shall hold an Annual Meeting, at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. The Annual Meetings shall be held alternately East and West of the Eastern boundaries of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. For the transaction of business at an Annual Meeting, twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum of the Association.

#### VII. AMENDMENTS

Amendments of this Constitution must first be approved by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council, and afterwards be ratified by a majority vote at two successive Annual Meetings of the Association.

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### BY-LAWS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

[Adopted December 30, 1929. Amended December 30, 1933 and December 28, 1934.]

#### I. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

All officers shall hold office until their successors are chosen.

The President shall preside at all business meetings of the Association and of the Executive Council. In his absence, his duties shall fall successively upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of their election.

The Secretary of the Association shall also act as Secretary of the Executive Council. He shall be Chairman of the Editorial and Program Committees and editor of the quarterly *Publications* and of all books, pamphlets, or prints which may be issued by the Association, and shall serve as an advisory member of all other standing Committees.

The Treasurer shall be the custodian of all current funds, collecting membership fees, and other monies due the Association, and paying bills properly incurred, taking vouchers for such expenditures. He shall also have charge of the business arrangements for the quarterly *Publications* and any books published by the Association, and sign contracts with printing and other firms, subject to the approval of the Executive Council. He shall be bonded in a sum not less than ten thousand dollars.

Such clerical assistance shall be provided for the Secretary and Treasurer in the performance of their duties as may be approved by the Council and authorized in the annual budget.

#### II. THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Each year three members of the Council shall be elected according to the following procedure: (1) The Council shall nominate six candidates, whose names shall be announced in the September issue of the *Publications*. (2) Any member of the Association may then propose three additional names and forward them to the Secre-

tary before November 1. (3) The Secretary shall enter on an official ballot attached to the program of the Annual Meeting the six candidates proposed by the Council, together with the three names receiving the most votes among those proposed by members of the Association. (4) At the Annual Meeting, members may vote for any three of the persons named on the official ballot, absent members being permitted to forward their ballots, duly signed, by mail. (5) Of the nine names on the ballot, the three receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the Council for the ensuing four years, unless thereby the twelve members of the Council shall consist of more than six or less than two representatives of English, Germanic, and Romance languages, respectively. In such case, the choice shall pass automatically to the person receiving the highest number of votes whose election would not result in over-representation or under-representation in any department.

The Council shall elect from its own number three persons, representing the three departments, to serve as an Advisory Committee, who shall meet at the call of the Secretary and make recommendations to the Council for its consideration.

The Executive Council shall fill any vacancy occurring among the officers of the Association. It may fill a vacancy in its own body until a successor can be elected according to the provisions above specified.

### III. TRUSTEES OF INVESTED FUNDS

The Permanent Fund of the Association and the Monograph Endowment Fund shall be administered by a Board of three Trustees, appointed without term by the Executive Council, of whom one shall be designated the Managing Trustee.

The Treasurer of the Association shall pay over to the Trustees any sums which may be due to the Permanent Fund, either as payments for life membership or as gifts to the Association, and also any sums which may be contributed to the Monograph Endowment Fund.

The Trustees shall invest and reinvest all funds so received by them, and shall hold the same until such time as the Association shall be dissolved or shall otherwise cease to exist and shall then turn over all property remaining in their hands to the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

The income accruing on all property in their hands shall be paid over to the Treasurer of the Association, who shall add the income received from the Permanent Fund to the Current Funds of the Association and shall add the income received from the Monograph Endowment Fund to the Monograph Expense Account.

Said Trustees, or any of them, may be removed by the Executive Council by a unanimous vote at a meeting called for the purpose, and any vacancy arising from the death, resignation, or removal of any Trustee shall be filled by the Executive Council.

### IV. STANDING COMMITTEES

The standing committees shall be as follows: An Editorial Committee, a Program Committee, a Committee on the Monograph Series, a Committee on the Revolving Book Fund, a Committee on Rotographs, and such others as may, on recommendation of the Executive Council, be authorized at any Annual Meeting. Each shall consist of five members who shall hold office for five years, one being elected each

year. The following three departments shall always be represented on each committee: English, Germanic languages, and Romance languages.

The Editorial Committee shall have charge of the quarterly *Publications* of the Association in cooperation with the Secretary, who shall be managing editor.

The Program Committee shall prepare the programs for the Annual Meeting. It shall have authority to make regulations regarding papers and discussions and to coordinate or modify the program of the various sections and research groups.

The Committee on the Monograph Series shall select the monographs to be published in the Series.

The Committee on the Revolving Book Fund shall have general charge of the selection of manuscripts and of publications under the Fund.

The Rotograph Committee shall have charge of the solicitation of subscriptions and of the selection, manufacture and distribution of the rotographs.

#### V. DISCUSSION GROUPS

The system of Discussion Groups shall be under the supervision of the Program Committee, which has the authority to discontinue or add to the number of the existing groups.

Each group shall maintain a roll of its members corrected from year to year.

Suggestions for the conduct of the group meetings shall be transmitted to the officers of the groups by the Secretary of the Association, and the Program Committee may modify these from time to time.

#### VI. RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

The Executive Council of the Association shall appoint a Committee on Research Activities, consisting of six persons and the Secretary of the Association as a non-voting member. The voting members of this committee shall serve for terms of three years, two being appointed each year. The English, Romance, and Germanic languages shall always be represented on this committee, and its membership shall always include at least one representative of linguistics and at least one representative of literary history.

The duty of this committee shall be to further the search activities of the Association and its members. It shall consider projects of research or publication that may be presented to it, either by the Discussion Groups or by individual members of the Association, and shall report such projects with its recommendations to the Executive Council. It may also initiate projects of research or publication. It shall make such suggestions to the Council for the continuing direction of approved projects as may seem desirable.

The Committee on Research Activities shall meet, normally twice a year, to act upon projects submitted to it.

No project shall be officially sponsored by the Association until it has received the approval of the Committee on Research Activities.

This shall not be construed as affecting the authority and functions of the Standing Committees enumerated in By-Law IV.

## VII. BUDGET

The Treasurer shall each year prepare for presentation to the Council a budget of expenditures for the ensuing year. After approval by the Council the budget shall be laid before the Association for its information at the Annual Meeting. For budgetary and other administrative purposes the official year shall be the calendar year.

## VIII. AUDIT

Previous to the Annual Meeting, the President shall designate a committee to audit the financial accounts of the Association, including the security bond of the Treasurer. The Auditing Committee shall then submit the report to examination by a commercial auditing firm. The report as thus audited shall be transmitted to the Council and published in the annual *Proceedings* of the Association.

## IX. AMENDMENT

These By-Laws may be amended, after approval by the Executive Council, by a majority vote at any Annual Meeting of the Association, notice of such amendment having been distributed to the members with the program of the same meeting.

## THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held at Stanford University, California, on November 29 and 30, 1935.

The plan had been adopted of having placards, announcing the meeting, printed and sent to all the institutions represented by the members of the Association, as well as to a few other colleges on the Pacific Coast; about 200 were thus distributed. The executive committee had likewise, at its meeting on November 2, given its approval to a suggestion expressed by Professor J. S. P. Tatlock that an additional type of membership be created whereby promising graduate students should be invited to become junior members of the Association, at the cost of only one dollar per annum but without the privilege of receiving the publications of the national associations with which this Association is affiliated.

Friday, November 29, after a meeting of the executive committee the first session was called to order by President George Miller Calhoun at 10:30 A.M. The Secretary-Treasurer made no report at this time. President Calhoun announced the appointment of the following committees:

*Nominating:* Foster (1 year), L. M. Price (2 years), Kennedy (3 years).

*Social:* Foster (*chairman*), Bonno, Fite.

*Auditing:* Harriman, L. M. Price.

*Resolutions:* Bowen (*chairman*), Cline.

*Special Resolution for Professor W. L. Schwartz:* Kennedy, Noyes.

Professor Anna Cox Brinton made an announcement of the exhibit of *Horatiana* at Mills College, California, and extended an invitation to all members to visit it during the week-end.

The reading and discussion of papers followed, about one hundred persons being in attendance. The afternoon session was held in three groups, English, American Literature, and Foreign Language, presided over by Professors Briggs, Stewart, and Gordon, respectively; about forty or fifty persons attended each section.

The annual dinner took place at the Villa Lafayette, about five miles south of Stanford University. Professor Foster presented the report of the nominating committee, and the vote of the Association was cast for the following officers:

*President:* William Dinsmore Briggs.

*Vice-Presidents:* Rudolph Altrocchi, Hardin Craig.

*Secretary-Treasurer:* Arthur Ernest Gordon.

*Executive Committee:* The above officers and Frederick Mason Carey, Martha Ada Klett, George Z. Patrick, Kurt F. Reinhardt.

A resolution prepared by Professors Kennedy and Noyes was read, expressing the Association's regrets at the premature retirement of Professor William Leonard Schwartz from the office of secretary-treasurer and its appreciation of his services during the years 1922-1925 (as treasurer) and 1932-1935.

Professor William Dinsmore Briggs presided during the reading of President Calhoun's address, entitled "Olympian Manners," which was followed by speeches in lighter vein by Professors Majl Ewing and Clifford H. Bissell.

The third session was held on Saturday morning, with an attendance of about

fifty. Before adjournment Professor Ray Preston Bowen submitted a resolution of cordial thanks to the members resident at Stanford University for their friendliness and gracious hospitality during the meeting, and Professor J. S. P. Tatlock made an announcement concerning the character and history of the Mediæval Academy of America and its publication *Speculum*.

The program printed above exceeded by one paper that of the previous year, which had been the fullest in the history of the Association; this year, however, no papers were read by title.

The Secretary-Treasurer now reports that 18 persons accepted membership during the year, as against 6 resignations, the dropping of 13 members for delinquency in dues, one death, and the permanent departure of 2 members with dues unpaid since 1933-1934, a decrease of 4 and a total membership of 236.

The financial report has been submitted to the auditing committee and by them approved:

#### RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, Dec. 1, 1934.....	\$ 354.36
Dues paid by members.....	1,162.00
Interest on deposits.....	6 91
	<hr/>
Total receipts....	\$1,523.27

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

To Modern Language Association of America..	\$ 725.89
To American Philological Association..	186.34
Printing.....	126.20
Secretarial allowance (W. L. Schwartz) ..	50.00
Stationery and postage ....	41 31
Annual meeting, November 1934 ..	21.25
Annual meeting, November 1935. ....	10.00
Refund to members ..	1.00
Telegrams ..	.94
Rubber stamp....	.72
	<hr/>
Total disbursements....	\$1,163.65
Balance in bank.....	359.62
	<hr/>
Total. ....	\$1,523.27

ARTHUR ERNEST GORDON, *Secretary-Treasurer*

# LIST OF MEMBERS

## OF THE

### MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

(Corrected to Feb. 18, 1936)

#### HONORARY MEMBERS

(*The roll dates from July 13, 1893*)

	<i>Elected</i>		<i>Elected</i>
FERNAND BALDENSPERGER	1931	OTTO JESPERSON	1904
The Sorbonne and Harvard University		Lundehave, Helsingør, Denmark	
MICHELE BARBI	1916	KARL AXEL KOCK	1927
R. Inst. Sup. di Magiesterio, Florence		University of Lund	
JOSEPH BÉDIER	1920	EUGEN KUHNEMANN	1906
College de France, Paris		University of Breslau	
OTTO BEHAGHEL	1932	ABEL LEFRANC	1913
University of Giessen		College de France	
ALOIS L. BRANDL	1893	EMILE LEGOUIS	1934
University of Berlin		The Sorbonne	
FERDINAND BRUNOT	1914	FERDINAND LOT	1927
University of Paris		The Sorbonne	
KONRAD BURDACH	1894	R. B. MCKERROW	1934
Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin		London, England	
SIR EDMUND CHAMBERS	1922	W. MEYER-LUBEKE	1894
Eynsham, Oxfordshire, England		University of Bonn	
R. W. CHAMBERS	1930	LORENZ MORSBACH	1926
University College, London		University of Gottingen	
VITTORIO CIAN	1926	FRITZ NEUMANN	1893
University of Turin		University of Heidelberg	
GEORGES CIROT	1926	RAMON MENÉNDEZ PIDAL	1910
University of Bordeaux		University of Madrid	
SIR WILLIAM CRAIGIE	1922	ALFRED W. POLLARD	1916
University of Chicago		British Museum, London	
BENEDETTO CROCE	1909	MARIO ROQUES	1926
Naples, Italy		Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris	
ARTURO FARINELLI	1930	VITTORIO ROSSI	1923
University of Turin		University of Rome	
MAX FÖRSTER	1935	EDWARD SCHROEDER	1913
Yale University		University of Göttingen	
LUCIEN FOULET	1932	RUDOLPH THURNEISEN	1926
Paris, France		University of Bonn	
WALTER WILSON GREG	1923	FRANCESCO TORRACA	1913
London, England		University of Naples	
H. J. C. GRIERSON	1932	KARL VOSSLER	1926
University of Edinburgh		University of Munich	
JOHANNES HOOPS	1933	MAURICE WILMOTTE	1934
University of Heidelberg		Bruxelles, Belgium	
ALFRED JEANROY	1914	HENRY CECIL WYLD	1930
University of Paris		Oxford University	

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Life Members and Emeritus Members are indicated by ❖

- Abbot**, William Richardson, Assoc Prof Eng., Coll. of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.
- Abbott**, Allan, Prof. Eng., Teachers Coll., Columbia Univ., New York, N. Y.
- Abbott**, Charles David, Director of Libraries and Prof. Eng., Univ. of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Aberle**, Nellie, Asst. Prof. Eng., Kansas State Coll., Manhattan, Kans.
- ❖ **Abramson**, (Mrs) Muriel Morris, 4800 Drexel Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
- Ackerman**, Ethel M., Asst. Prof. Eng., Hamline Univ., St. Paul, Minn.
- Adam**, Jean Joseph, Assoc Prof. Mod. Foreign Langs., Johnson C. Smith Univ., Charlotte, N. C.
- ❖ **Adams**, Arthur, Prof. Eng. and Librarian, Trinity Coll., Hartford, Conn.
- ❖ **Adams**, Edward Larnabee, Assoc. Prof. Rom. Langs., Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1850 Washtenaw Ave.]
- Adams**, John Chester, Asst. Prof. Eng., Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- Adams**, John Cranford, Instr. Eng., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. [345 Goldwin Smith Hall]
- Adams**, John R., Assoc Prof. Eng., State Teachers Coll., San Diego, Calif.
- Adams**, Joseph Quincy, Director of Research, Folger Shakespeare Lib., Washington, D. C.
- Adams**, Martin Ray, Prof. Eng., Franklin and Marshall Coll., Lancaster, Pa. [620 Race Ave.]
- Adams**, Nicholson Barney, Prof. Spanish, Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill, N. C. [Route 4]
- Adams**, Raymond William, Asst. Prof. Eng., Univ. of N. C. Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Adams**, Robert D. W., Chairman of Music, Univ. of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.
- ❖ **Adams**, Warren Austin, Prof. German, Dartmouth Coll., Hanover, N. H.
- Adkins**, (Mrs) Mary Grace Muse, Instr. Eng., Univ. of Texas, Austin, Texas [Box 1687, Univ. Sta.]
- Adkins**, Nelson Frederick, Asst. Prof. Eng., Washington Square Coll., N. Y. Univ., New York, N. Y. [19 Christopher St.]
- Agard**, Frederick Browning, Instr. French and Spanish, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. [30 Nassau St.]
- Ahern**, Agnes Madeleine, Prof. and Head French Dept., Mt. St. Joseph Coll., West Hartford, Conn.
- Ahlstrom**, Alvida, Head French Dept., State Teachers Coll., La Crosse, Wis.
- Ahrens**, Frederick C., Assoc. Prof. German, Univ. of Richmond, Richmond, Va.
- Aiken**, Pauline, Eng. Dept., Lingnan Univ., Canton, China
- Aiken**, Wellington E., Assoc. Prof. Eng., Univ. of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [52 N. Prospect St.]
- Albertine**, Sister, Librarian, St. Mary's of the Spring Coll., East Columbus, Ohio
- Albrecht**, Otto Edwin, Instr. French, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Phila., Pa. [463 W. Ellet St., Mt. Airy]
- Albright**, Evelyn May, Asst. Prof. Eng., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [Faculty Exchange 13]
- Alden**, Donald Hitt, Instr. Eng., Los Angeles Junior Coll., Los Angeles, Calif.
- Alderman**, William E., Dean of Liberal Arts; Prof. and Chairman Eng. Dept., Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio [112 N. Campus Ave.]
- Alexis**, Joseph E. A., Chairman Dept. Germ. Langs., Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Allan**, Celia Knight (Mrs. G. W. C.), 27 Mill Lane, Stockton-on-Tees, Co. Durham, England.
- Allard**, Louis, Prof. French, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. [1130 Massachusetts Ave.]
- Allen**, Catherine, Head Mod. Lang. Dept., Meredith Coll., Raleigh, N. C.
- Allen**, Don Cameron, Instr. Eng., State Coll. of Washington, Pullman, Wash. [702 W. Washington Blvd., Urbana, Ill.]
- Allen**, Gay Wilson, Asst. Prof. Eng., Bowling Green State Univ., Bowling Green, Ohio
- Allen**, Harold B., Sub-editor, Early Mod. Eng. Dictionary, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [315 Packard St.]
- Allen**, Hope Emily, Asst. Editor, Early Mod. Eng. Dictionary, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [Angell Hall]
- ❖ **Allen**, Morse S., Assoc. Prof. Eng., Trinity Coll., Hartford, Conn. [3 Fern St.]
- Allen**, N. B., Assoc. Prof. Eng., Univ. of Delaware, Newark, Dela.
- Allen**, Ralph Bergen, Instr. Eng., Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [Box 16, College Hall]



- Allen, Robert Joseph, Instr. and Tutor Eng., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. [32 Shepard St.]
- Allen, Samuel E., Assoc. Prof. Rhet., Williams Coll., Williamstown, Mass.
- Allison, Tempe Elizabeth, Chairman Eng. Dept., San Bernardino Jr. Coll., San Bernardino, Calif.
- ❖ Almstedt, Hermann Benjamin, Prof. and Chairman Dept. Germ. Langs., Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [302 Westmount Ave.]
- Almy, Robert F., Asst. Prof. Eng., Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio [126 W. High St.]
- Alsopach, Russell K., Instr. Eng., Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [314 Bennett Hall]
- Altrocchi, Rudolph, Prof. and Chairman Dept. Italian, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif. [443 Wheeler Hall]
- Ament, William Sheffield, Prof. Eng., Scripps Coll., Claremont, Calif.
- Amiel, Joseph Henri, Asst. Rom. Langs., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [705 West Elm]
- Amos, Flora Ross, Prof. Eng., Wilson Coll., Chambersburg, Pa.
- Anacker, Robert H., Prof. Mod. Langs., Univ. of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn. [104 Asbury Dr.]
- Ancilla, Sister Maria, Head Eng. Dept., Mt. St. Joseph Coll., West Hartford, Conn.
- Andersen, Hans Holst, Asst. Prof. Eng., Oklahoma A. and M. Coll., Stillwater, Okla.
- Anderson, Charles Roberts, Instr. Eng., Duke Univ., Durham, N. C. [Box 296, College Sta.]
- Anderson, George Kumler, Assoc. Prof. Eng., Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- Anderson, Jean J., Hanover Coll., Hanover, Ind.
- Anderson, Louise, Teacher French, Humes H. S., Memphis, Tenn. [Y.W.C.A., 291 S. Second St.]
- Anderson, Marjorie, Asst. Prof. Eng., Hunter Coll., New York, N. Y. [106 E. 52nd St.]
- Anderson, Paul Bunyan, Prof. and Head Dept. Eng. Lang. and Lit., Parsons Coll., Fairfield, Iowa
- Anderson, Ruth L., Prof. Eng., Central Coll., Fayette, Mo.
- Andersson, Theodore, Instr. French, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn. [67 Morris St., Hamden]
- Andrews, Albert LeRoy, Asst. Prof. German, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- Andrus, Lawrence Russell, Instr. Rom. Langs., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [Faculty Club]
- Angelica, Mother, Our Lady of the Lake, San Antonio, Tex.
- Angell, Pauline Knickerbocker, 184 Pike St., Port Jervis, N. Y.
- ❖ Anibal, Claude E., Assoc. Prof. Rom. Langs., Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio [1329 Wyandotte Rd., Grandview]
- Annan, Margaret C., 1440 E. 66th Pl., Chicago, Ill.
- Anstensen, Ansten, Prof. and Head German Dept., Univ. of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask., Can.
- ❖ App, Austin J., Prof. and Head Eng. Dept., St. Thomas Coll., Scranton, Pa.
- Appelt, E. P., Prof. German, Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. [69 Dartmouth St.]
- Appelt, Theodore C., Instr. German, Concordia Teachers Coll., River Forest, Ill.
- Arbib-Costa, Alfonso, Prof. Italian, The City Coll., 139th St. and Convent Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Arce, José M., Asst. Prof. Spanish, Dartmouth Coll., Hanover, N. H. [P.O. Box 102]
- Arends, Charles Clifford, Asst. Prof. Speech, Elmhurst Coll., Elmhurst, Ill.
- Ariail, J. M., Prof. Eng., Columbia Coll., Columbia, S. C.
- Arlt, Gustave O., Prof. and Chairman Dept. German Lang. and Lit., Univ. of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif.
- Armour, Richard Willard, Asst. Prof. Eng., Wells Coll., Aurora-on-Cayuga, N. Y.
- Armstrong, Amy, Instr. Eng., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [312 Folwell Hall]
- ❖ Armstrong, Edward C., Prof. French Lang., Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. [26 Edgehill St.]
- Arndt, Karl John Richard, Asst. Prof. German, Louisiana State Univ., Baton Rouge, La.
- Arnold, (Mrs.) Dorothy McSparran, Asst. Prof. Eng., Washington Square Coll., N. Y. Univ., New York, N. Y.
- Arnold, Harrison Heikes, Prof. Rom. Langs., Pennsylvania State Coll., State College, Pa. [519 Holmes St.]
- Arnoldson, (Mrs.) Louise G., Assoc. Prof.

- Mod. Langs, Montana State Univ., Missoula, Mont.
- Aron, Albert W, Prof and Head German Dept., Univ of Illinois, Urbana, Ill
- Arons, (Mrs.) Gladys, Grad Stu Rom. Langs, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Phila., Pa [1430 Orchard Way, Rosemont]
- Arratia, Alejandro, Tutor Rom Langs., The City Coll, 17 Lexington Ave, New York, N. Y.
- Arvin, Neil Cole, Prof. French, Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- Ascher, Maigaretha, Assoc Prof. Mod. Langs, Texas Christian Univ, Fort Worth, Tex.
- Ashburn, Andrew Wilson, Assoc Prof Eng, Texas State Coll for Women, Denton, Tex [C.I.A. Sta.]
- Ashby, Stanley Royal, Assoc. Prof. Eng, Univ. of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Ashcom, Benjamin Bowles, Instr. Spanish, Wayne Univ., 4841 Cass Ave., Detroit, Mich.
- Ashton, John William, Asst Prof. Eng, Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
- Ashton, Madeline, Prof Mod Langs, Missouri Valley Coll, Marshall, Mo
- Atherton, Robert Willard, The Roosevelt, Madison Ave. at 45th St, New York, N. Y.
- Atkin, Ernest George, Prof. and Head French Dept, Univ of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
- Atkins, Elizabeth, Asst Prof Eng., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [111 Folwell Hall]
- Atkinson, Dorothy F., 2311 Manito Blvd., Spokane, Wash.
- Atkinson, Geoffroy, Prof. Rom Langs., Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass. [123 S. Pleasant St.]
- Atwood, Leland Leavitt, Prof. and Head Mod. Lang. Dept., Worcester Polytechnic Inst, Worcester, Mass.
- Aubin, Robert Arnold, Instr. Eng, Radcliffe Coll., Cambridge, Mass. [17 Copley St., Newton]
- Auhagen, Frederick Ernest, Lecturer German, Seth Low Coll, Columbia Univ, 375 Pearl St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Aurner, (Mrs.) Nellie Slayton, Prof. Eng., Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa [303 Lexington Ave.]
- Austin, Herbert Douglas, Prof. Italian and French, Univ. of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.
- Austin, Horace Rosser, Instr. and Tutor Rom Langs., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass [36 Holyoke House]
- Austin, Warren Barker, Tutor Eng, The City Coll, New York, N. Y. [335 E. 236th St]
- Avery, Curtis Edmund, Instr Eng, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn [General Ext. Div]
- Avery, Emmett Langdon, Instr. Eng, State Coll of Washington, Pullman, Wash.
- Awtrey, Hugh R., The Atlanta-Georgian, Atlanta, Ga.
- Aydelotte, Frank, Pres. of Swarthmore Coll., Swarthmore, Pa.
- ❖ Ayer, Charles Carlton, Prof Rom Langs., Univ of Colorado, Boulder, Colo
- ❖ Ayres, Harry Morgan, Prof. Eng, Columbia Univ, New York, N. Y. [Philosophy Hall]
- Babb, Lawrence, Instr. Eng., Northwestern Univ, Evanston, Ill.
- Babbitt, Theodore, Instr. Spanish, Yale Univ, New Haven, Conn. [858 Yale Sta.]
- Babcock, Robert Witbeck, Assoc. Prof. Eng., Wayne Univ., Detroit, Mich. [3 Harvard Pl., Ann Arbor]
- Bach, Emma, Prof. and Head Mod Langs., Dept, Morehead State Teachers Coll., Morehead, Ky.
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- Zunder**, Theodore Albert, Asst. Prof. Eng., Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y. [3910]

#### ROLL OF DECEASED MEMBERS

- B. SPRAGUE ALLEN, New York University, Mar. 11, 1935
- LOUIS ALLEN, University of Toronto, August, 1935
- WM. H. ALLEN, Philadelphia, Pa., July 3, 1935
- EARLE BROWNELL BABCOCK, New York University, Mar. 1, 1935
- CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN, Barnard College, Columbia University, Oct. 23, 1935
- CHARLES READ BASKERVILL, University of Chicago, July 23, 1935
- MRS. ANDRÉ BÉZIAT, Radcliffe College, April 28, 1935
- NANCY JENNETTE CARPENTER, Iowa State Teachers College, Oct. 2, 1932
- TIMOTHY CLORAN, University of Oregon, Dec. 8, 1935
- GEORGE S. COLLINS, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, Nov. 26, 1935
- HERMANN COLLITZ, The Johns Hopkins University, May 13, 1935
- RALPH B. CRUM, West Liberty State Teachers College (W. Va.), Dec. 31, 1935
- STARR W. CUTTING, University of Chicago, Oct. 19, 1935
- TOBIAS J. C. DIEKHOFF, University of Michigan, April 23, 1935
- R. E. NEIL DODGE, University of Wisconsin, Aug. 30, 1935
- OSCAR F. W. FERNSEMER, Brooklyn College, July, 1933
- EARLE B. FOWLER, University of Louisville, July 23, 1935
- MAX GRIEBSCHE, University of Wisconsin, Sept. 8, 1935
- ADELBERT C. HARTUNG, Valparaiso University, Sept. 18, 1935
- JOHN PRESTON HOSKINS, Princeton University, July 15, 1935
- T. ATKINSON JENKINS, University of Chicago, Mar. 24, 1935
- OSCAR L. KEITH, University of South Carolina, March 4, 1935
- JAMES KERR, Converse College, Aug. 27, 1935
- WALTER KIEN, Brown University, May 25, 1935
- HERBERT Z. KIP, Connecticut College for Women, July 10, 1935
- HARRY C. KROWL, The City College, Dec. 1, 1935
- ELISA G. MADISON, Waynesburg College, March 1, 1935
- MARSHALL LIVINGSTON PERRIN, Boston University, Dec. 1, 1935
- HOMER SMITH, Ursinus College, Aug. 26, 1934
- WILLIAM E. SMYSER, Ohio Wesleyan University, May 24, 1935
- FRANCIS HOVEY STODDARD, New York University, Feb. 6, 1936
- ANTOINE THOMAS, University of Paris, May 17, 1935 (Honorary Member)
- HARRY CONRAD THURNAU, University of Kansas, Aug. 6, 1935

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